Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

INDIA
OF
VEDIC KALPASŪTRAS

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Reference Book

Dedicated

To

The Sacred Memory

of

My revered Guru,

the late Mahamahopadhyaya

Dr. Lachhmi Dhar Shastri,

M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D.

G.M.C.E.J
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PREFACE

The Kalpasūtras comprising Śrauta, Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras shed a good deal of welcome light on almost all the important aspects of ancient Indian life, and portray a vivid picture of pre-Buddhistic India. The rich store of cultural information contained in the Kalpasūtras is indispensable for a proper understanding of Indian culture. The metrical Smṛitis of Manu and Yājñavalkya, which have considerably influenced the social and legal institutions of the Hindus, are highly indebted to the Kalpasūtras. Discussing the relationship between the Dharmasūtras and the Smṛitis, Prof. Max Müller remarks : "There can be no doubt, however, that all the genuine metrical Dharmaśāstras which we possess now, are, without any exception, nothing but more modern texts of earlier Sūtra-works or Kula-dharmas belonging originally to certain Vedic Charaṇas." (H.A.S.L., p. 70). Though such a sweeping generalization about the Smṛitis may not be accepted on all hands, it cannot be gainsaid that the Smṛitis owe a great deal to the Dharmasūtras which are undoubtedly the earliest treatises on Hindu Law. In spite of a wide gap of nearly three millennia, a good many rites, customs and manners of the modern Hindus are in close agreement with those of the Sūtras. For instance, the marriage ceremony of the Hindus follows essentially the same procedure as is laid down in the Sūtras ; and a large number of Hindus scrupulously observe the restrictions of caste, *Gotra* and *Pravara* prescribed by the Sūtras in regard to the selection of a spouse. Besides, the customs and rites recorded in the Sūtras point to ancient cultural affinities between the Indo-Aryans and other Indo-European peoples. In this connection Prof. Winternitz observes : "The numerous parallels in the manners and customs of other Indo-European peoples, which have been discovered long ago, with the usages described in the Gṛihyasūtras, make these documents all the more important. In particular, the comparison of the Greek, Roman, Teutonic and Slavonic marriage customs with the rules contained in the Gṛihyasūtras, has shown that the relationship of the Indo-European peoples is not limited to language, but that these peoples, related in language, have also preserved common features from prehistoric times in their manners and customs." (H.I.L , Vol. I, p. 274).

In view of such a great importance of the rites, customs, manners, and moral teachings embodied in the Kalpasūtras, an attempt has been made in the following pages to give a complete, coherent and systematic account of ancient Indian life depicted in the Sūtras. In order to present a comprehensive picture of ancient India all the Kalpasūtras now available in print have been utilized, and supplementary information on the subject has been derived from the Vedic Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, the Āraṇyakas, the Smṛitis, etc.

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Important questions concerning the history of the Kalpasūtras have been discussed in the first four Chapters, for the value of information derived from a work is largely determined by its date and authenticity. It has been stated in the First Chapter that the Kalpasūtras were composed with a view to preserving systematically the rich store of Aryan knowledge relating to rituals, manners, customs, etc.; that the Śrauta, Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras are closely allied and complementary to each other; and that the three types of Sūtras belonging to the same school were probably composed by one and the same author in some cases. After giving a brief outline of the subject-matter of the Gṛihyasūtras, the Second Chapter discusses the origin, development, special features, authenticity and authorship of the Gṛihyasūtras. Similar questions concerning the Dharmasūtras are discussed in Chapter III. As regards the problem of *Mānava Dharmasūtra*, it may be stated that there is as yet little evidence to prove the former existence of a Mānava Dharmasūtra which was, in the opinion of Professors Max Müller and Bühler, later redacted in the form of our Manusmṛiti. Similarly there is no substantial evidence in support of Dr. Jolly's view that the Vishṇu Dharmasūtra was a Sūtra-work of the Kāṭhaka school in origin. The Fourth Chapter deals with the relative chronology of the Kalpasūtras and puts forward the view that most of the Sūtras were composed between *circa* 800 B.C. and 500 B.C.; and astronomical evidence bearing on the age of the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra has been discussed in Chapter XV, p. 334.

The Fifth Chapter presents the geographical background of the culture depicted in the Sūtras and examines Prof. Bühler's thesis that Āpastamba and Baudhāyana founded their Sūtra schools in Āndhra. In the opinion of the present writer both Āpastamba and Baudhāyana belonged to the Madhyadeśa or Āryāvarta as defined by the latter. Social organization and economic life of the Sūtra period are treated of in Chapters VI and VII respectively. Society was divided into a number of castes based on birth; the Śūdras were denied equality with the three higher castes, namely, Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, in social and religious matters; and distinctions of caste had penetrated into many spheres of life. Nevertheless, all castes and communities lived together peacefully; inter-caste marriage was also allowed in the time of the earlier Sūtras; and the Śūdras, who could own and acquire property and who were invited to participate in certain sacrifices, were not treated as slaves and untouchables. The greater part of the Indian population lived in villages and occupied themselves with agriculture, cattle-breeding, and handicrafts. The country was rich and prosperous. Houses, dress, ornaments, hair-fashions, food, drink, and recreation of the people are fully described in Chapter VIII.

Political life of the people is portrayed in Chapter IX, which deals with the form of government, functions of the king, taxation, administration, army, and rules of warfare. Monarchy was the only form of government known to the Sūtra-writers. Though

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there was no elected body to put a check on the actions of the king, he was expected to obey *Dharma* enshrined in the scriptures and to win the loyalty of his subjects through justice and impartiality.

Chapter X is devoted to discussion of law and administration of justice. Laws and customs relating to marriage are discussed in Chapter XI. Marriage between members of the same caste was preferred to inter-caste marriage. Marriage between members of the same *Gotra*, *Pravara*, and consanguineous group was, however, prohibited. Chapter XII gives a complete and systematic account of marriage rites and festivities according to all the Gṛihyasūtras, and notices the points of marked resemblance to the marriage customs of other Indo-European peoples.

Chapter XIII discusses the meaning of *Saṁskāra* and fully describes the Saṁskāras connected with maternity and child welfare. Educational Saṁskāras, such as Upanayana, Upākarman, Utsarjana and Samāvartana, are described in Chapter XIV ; and *Yajñopavīta* and allied terms have been explained in a note at the end of this Chapter. Chapter XV deals with the system of education obtaining in the Sūtra period, and gives a brief survey of Vedic literature, astronomy and other subjects of study. Education was free and compulsory for the members of the three higher castes, but the Śūdras were not allowed to study the Veda. There was a close and affectionate contact between the teacher and the taught, and development of character was regarded as the chief aim of education.

Funeral rites and Śrāddhas are dealt with in Chapter XVI. Some of these rites and customs are now absolutely extinct. Śrāddhas are, however, still performed by the Hindus. Chapters XVII, XVIII, and XIX are devoted to discussion of daily, periodical and special sacrifices respectively described in the Gṛihyasūtras ; however, it has not been possible to include in this volume the great sacrifices dealt with in the Śrautasūtras, for their scope is so wide that detailed description and philosophical discussion of these sacrifices would require another volume.

Chapter XX is devoted to discussion of family life and position of women. Family was patriarchal in character, and the system of joint family was quite popular. Women participated in the performance of sacrifices and were entitled to inherit property. The custom of *suttee* was not practised in the Sūtra period, and widows could raise offspring through *Niyoga*. Morals and manners of the people are dealt with in Chapter XXI. Good conduct was considered higher than ritual as well as learning. Moral virtues, such as truth, honesty, contentment and kindness, were regarded as main sources of happiness. Hospitality was a special feature of the Indian culture. Religion and philosophy are discussed in Chapter XXII. Though the common people believed in many deities and demons and performed rituals for the fulfilment of desires, the intellectuals of the age aimed at self-realization through meditation, prayer and righteous conduct. The people believed in the doctrine of *Karman*

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and transmigration of the soul ; and their outlook on life was entirely optimistic. The Sūtras lay equal stress on the three ends of life, *i.e. Dharma, Artha* and *Kāma,* but are absolutely silent on *Moksha.*

According to the scheme of life envisaged in the Dharmasūtras, the entire life of an Ārya is divided into four stages called *Āśramas.* However, the Sūtras attach the highest importance to the second stage of life, *i. e. Gṛihasthāśrama,* which supports all the other Āśramas and perpetuates religion and culture through procreation of progeny.

Thus an attempt has been made to present a complete and comprehensive picture of ancient Indian life depicted in the Kalpasūtras. All the important statements made in the work have been fully documented, and all conclusions are based on the study of original sources. In the interpretation of certain sūtras the present writer has differed from the commentators and translators of the Kalpasūtras, and has stated his reasons in the Notes.

This work was originally completed in March 1953 and approved for the Ph. D. Degree of Delhi University, but due to unavoidable circumstances it could not be published earlier. This interval has been utilized for the revision of the work.

In conclusion, I wish to acknowledge my deep debt of gratitude to my revered Guru, the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Lachhmi Dhar Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., Ph D., whose profound learning and unbounded kindness inspired and encouraged me to take up this research work, and who took exceptionally great pains to supervise and improve my thesis. It is also my sacred duty to express my deep gratitude to my revered Guru, the late Prof. Ganga Ram Sharma Shastri, M.A., an unrivalled authority on Pāṇinian Grammar, who very affectionately taught me this immortal Grammar and thus enabled me to make researches in the Sūtra literature. I am highly beholden to my *Alma Mater*, the University of Delhi, which awarded an All-India Research Fellowship to me on my setting up the Highest Record of marks in M.A. (Sanskrit), provided all possible facilities for research, and conferred on me the first Ph. D. Degree in Sanskrit. My thanks are due to the Central Electric Press for accurate and careful printing of this work.

HANS RAJ COLLEGE, DELHI. RAM GOPAL
1st June, 1959.

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THE SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

Vowels : a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛi, ṛī, ḷi, e, ai, o, au.
Anusvāra : ṁ.
Visarga : ḥ.
Gutturals : k, kh, g, gh, ṅ.
Palatals : ch, chh, j, jh, ñ.
Cerebrals : ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ.
Dentals : t, th, d, dh, n.
Labials : p, ph, b, bh, m.
Semivowels : y, r, l, v.
Sibilants : ś, sh, s.
Aspirate : h.

THE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.V. (अ० वे०)=Atharvaveda.
Agni. G.S. (आग्नि० गृ०)=Āgniveśya Gṛihyasūtra.
Ait. Ar. (ऐ० आ०)=Aitareya Āraṇyaka.
Ait. Br. (ऐ० ब्रा०)=Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Alt. Ah.=Altindischer Ahnencult by Caland.
Alt. Leb.=Altindisches Leben by Zimmer.
Alt. T.B.=Die altindischen Todten und Bestattungsgebräuche by Caland.
An. S.S.=Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.
Ap. D.S. (आप० ध०) =Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.
Ap. G.S. (आप० गृ०)=Āpastamba Gṛihyasūtra.
Ap. S.S. (आप० श्रौ०)=Āpastamba Śrautasūtra.
Asv. G.S. or AGS. (आ० गृ०)=Āśvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra.
Asv. S.S. (आ० श्रौ०)=Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra.
Baudh. D.S. (बौ० ध०)=Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra.
Baudh. G.S. (बौ० गृ०)=Baudhāyana Gṛihyasūtra.
Baudh. S.S. (बौ० श्रौ०)=Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.
Brih. Up.=Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad.
Bhar. G.S. (भा० गृ०)=Bhāradvāja Gṛihyasūtra.
Bhar. S.S. (भा० श्रौ०)=Bhāradvāja Śrautasūtra.
Bib. Ind.=Bibliotheca Indica.
Chh. Up =Chhāndogya Upanishad.
Drah. S.S. (द्रा० श्रौ०)=Drāhyāyaṇa Śrautasūtra.
Gaut. D.S. or GDS. (गौ० ध०)=Gautama Dharmasūtra.
Gobh. G.S. or GGS. (गो० गृ०)=Gobhila Gṛihyasūtra.

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Gop. Br. (गो० ब्रा०)=Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.
H.A.S.L.=History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Max Müller.
H.D.S.=History of Dharma Śāstra by P.V. Kane.
Hir. G.S. (हि० गृ०)=Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛihyasūtra.
Hir. S.S. (हि० श्रौ०)=Hiraṇyakeśi Śrautasūtra.
I.A.=Indian Antiquary.
I.H.Q.=Indian Historical Quarterly.
Ind. Stud.=Indische Studien.
Jaim. G.S. (जै० गृ०)=Jaimini Gṛihyasūtra.
Jaim. S.S. (जै० श्रौ०)=Jaimini Śrautasūtra.
J.A.O.S.=Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.A.S.B.=Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.B.R.A.S.=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.R.A.S.=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kath. G.S. (का० गृ०)=Kāṭhaka Gṛihyasūtra.
Kath. Samh.=Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā.
Kat. S.S. (का० श्रौ०)=Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra.
Kaus. S. (कौ० सू०)=Kauśika Sūtra.
Kaush. Br.=Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa.
Kaush. G.S. (कौषी० गृ०)=Kaushītaka Gṛihyasūtra.
Kaush. Up.=Kaushītaki Upanishad.
Kh. G.S. (खा० गृ०)=Khādira Gṛihyasūtra.
Lat. S.S. (ला० श्रौ०)=Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra.
M. Br. (मं० ब्रा०)=Mantra Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda.
M.P.=Mantra Pāṭha of Āpastambīya School.
Man. G.S. (मा० गृ०)=Mānava Gṛihyasūtra.
Mait. Samh. (मै० सं०)=Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā.
Man. S.S. (मा० श्रौ०)=Mānava Śrautasūtra.
Mbh.=Mahābhārata.
Manu (मनु)=Manusmṛiti.
Panch. Br. (पञ्च० ब्रा०)=Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa.
Par. G.S. or PGS. (पा० गृ०)=Pāraskara Gṛihyasūtra.
R.L.=Rituallitteratur by Hillebrandt.
R.V. (ऋ० वे०)=Rigveda.
Sankh. G.S. or SGS. (शां० गृ०)=Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihyasūtra.
Sankh. S.S. (शां० श्रौ०)=Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra.
Sat. Br. (शत० ब्रा०)=Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
SBE.=Sacred Books of the East, Oxford.
S.V.=Sāmaveda.
Tait. Ar. (तै० आ०)=Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.

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Tait. Br. (तै० ब्रा०)=Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
Tait. Samh. (तै० सं०)=Taittirīya Saṁhitā.
Vadh. S.S. (वाधू० श्रौ०)=Vādhūla Śrautasūtra.
Vaikh. D.S. (वै० ध०)=Vaikhānasa Dharmasūtra.
Vaikh. G.S. (वै० गृ०)=Vaikhānasa Gṛihyasūtra.
Vaikh. S.S. (वै० श्रौ०)=Vaikhānasa Śrautasūtra.
Vait. S. (वैता० सू०)=Vaitāna Sūtra.
Vaj. S. (वा० सं०)=Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā.
Var. G.S. (वा० गृ०)=Vārāha Gṛihyasūtra.
Var. S.S. (वा० श्रौ०)=Vārāha Śrautasūtra.
Vas. D.S. (वा० ध०)=Vāsishṭha Dharmasūtra.
Vi. D.S. (वि० ध०)=Vishṇu Dharmasūtra.
V.V.I.=Vaidika Vāṅmaya Kā Itihāsa by Bhagavaddatta.
W.Z K.M.=Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
Yaj.=Yājñavalkyasmṛiti.
Y.V.=Yajurveda.
Z.D.M.G.=Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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CHAPTER I

THE KALPASUTRAS

1. THE KALPASUTRAS IN VEDIC LITERATURE

The stock of Aryan knowledge concerning rituals, customs, manners, etc., had accumulated by the close of the Brāhmaṇa period to such an extent that preservation of the precious cultural heritage posed a serious problem. A need was, therefore, felt for such treatises as could compress the mass of cultural traditions in a manageable form. In order to accomplish this task the savants of ancient India invented a peculiar style of composition characterized by utmost brevity and rigid systematization. A sentence composed in this peculiar style is called a *sūtra*, *i.e.* a thread ; for diffuse and scattered precepts are succinctly systematized in a compact sentence called *sūtra* in the same way as loose fibres are compressed into a thread. By extension of metaphor, a work consisting of such sūtras is also known as a *Sūtra*. The period of Vedic literature following the composition of the Brāhmaṇas is especially noted for the preponderance of Sūtra works and is consequently called *Sūtra period*.

Among different types of Sūtras composed during the Sūtra period the Kalpasūtras are by far the most important for the cultural history of India.

Being mainly devoted to Kalpa, *i.e.* ritual, they are designated as Kalpasūtras and deal with Vedic sacrifices, household ceremonies, and customary law. The Kalpasūtras generally presuppose the knowledge of the Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas of their respective schools and sometimes refer to them. Moreover, a number of sacrifices described in the Kalpasūtras are found discussed in the Brāhmaṇas, and it is obvious that the Kalpasūtras are indebted to the Brāhmaṇas. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to regard the Kalpasūtras as mere summaries of the Brāhmaṇas. There is a fundamental difference between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kalpasūtras in regard to their aim and scope. The principal aim of the Brāhmaṇas is to explain the significance of various acts in Vedic sacrifices and to settle ritualistic doctrines, while the Kalpasūtras are chiefly concerned with giving a succinct and systematic account of all the Vedic sacrifices and

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customs prevalent at the time of their composition. The Kalpasūtras simply record the rituals and traditions current in their respective schools and do not concern themselves with their explanation and rationale.

Unlike the Brāhmaṇas, the Kalpasūtras are not included in Śruti (revelation) and bear the names of human authors. The Kalpasūtras are regarded as one of the six Vedāṅgas, *i.e.* the members of the Vedic lore, which are auxiliary to the understanding of the Vedas. All the Vedas possess their distinct Kalpasūtras. The number of the Kalpasūtras belonging to the Atharvaveda is the smallest ; and only two Sūtras, namely the Kauśikasūtra and the Vaitānasūtra are now found belonging to this Veda. The number of extant Kalpasūtras belonging to the Yajurveda is over twenty. Most Śākhās of the Yajurveda possess Kalpasūtras of their own, and as many as seven Kalpasūtras are now found belonging to the Taittirīya Śākhā alone. There is no doubt that numerous Kalpasūtras belonging to all the Vedas are now extinct, and that only a small fraction of rich cultural heritage has come down to us in the form of extant Kalpasūtras.

A complete corpus of the Kalpasūtras comprises the Śrauta, Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras. The Śrautasūtras describe great sacrifices known as Śrautayajñas which are found discussed in the Brāhmaṇas. The Śrautasūtras are, therefore, highly indebted to the Brāhmaṇas. But all the sacrifices described in the Śrautasūtras are not traceable to the Brāhmaṇas. The Gṛihyasūtras deal with household ceremonies, such as marriage and Upanayana, and owe little to the Brāhmaṇas. In regard to the choice of Mantras recited at the performance of domestic ceremonies, the Gṛihyasūtras generally lean to the Saṁhitās of their respective schools. However, all the Mantras contained in the Gṛihyasūtras are not traceable to the extant Saṁhitās. The Dharmasūtras also, which deal with social usage and customary law, owe allegiance to the Vedas, but their connection with the Veda of their Charaṇa is not so close as that of the Śrautasūtras ; for the precepts embodied in the Dharmasūtras were mostly founded upon social customs common to all the Charaṇas, and application of their precepts was generally not confined to the followers of a particular Charaṇa. However, in the matter of ritualistic observances the Dharmasūtras are undoubtedly inclined to follow the traditions of their own Charaṇas, as we shall see below in Chap. III. The Śulvasūtras, which contain rules for the measurement and construction of fire-altars and sacrificial sheds etc., form part of the Kalpasūtras and are closely

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connected with the Śrautasūtras, because the rules of the Śulvasūtras mostly concern great sacrifices in the Śrautasūtras.

Only a few of the Kalpasūtras are now found to contain all types of Sūtras enumerated above. It is important to note that all the complete corpora of Kalpasūtras are now found belonging to the Yajurveda. The Kalpasūtras belonging to the other Vedas are deficient in one or the other type of Sūtras. No Dharmasūtra belonging to the Atharvaveda is available at present, though a few Dharmasūtras belonging to this Veda are mentioned in earlier works, such as the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali. The Charaṇas of the Ṛigveda and the Sāmaveda are also poor in Dharmasūtras. Only the Vāsishṭha Dharmasūtra, as we shall see below in Chap. III, is now found belonging to the Ṛigveda, and the Gautama Dharmasūtra is believed to be connected with the Sāmaveda. The reasons that have been advanced by eminent scholars to account for the paucity of Dharmasūtras in the Charaṇas of the Ṛigveda and the Sāmaveda will be discussed in Chapter III. The Gṛihyasūtras enjoy numerical superiority over all types of Sūtras available at present and outnumber both the Śrauta and Dharmasūtras combined.

The Kalpasūtras occupy an important place among the Vedāṅgas and easily outnumber all the other types of Sūtras composed during the Sūtra period. The Kalpasūtras are indispensable for the proper understanding of the Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. They are a veritable repository of ancient Vedic traditions and amply augment and elucidate the cultural data derived from the Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas.

2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SRAUTA AND GRIHYASUTRAS

In case a Gṛihyasūtra is found to form part of a complete corpus of the Kalpasūtras, it is generally preceded by the Śrautasūtra of the same school. In some cases the Gṛihyasūtras presuppose the knowledge of the Śrautasūtras of their respective schools and refer to the rules contained in them. The Asv. G.S., for instance, begins the description of the Gṛihya rites with the words : "The rites based on the spreading of the three sacred fires, *i.e.* the Śrauta rites, have been declared ; we shall declare the Gṛihya rites."[1] Instances in which the Gṛihyasūtras either expressly refer to the Śrautasūtras or point to them by repeating their phrases can be easily multiplied. The Ap. G.S. I, 1, 19 and I, 2, 5, refer to the Ap. S. S. I, 11, 6 and II, 12, 7 respectively. The Śankh. G.S. I, 1, 13, lays down that the rules of Yajñopavīta etc. prescribed in the Śrautasūtra should, as far as possible, be applied to the Gṛihya rites as

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well, in consequence of the unity of the ritual.[2] The Par. G.S. I, 18, 1, refers to the Kat. S.S. IV, 12, 21 seq. The Asv. G.S. II, 5, 3, refers to the Asv. S.S. II, 6 seq., and so forth. Affinities between the Śrautasūtras and the Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the same school are thus quite apparent. A detailed examination of their relations lies outside the scope of the present work.

The Gṛihyasūtras, in general, presuppose the knowledge of the Śrautasūtras of their respective schools. The Kauśikasūtra, on the contrary, is followed by the Vaitānasūtra, the Śrautasūtra of the Atharvaveda.[3] As regards the relationship between the Vaikh. S.S. and the Vaikh. G.S., Prof. Caland opines that the Śrautasūtra of the Vaikhānasīyas must have been preceded and not followed by their Gṛihyasūtra.[4]

The main distinction between the Śrautasūtras and the Gṛihyasūtras consists in the fact that the former describe the big sacrifices which should be generally performed with the help of three or more sacred fires, while the latter deal with simple household ceremonies of daily life, which may be performed with the single Gṛihya fire. The second major difference between the Śrauta and Gṛihya rites lies in the fact that the services of a number of priests—as many as sixteen—are required for the performance of Śrauta sacrifices, whereas the Gṛihya rites can be performed by the householder himself or by any of his representatives, namely his wife, son, pupil, or a Brahman priest. The offering of Soma which figures prominently in so many Śrauta sacrifices is absolutely unconnected with the Gṛihya rites.

A number of important rites, such as Āgrayaṇeshṭi, Madhuparka, the sacrifices of the new-moon and full-moon days, and the funeral ceremonies, find description in the Śrautasūtras as well as in the Gṛihyasūtras. In view of such subjects as are common to both the Śrauta and the Gṛihyasūtras, Dr. Hillebrandt observes, "Während innerhalb derselben Schule die Grenze zwischen Śrauta und Gṛihya im Allgemeinen fest ist, zeigt sie sich zwischen den Śrautas der einen und Gṛihya's der anderen Schule in verschiedenen Punkten flüssig."[5] Under these circumstances no strict line of demarcation is possible between the subjects of the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras. If a ceremony that has been described by some Śrautasūtras happens to be treated of by the Gṛihyasūtras, it cannot be taken for granted that this ceremony actually belongs to the domain of the Śrauta rites and that its inclusion in the Gṛihya rites is necessarily anomalous. Before we pronounce any judgment regarding the proper sphere of any ceremony, it is necessary to examine the history and essential nature of the ceremony concerned,

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The funeral ceremony is a case in point. Characterizing it as a Śrauta ceremony, Prof. Knauer remarks, "Das Mbr. hinwiederum hat keine solche aufgenommen, weil die todtenbestattung ihrem ganzen religiösen character nach mehr in den kreis der śrauta als in den der gṛihya gehört, oder genauer gesagt : diese ceremonie zählt im grunde gar nicht unter die gṛihya und sie hat im Āśv. Gr. (wie bei Pāraskara) mit dem gleichen unrecht eine stelle gefunden, wie z. b. das cap. I, 23 über die opferpriesterwahl ; denn die vielen priester hier und das somaopfer (s. 21) finden beim häuslichen opfer weder nach den übrigen gṛihya, noch nach Ā selbst (vgl. z. b. I, 3, 6) verwendung. Für den Śrauta-character der todtenbestattung sprechen schon allein die bekannten drei feuer, die dabei angezündet werden, während ja als hauptcharacteristicum für eine gṛihya-handlung die verwendung nur des einen hausfeuers gilt."[6]

Of course, it cannot be gainsaid that the employment of the three sacred fires seems to impart a quantum of Śrauta-character to the funeral ceremony. It is, however, important to note that the employment of the three sacred fires is prescribed by the Sūtras for the funeral ceremony of an Āhitāgni who had set up the sacred fires, and not for the funeral ceremony of each and every person. But the funeral ceremony has got to be performed for others as well. In this connection the Vaikh. G.S. says, "The others (*i.e.*, those who had not set up the sacred fires) should be cremated with a fire produced in a heated potsherd, and their cremation takes place with one single verse, according to some."[7] It is, therefore, clear that the funeral ceremony, as a whole, does not belong to the sphere of the Śrauta rites. Further, unlike the Śrauta rites, the funeral ceremony is performed by the relatives of the deceased and not by a number of priests who play an active role in the performance of Śrauta rites. The inclusion of funeral rites in the subject-matter of the Gṛihyasūtras is, therefore, entirely compatible with the essential nature of these treatises which deal with the household ritual in general. The Gṛihyasūtras describe the funeral rites for those who had set up the sacred fires in their life-time and also for those who did not. But the scope of the Śrautasūtras is limited in this matter ; for they prescribe the funeral rites for those only who had set up the sacred fires in their life-time. Therefore, Prof. Knauer's view that the description of funeral rites cannot come properly within the purview of the Gṛihyasūtras is untenable.

We have already spoken of the affinities between the Śrauta-sūtras and the Gṛihyasūtras and shown that the Gṛihyasūtras generally presuppose the knowledge of the Śrautasūtras of their

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respective schools. A good many phrases of the Śrautasūtras are found verbally repeated in the Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the same school.[8] The close affinities between the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the same school raise the question whether both types of Sūtras were composed by one and the same author or by different authors. There exists no confusion regarding the authorship of certain Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras. We can mention, for instance, the Par. G.S., the Gobh. G.S., and the Kh. G.S., which follow the Śrautasūtras of Kātyāyana, Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyaṇa respectively ; their authorship being ascribed by native tradition to Pāraskara, Gobhila and Khādirāchārya respectively. In these cases the authors of the Gṛihyasūtras are different from those of the allied Śrautasūtras. There is hardly any ground to doubt the tradition regarding these Sūtras.

With regard to the Gṛihya and Śrautasūtras current in the schools of Śāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, Mānava, Jaimini, Vārāha, and Vaikhānasa, the authorship of both types of Sūtras is ascribed by native tradition to a single teacher whose name is borne by both types of Sūtras. As for the authorship of the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras of the school of Āpastamba, Prof. Bühler observes, "Finally, the Gṛihyasūtra, too, contains several cross-references to the Śrautasūtra, and the close agreement of the Sūtras on the Vedic sacrifices, on the domestic rites, and on the sacred, both in language and style, conclusively prove that they are the compositions of one author."[9] The same scholar has shown that the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras of the school of Baudhāyana were composed by one and the same author.[10] On the question of the authorship of the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras belonging to one and the same school Prof. Oldenberg has made the following remarks : "It is easy to find many agreements in contents and expression which exist, for instance, between the Śrautasūtra and Gṛihyasūtra of Śāṅkhāyana, or between the Śrautasūtra and the Gṛihyasūtra of Āśvalāyana. But these agreements cannot be considered as sufficient proof that in each case the Gṛihyasūtra and the Śrautasūtra are by the same author. Even if the author of the Gṛihyasūtra was not Āśvalāyana or Śāṅkhāyana in person, still he must have been at all events perfectly familiar with the works of those teachers, and must have intended to fit his work to theirs as closely as possible, so that agreements of this kind can in no way astonish us. On the other hand, if the Śrautasūtras and Gṛihyasūtras are read together, it is easy to discover small irregularities in the exposition, repetitions and such like, which might

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seem to indicate different authors. But the irregularities of this kind which have been detected up to the present are scarcely of such a character as not to be easily ascribable to mistakes and carelessness such as even a careful author may be guilty of in the course of a large work. It seems to me then that until the discovery of further circumstances throwing light on the question of the identity of the authors of the Śrautas and of the Gṛihyas, it would be premature if we were to venture on a decision of this question in one direction or the other."[11] On the basis of the arguments advanced here Prof. Oldenberg questions the reasoning of Prof. Bühler who seeks to prove the identity of the authors of the Śrautasūtra and the Dharmasūtra of the Āpastambīya school by pointing out the occurrence of the same phrases and the same grammatical irregularities in both the Sūtras.[12] It is perfectly reasonable to hold that the repetition of similar phrases and grammatical irregularities in any two works is not sufficient to prove the identity of their authors, unless it is corroborated by other pieces of evidence. However, the native tradition ascribing the authorship of certain works to identical authors should not be lightly brushed aside without sufficient reasons. If such a tradition is supported by internal evidence deducible from the language, style and subject-matter of the works concerned, it deserves special consideration. Prof. Bühler, I think, has adequately proved his point regarding the identity of the authors of the Śrautasūtra, Gṛihyasūtra and Dharmasūtra of the school of Āpastambīyas.[13] Prof. Oldenberg's objection to this view seems to be untenable.

3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GRIHYA AND DHARMASUTRAS

In the corpus of the Kalpasūtras the Dharmsūtras, as a rule, follow the Gṛihyasūtras. At present only four Gṛihyasūtras, namely, the Baudh. G.S., the Ap. G.S., the Hir. G.S., and the Vaikh. G.S., are found to be followed by the Dharmasūtras of their respective schools. The other Gṛihyas have no Dharmasūtras to follow them. It is still a moot point whether each Gṛihyasūtra possessed a Dharmasūtra belonging to the same school or the Dharmasūtras were composed in a few schools of the Kalpas. It is, however, an undeniable fact that in distinction from the Gṛihyasūtras the Dharmasūtras cover a wider range of subjects which are by no means confined to the school of the Sūtra itself.

The Dharmasūtras lay down rules and regulations for the guidance of social as well as spiritual life of the community in its wider perspective. They deal with the rights and duties of

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different classes of society and prescribe the duties which an individual should discharge during different periods of his life. Matters relating to civil and criminal laws have also been dwelt upon in the Dharmasūtras. A few of the subjects, such as the duties of a student and those of a Snātaka, which have already been touched upon in the Gṛihyasūtras, are treated in detail by the Dharmasūtras. The Gṛihyasūtras deal with the rites and customs which are concerned with the domestic life of an Ārya, whereas the Dharmasūtras devote more attention to the social life of an Ārya. The essential difference, therefore, between the Gṛihyasūtras and the Dharmasūtras lies in the fact that the outlook of the Gṛihyasūtras is mainly limited to the customs and conventions of their respective schools, whereas the Dharmasūtras take a broader view of the whole society comprising various schools and communities.

Now let us turn to the question of the identity of the authors of the Gṛihyasūtras and the Dharmasūtras belonging to the same school. So far as the Gṛihyasūtra and the Dharmasūtra of the school of Āpastambīyas are concerned, Prof. Bühler has shown that both the texts were composed by the same author in pursuance of a definite plan according to which the Gṛihyasūtra was made as short as possible and a portion of the subject-matter to be generally treated of in the Gṛihyasūtras was reserved for the Dharmasūtra.[14] The same distinguished scholar has proved the identity of the authors of the Baudh. G.S. and the Baudh. D.S.[15] The authors of the Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛihyasūtra and the Hiraṇyakeśi Dharmasūtra appear to be different persons ; for the Hir. D.S. can hardly claim any original matter and is almost a recast of the Ap. D.S. The Hir. G.S., on the other hand, is much different from the Ap. G.S. and possesses certain peculiarities of its own (*infra*, Chap. II). As for the Vaikh. G.S. and the Vaikh. D.S., it is abundantly clear that both the works were composed by the same author. Both the works appear to form a compact whole, since the style of composition adopted in both of them is mostly identical. Further, the Vaikh. G.S. 1, 8, itself refers to the Vaikh. D.S. VIII, 6, with the words : "We shall explain in the books on Dharma the Kuṇḍa of the Śrāmaṇaka fire of a hermit and the special ritual of setting up this fire."[16]

4. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE KALPASUTRAS

On a detailed study of the Sūtra literature, I have come to the conclusion that the Sūtra literature had emerged out of a mass of knowledge that had previously developed. Towards the end of

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the period of the Brāhmaṇa texts when the Aryan people had fully settled down in the country, they had made significant advances in the realm of knowledge. The religious sacrifices had grown from simple to complex. The domestic ceremonies were also fast developing, and the rules and customs of society were getting fixed and assuming the form of a customary law to be obeyed by the people. In the beginning religious, domestic and social practices had no separate existence as literature. They were all jumbled together. Since religion dominated the minds of the people, they took the first step to preserve and systematize the religious practices of the Aryan community ; and consequently the literature known as Śrautasūtras came into existence. The solidarity of the Aryan people was thus maintained by such public ritual as generally formed part of the Śrautasūtras.

But as time rolled on and the Aryan and non-Aryan population of India freely mixed together, the Aryan and non-Aryan rituals mingled together ; a need was felt, one can imagine, for the preservation of the Aryan character of family ; and this gave an incentive to codify the ritual known as Gṛihya. The Gṛihyas set a stamp to the Aryan character of the family, and the Śrautas had set a stamp to the Aryan character of the public life of the Aryan people. But along with these two sets of religious literature in the separate domains of family and society, a third group of rules and customs was developing as a result of interaction between family and society. This was codified later on in the form of the Dharmasūtras which subsequently gave birth to the Dharma Śāstras or the Smṛiti literature.

As the Gṛihyas had emerged from a mixed stock of the unwritten Śrauta and Gṛihya combined, so the Dharmasūtras emerged from an unwritten mixed stock of the Gṛihya and Dharma practices. This order of the growth of three classes of Sūtras, dealing with public religion in general terms, religion at home, and the rules of standard behaviour and legal and moral practices, seems to be quite natural with the growth of the national life of the Indo-Aryans. Since life cannot be divided into watertight compartments and there are points where private life and public life meet, there are subjects which overlap and find mention not only in one class of the Sūtras but in all. Thus the procession of Indian culture from the earliest times to the age of the Sūtras can be properly studied in different branches of the Sūtras, as they grew in course of time from their simple beginnings in an unwritten form to a highly developed form of literature in the Sūtras.

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Notes and References

1. उक्तानि वैतानिकानि गृह्याणि वक्ष्यामः ॥ आ० गृ० I, 1, 1.
2. यज्ञोपवीतीत्यादि च सम्भवत् सर्वं कल्पैकत्वात् । शां गृ० I, 1, 13. The rules of the Yajñopavīta are given in the Śankh. Ś. S. I, 1, 6-7.
3. Bloomfield, On the position of Vaitāna Sūtra in the Literature of the AV, JAOS. 1885, Vol. XI, pp. 375 seq.
4. Caland's English Translation of the Vaikh. G. S., Introduction, pp. xii-xiii.
5. R. L., p. 22.
6. Knauer's German Translation of the Gobh. G. S., Introduction, p. 26.
7. इतरेषां कपालसंतपनाग्निनैकर्चया दहनम् इत्येके । वै० गृ० V, 5.
8. R. L., pp. 20-21.
9. SBE, Vol. II, Introduction, p. xv.
10. SBE, Vol. XIV, Introduction, pp. xxx seq.
11. SBE, Vol. XXX, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.
12. *Ibid.* p. xxxii, footnote 2.
13. SBE, Vol. II, pp. xi-xv.
14. *Ibid.* p. xiii seq. ; *cf.* H. D. S., pp. 33-34.
15. SBE, Vol. XIV, pp. xxxi seq. ; *cf.* H. D. S., p. 20.
16. वनस्थस्य श्रामणकाग्नेः कुण्डमाधानविशेषं च धर्मे वक्ष्यामः ॥ वै० गृ० I, 8. *Cf.* Caland's Introduction to his English Translation of the Vaikh. G. S., p. x.

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CHAPTER II

THE GRIHYASUTRAS

1. THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE GRIHYASUTRAS

The Gṛihyasūtras, as their title suggests, deal with *gṛihya-karmāṇi*, *i.e.* the domestic ritual, in Sūtra style which is marked by utmost brevity. These Sūtras are scarcely concerned with the interpretation of the ritual and aim at a systematic description of the domestic ritual as practised in their respective schools. A brief outline of the principal contents of the Gṛihyasūtras will give an idea of the nature and scope of these treatises and will provide proper background for the discussion of various problems connected with the Sūtras. The following sketch of their subject-matter is based upon a general scheme of the arrangement of topics, adopted in the Gṛihyasūtras. It may, however, be noted that the Gṛihyasūtras are far from unanimous in arranging their subject-matter according to a strictly uniform plan. Moreover, the number and order of rites vary from Gṛihyasūtra to Gṛihyasūtra.

As almost all ceremonies prescribed in the Gṛihyasūtras are to be performed with the help of the Gṛihya fire, *i.e.* the sacred household fire, the description of the setting up of the Gṛihya fire finds an important place in the Gṛihyasūtras. Then comes the description of marriage. Being the pivot of all household ceremonies, marriage with its diverse and diffuse details occupies a good deal of space in the Gṛihyasūtras. This is followed by an account of ceremonies relating to child-birth. These ceremonies begin with the one that is performed to secure conception. The ritual that is performed a few months after conception is called '*puṁsavana*', *i.e.* the ceremony for securing the birth of a male child. And a few months after the Puṁsavana the husband should perform the ceremony known as *Sīmantonnayana* which literally means 'the parting of the (wife's) hair'. The ceremony called *Jātakarman* is performed at the birth of a child. Further, the Gṛihyasūtras describe the rites which are to be gone through on the occasion of giving a name to the newly-born child (*Nāmakaraṇa*). Next come the ceremonies of showing the moon and the sun to the child (*Chandra-Darśana* and *Āditya-Darśana*), of taking the child outside the home for the first time (*Nishkramaṇa*), and of feeding the child with solid food for the first

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time (*Anna-Prāśana*). In the third year after the child's birth the tonsure ceremony (*Chūḍākaraṇa*) is performed. The description of *Godāna*, which is the ceremony of shaving the beard of an Aryan boy for the first time, generally follows that of Chūḍākaraṇa.

Then the Gṛihyasūtras give a detailed account of the ceremony of *Upanayana* at which a boy is initiated into the study of the Veda. They describe the duties that are incumbent upon a student during his stay at the teacher's house. The Gṛihyasūtras give a graphic description of the ceremonies to be performed at the opening and closing of the annual course of Vedic studies (*Upākarman* and *Utsarga* respectively) ; of the causes occasioning the interruption of Vedic studies (*Anadhyāyas*) ; of the various vows (*Vratas*) to be observed by the student desirous of learning special sacred texts, such as the Upanishads ; and of the ceremony of *Samāvartana* symbolizing the completion of the term of studentship. When a student, after completing his education at the teacher's house, returns home, he is honoured with the Arghya which is performed on the occasion of receiving a worthy guest (*infra*, Chap. XXI). Furthermore, the Gṛihyasūtras lay down certain rules of conduct for the Snātaka or the graduate.

The Gṛihyasūtras describe a number of daily as well as periodical sacrifices, the performance of which is considered to be obligatory on an Aryan householder. The daily sacrifices known as the Pañcha-Mahāyajñas (the Five Great Sacrifices) include the Devayajña, Bhūtayajña, Pitṛiyajña, Brahmayajña and Manushyayajña. The monthly sacrifices are those which are to be performed by the husband and wife on the new-moon day and full-moon day. The annual sacrifices prescribed in the Gṛihyasūtras comprise the following main sacrifices, namely the Śravaṇā, the Indrayajña, the Āśvayujī, the Āgrahāyaṇī, the Ashṭakās, the Phālgunī, and the Chaitrī. The ceremonies connected with funeral rites and ancestor-worship (Śrāddha) are also described in the Gṛihyasūtras.

The Gṛihyasūtras contain ceremonies connected with cattle welfare, agricultural operations, and house-building. According to a ceremony contained in them, the ears of kine are to be marked with special signs. The performance of another ceremony is prescribed on the occasion of setting a stud-bull at liberty (*Vṛishotsarga*). The Gṛihyasūtras lay down that the Śūlagava sacrifice should be performed every year for the prosperity of cattle. Moreover, they prescribe that for the welfare of cattle certain Mantras should be recited when cattle are driven out to the pasture and when they are brought back to the cowstall. A ceremony is prescribed to be

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performed at the time of ploughing the field. Another ceremony relating to agriculture consists in making an offering to the agricultural deity Sītā (which literally means a furrow). The Āgrayaṇa is a sacrifice connected with agriculture ; according to this ceremony, the first fruits of the crop are to be offered to the deities. The Gṛihyasūtras give elaborate directions with regard to the choice of a plot of land for building a house and describe the rites to be performed when foundations are laid, when the house is built, and when the owner first enters the house after its completion. The householder is enjoined upon to perform certain ceremonies on the eve of his departure for a journey and again on the occasion of his returning home from a journey.

Lastly, the Gṛihyasūtras describe such ceremonies as are to be performed on the appearance of certain prodigies, *e.g.*, the entry of a dove into the house, the bursting of the central pillar of the house, and the sight of a solitary jackal. Then there are ceremonies for expiating the neglect of obligatory duties and rites. The Gṛihyasūtras describe a number of special sacrifices respecting the fulfilment of certain desires, *e.g.*, a desire for the prosperity of cattle, a desire for the achievement of glory, a desire to gain the favour of a certain individual, a desire to appease an angry person, and the desire of becoming a king.

2. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRIHYASUTRAS

The ultimate origin of the Gṛihyasūtras appears to be traceable to an oral tradition prevalent among the people of ancient times. Some striking resemblances between the marriage customs of the Indo-Aryans and other Indo-European peoples point to the conclusion that some of the customs recorded in the Gṛihyasūtras might claim as great an antiquity as the pre-historic ages when the ancestors of different Aryan peoples lived together in a common homeland. At the time of their dispersion from the common homeland the different groups of Aryan people must have naturally taken with them traditions and customs current in their original home. It can safely be assumed that, as time rolled on and as the intermingling of the Aryans with alien peoples took place, some Aryan customs underwent a change and some non-Aryan customs were incorporated into the social polity of the Aryans. In the absence of writing in ancient times the Gṛihya ritual, *i.e.* the domestic ritual described in the Gṛihyasūtras, continued to be preserved in memory only. Tradition or custom, as preserved in the memory of the people, is therefore regarded as an authority in the case of the

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Gṛihya ritual ; for the Par. G. S., describing the marriage ritual, puts forward the view that in matters of marriage and funeral rites the custom as prevalent in the village concerned is the supreme authority.[1] With reference to the Sīmantonnayana ceremony the Asv. G. S. recommends that the advice of old Brāhmaṇa women, whose husband and children are alive, should be regarded as authoritative.[2]

The Gṛihyasūtras, however, employ many Mantras borrowed from the Saṁhitās on the occasion of the performance of the Gṛihya ritual. Some of these Mantras clearly indicate the antiquity of the Gṛihya ceremonies as far back as the early Vedic age. The Ṛigvedic hymn X, 85, which contains the Mantras to be employed at the time of wedding, shows that a number of wedding rites described in the Gṛihyasūtras were prevalent among the Indo-Aryans already in the days of the Ṛigveda. Some traces of the funeral ritual set out in the Gṛihyasūtras can no doubt be found in certain hymns of the Ṛigveda, *i.e.* in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth hymns of its Tenth Maṇḍala. Regarding the position of the Gṛihya ritual in the age of the Ṛigveda, Prof. Oldenberg observes, "We may assume that the acts of the Gṛihya worship, being more limited in extent and simpler in their ritual construction than the great Soma offerings, were not yet at that time, so far as they existed at all, decked out with the reciting of the poetic texts, which we find later on connected with them, and which in the case of the Soma offering came early to be used. Probably they were celebrated in simple unadorned fashion ; what the person making the offering had to say was doubtless limited to short, possibly prose formulas, so that these ceremonies remained free from the poetry of the above-mentioned families (Vasishṭhas and Viśvāmitras etc.) of priests."[3] The same scholar further remarks : "We think that the character of the verses given in the Gṛihyasūtras, which had to be repeated at the performance of the different ceremonies, justifies us in making these conjectures. Some of these verses indeed are old Vedic verses, but we have no proof that they were composed for the purpose of the Gṛihya ceremonies, and the connection in which we find them in the Ṛigveda proves rather the contrary. Another portion of these verses and songs proves to have been composed indeed for the very Gṛihya ceremonies for which they are prescribed in the texts of the ritual : but these verses are more recent than the old parts of the Ṛigveda. Parts of them are found in the Ṛigveda in a position which speaks for their more recent origin, others are not contained in the Ṛigveda at all. Many of these verses are found in the more

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recent Vedic Saṁhitās, especially in the Atharvaveda, a Saṁhitā which may be regarded in the main as a treasure of Gṛihya verses ; others finally have not as yet been traced to any Vedic Saṁhitā, and we know them from the Gṛihyasūtras only. We may infer that, during the latter part of the Ṛigveda period, ceremonies such as marriage and burial began to be decked out with poetry as had long been the case with the Soma offering."[4]

In order to justify the view that Gṛihya ceremonies, such as marriage and burial, came to be decked out with poetry during the latter part of the Ṛigvedic period, Prof. Oldenberg advances two main arguments : firstly, that "the principal collection of marriage sentences and the sentences for the burial of the dead are found in the Tenth Maṇḍala of the Ṛigveda," and secondly that these Ṛigvedic verses relating to the Gṛihya ceremonies are composed in the Anushṭubh metre which, according to him, exhibits a stage of later metrical development.[5] But this view of Prof. Oldenberg has been refuted by Prof. Winternitz who says, "I confess I am not convinced by Prof. Oldenberg's argumentation of the comparatively late origin of the Gṛihya Mantras. It seems to me highly improbable that marriage rites and burial ceremonies should have been performed without any prayers, until they began to be 'decked out with poetry' after the analogy of the Soma sacrifice. In fact, many of the Gṛihya 'rites' consist merely in invocations addressed to popular deities, or in the recitation of magic formulas, while others are no 'rites' at all unless they are accompanied by prayers or formulas. And it has not yet been proved that the elaborate Soma sacrifice can claim a higher antiquity than the simple Gṛihya offerings (*cf.* Knauer 'Festgruss an R. Roth,' p. 64). I am rather inclined to think that the artificial poetry of the Brāhmaṇas, as represented by the hymns of the Ṛigveda, and the popular poetry connected with Atharvan practices and Gṛihya rites, as represented by the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā, and the Gṛihya Mantras, are two parallel streams running in different channels, approaching each other at times, and diverging widely at other times. The peculiarities of the Anushṭubh pointed out by Prof. Oldenberg may just as well be due to the fact that these Mantras were popular poetry, and as such followed different rules of metrics from those followed by the authors of the Vedic hymns. Besides, a glance at our Mantrapāṭha will show that metrical laws are disregarded in these Gṛihya Mantras quite as much as the rules of grammar. *See, e.g.*, MP. I, 1, 9 ; II, 16 ; 1, 1, 3, etc....I doubt whether, with such a state of things, it would be safe to draw any conclusions as to chronology from the

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metrical usage of the Gṛihya Mantras. *See* Bloomfield, SBE Vol. XLII, p. 296."[6]

Even if we accept Prof. Oldenberg's view that the Ṛigvedic verses to be employed at the Gṛihya rites, such as marriage and burial, are later than the older parts of the Ṛigveda, it does not necessarily imply that no Mantras of similar nature were composed in earlier times and that prior to the composition of these Mantras the Gṛihya ceremonies were not accompanied by the recitation of any verses. It is not improbable that the verses which were then recited on the occasion of performing the Gṛihya rites were so common and popular that it was not felt necessary to include them in the Saṁhitā of the Ṛigveda, a collection of rare and uncommon hymns ; a few of the best hymns dealing with marriage and funeral rites were included in the Tenth Maṇḍala which, in view of its contents, might be termed as a bundle of miscellanies. Anyway, the verses of the Ṛigveda, pertaining to the marriage and funeral rites, tell us something about the way how these ceremonies were performed in those days.

The Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda make sporadic refernces to the technical terms used in the Gṛihyasūtras, such as *Pāka-yajña*.[7] Nevertheless, the Yajurveda yields very meagre information regarding the development of Gṛihya ritual at the time of its composition. The reason is not far to seek. Being mainly devoted to the ritual of great sacrifices known as 'Śrauta Yajñas', the Yajurveda has little scope for the mention of domestic rituals called Gṛihya-karmāṇi.

Among the Vedic Saṁhitās it is, in fact, the Atharvaveda that gives us most copious information about the Gṛihya ritual. A very large number of verses prescribed by the Gṛihyasūtras on the occasion of performing the various Gṛihya rites are found in the Atharvaveda. As a matter of fact, this Veda is a veritable treasure of Gṛihya verses. Some of the most important Gṛihya ceremonies, the Mantras for which are contained in the Atharvaveda, include the following : marriage, Chaturthīkarman, Puṁsavana, Jātakarman, Upanayana, Godāna, funeral rites, Ashṭakā, and rites at the time of house-building ; a fuller list of such ceremonies is given below in the Notes.[8] Considering the prominence of Atharvanic verses in the Gṛihyasūtras, Prof. Bloomfield says, "For the subject-matter of these texts (*i.e.* the Gṛihyasūtras) is itself, broadly speaking, Atharvanic, besides being dashed strongly with many elements of Vidhāna or sorcery-practice, *i.e.* Atharvanic features in the narrower sense and by distinction."[9] To ascertain the

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precise relationship between the Atharvaveda and the Gṛihyasūtras may be the subject of a further research which is, of course, beyond the scope of the present work. Nevertheless, it will not be irrelevant to point out here that the greater part of the Atharvaveda consists of verses and formulas to be employed at the performance of popular rites including a large number of Gṛihya rites. It can hardly be gainsaid that the hymns of the Atharvaveda exhibit a fairly developed stage of the Gṛihya ritual.

The Brāhmaṇa texts mention a number of rites and sacrifices found in the Gṛihyasūtras. The word *Pākayajña*, a technical term used by the Gṛihyasūtras to designate the Gṛihya sacrifices in distinction from the Śrauta sacrifices, has been used by the Brāhmaṇa texts in the same technical sense.[10] The Ait. Br. speaks of the Gṛihya Agni and describes a ceremony to be performed with this fire, using such expressions as mostly agree in point of style with those of the Gṛihyasūtras.[11] The Āgrayaṇa ceremony that finds description in the Gṛihyasūtras is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas.[12] The Śat. Br. describes the Pañcha Mahāyajñas, Upanayana, and a number of other Gṛihya ceremonies, such as Garbhādhāna, Soshyantīkarman, Āyushyakarman, Medhājanana, and Nāmakaraṇa.[13]

The description of certain Gṛihya rites in the Brāhmaṇas has been differently interpreted by different scholars. Prof. Oldenberg, using it as an argument to support his thesis 'that there have been no expositions of the Gṛihya ritual in Brāhmaṇa form', says, "Precisely this sporadic appearance of Gṛihya chapters in the midst of expositions of totally different contents leads us to draw the conclusion that literary compositions did not then exist, in which these chapters would have occupied their proper place as integral parts of a whole."[14] Summing up his main arguments against the existence of Gṛihya Brāhmaṇas, Prof. Oldenberg observes, "While therefore on the one hand the Brāhmaṇa texts prove the existence of the Gṛihya ceremonial, we see on the other hand, and first of all by means of the Brāhmaṇa texts themselves, that a literary treatment of this ritualistic subject-matter, as we find it in the Brāhmaṇas themselves with regard to the Śrauta offerings, cannot then have existed. If there had existed texts, similar to the Brāhmaṇa texts preserved to us, which treated of the Gṛihya ritual, then, even supposing the texts themselves had disappeared, we should still necessarily find traces of them in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. He who will take the trouble to collect in the Brāhmaṇa texts the scattered references to the then existing literature, will be astonished

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at the great mass of notices of this kind that are preserved : but nowhere do we find traces of Gṛihya Brāhmaṇas. And besides, if such works had ever existed, we should be at a loss to understand the difference which the Hindus make between the Śrauta-sūtras based on Śruti (revelation), and the Gṛihya-sūtras resting on Smṛiti (tradition) alone. The sacred Gṛihya acts are regarded as 'smārta', and when the question is raised with what right they can be considered as a duty resting on the sacrificer alongside of the Śrauta acts, the answer is given that they too are based on a Śākhā of the Veda, but that this Śākhā is hidden, so that its existence can only be demonstrated by reasoning."[15]

On the other hand, Prof. Hillebrandt, who assumes the existence of the Gṛihya Brāhmaṇas and construes the appearance of the Gṛihya ritual in the Śat. Br. as representing the principal standpoint of the editor, remarks as follows : "Diese theologische Erörterung ist dort nicht am rechten Platze und scheint ein Einschub, aus dem aber doch folgt, dass die Theologen auch Gegenständen des Gṛihyarituals ihre Aufmerksamkeit zuwandten und es vielleicht nur einem principiellen Standpunkt der Redakteure zuzuschreiben ist, wenn solche Auseinandersetzungen nicht zu einem Gṛihya-brāhmaṇa vereinigt wurden."[16] Being inclined to regard the passage of a Brāhmaṇa quoted in the Āśv. G.S. as a fragment of a Gṛihya Brāhmaṇa, the same scholar further observes, "Den Āśv. G.S.I, 1,4 angeführten Worten eines Brāhmaṇa, die auch die einfachste Opfergabe für verdienstlich erklären, und mit Śat. Br. 11,5,6,2 ; Śāṅkh. G.S. II,17 zusammenzustellen sind, könnte man ebenfalls den Charakter eines Stücks Gṛihyabrāhmaṇa zuschreiben."[17] He has elsewhere opined that sacrificial manuals, somewhat similar to the later Prayogas, must have existed as early as the time of the composition of the Brāhmaṇas.[18] A similar opinion on this point has been expressed by Dr. Haug who remarks, "The Sūtras (*i.e.* Kalpa Sūtras) which we possess at present are, no doubt, posterior to the Brāhmaṇas to which they belong ; but there is every reason to believe that there were Sūtras more ancient and simple in their style, which served the authors of the present ones as sources of information, and those works may have been coeval with the majority of our Brāhmaṇas."[19]

Though we find no mention of the word 'Gṛihya Brāhmaṇa' in the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras, the Gṛihyasūtras often refer to the views of the Brāhmaṇa texts on many a Gṛihya ritual.[20] The Gobh. G. S. mentions the Rauruki-Brāhmaṇa by name.[21] Similarly the Bhar. G. S. mentions the Śāṭyāyani-Brāhmaṇa.[22] The

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Baudh. G. S. refers to a work entitled 'Śāṭyāyanakam'; perhaps it is not different from the Śāṭyāyani-Brāhmaṇa mentioned in the Bhar. G.S.[23] This fact clearly shows that there existed some Brāhmaṇa texts which discussed the matters pertaining to the realm of the Gṛihya ritual, and which were regarded as authoritative by the authors of the Gṛihyasūtras. Besides, the Gṛihyasūtras mention the views of a number of authorities on the Gṛihya ritual. The Baudh. G.S., for instance, speaks of Ātreya, Āṅgirasa, Ātharvaṇa, Śāliki, Bādari, Kāśakṛitsna, Aupamanyava, and Bodhāyana.[24] The Bhar. G.S. refers to the views of Āśmarthya, Ālekhana, Dhaumya, Asita Turaṅga, and Kāvya Dālbhya.[25] The Hir. G.S. mentions Ātreya, Bādarāyaṇa and Pushkarasādi.[26] The Sankh. G.S. mentions Māṇḍūkeya and Kaushītaki.[27] The views of Śaunaka and Śāṁvatya are referred to by the Asv. G.S.[28] The Kauśika Sūtra mentions Gārgya, Pārthaśravasa, Bhāgali, Kāṅkāyana, Uparibabhrava, Kauśika, Jāṭikāyana, Kaurupathi, Ishuphāli, and Māṭhara.[29] The Kaṭh. G.S. quotes the opinion of Chyavana Bhṛigu.[30] The Gobh. G.S. mentions the names of Mānatantavya, Kautsa,' Audgāhamāni, Gautama, Vārkakhaṇḍi, and Kauhalīyas.[31] Audgāhamāni and Āruṇi Gautama are spoken of by the Jaim. G.S.[32]

It is perfectly clear from the foregoing enumeration of the authorities on the Gṛihya ritual that the topics treated of in the Gṛihyasūtras had already undergone a great deal of discussion before our present Gṛihyasūtras came to be composed. It is rather difficult to determine the form which the discussion on the Gṛihya ritual adopted in those days. It is likely that the style of composition adopted by the precursors of the Gṛihyasūtra-writers was diffuse and verbose, as is indicated by the style of their passages quoted in the Gṛihyasūtras.[33]

Our own view on the whole question of the Gṛihyasūtras is that their ritual had proceeded from simple to complex and their language from discursive to a laconic form. This process of change in the style of composition was natural, for as the ritual grew more complex it required a diffuse style of writing to be substituted by the mnemonic Sūtras for the practical purposes of administering the ritual in an orderly manner.

3. THE INDIVIDUAL GRIHYASUTRAS

As it is outside the scope of the present work to supply detailed information about all the Gṛihyasūtras published or unpublished, only important and interesting facts concerning the individual Gṛihyasūtras have been brought together in this Chapter. The

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relationship existing between different Gṛihyasūtras has also been discussed in this Chapter. On the basis of this relationship we shall be able to express our opinion on the chronological order of these works.

The Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the Ṛigveda

The published Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the Ṛigveda are as follows :

(1) The Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihyasūtra,
(2) The Kaushītaka Gṛihyasūtra, and
(3) The Āśvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra.

The Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihyasūtra : The Sankh. G. S. consists of six Adhyāyas at present. The fifth and sixth Adhyāyas of this Gṛihya seem to be later additions ; for Nārāyaṇa, the well-known commentator of the Sankh. G.S., designates the fifth Adhyāya as a Pariśishṭa (appendix). In the beginning of the commentary on the fifth Adhyāya the same commentator says, "Now is begun the fifth Adhyāya known as an appendix."[34] Again at the end of the fifth Adhyāya he remarks in the colophon : "Here is finished the fifth Adhyāya forming an appendix."[35] Further, in the Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛihya Saṅgraha of Vāsudeva we find no reference to the fifth and sixth Adhyāyas of the Sankh. G.S. Vāsudeva ends his explanations with the fourth Adhyāya. The Kaushītaka Gṛihya which is very closely allied to the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya omits the fifth and sixth Adhyāyas of the latter. All this goes to prove that the fifth and sixth Adhyāyas of the Sankh. G.S. are later additions. The twenty-sixth Khaṇḍa of the first Adhyāya of the Sankh. G.S. appears to be an interpolation ; for the whole of this Khaṇḍa is not found in the Kaushītaka Gṛihya and is expressly designated as Kshepaka Khaṇḍa (interpolated chapter) by Nārāyaṇa, the well-known commentator of the Sankh. G.S.[36]

As for the authorship of the Sankh. G.S., Prof. Oldenberg puts forward the view that its reputed author whom we generally call by his family name Śāṅkhāyana, had the proper name Suyajña.[37] In support of his view Prof. Oldenberg cites the list of Vedic teachers given in the Sankh. G.S., the Asv. G.S., and the Śāmbavya G. S. where they describe the Tarpaṇa ceremony.[38] Further, the same scholar mentions in this connection a *kārikā* given by Nārāyāṇa in his commentary on the Sankh. G. S. I, 1, 10.[39] In his paper published in the Proceedings and Transactions of the IX Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum, Dr. T. R. Chintamani has also expressed the view that the Sankh. G. S. was composed by Suyajña Śāṅkhāyana.[40]

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The Sankh. G.S. belongs to the Śāṅkhāyana Śākhā of the Ṛigveda and is based, according to Prof. Oldenberg, on the Bāshkala recension of this Veda.[41]

The Kaushītaka Gṛihyasūtra : The Kaushītaka Gṛihyasūtra belonging to the Kaushītaki Śākhā of the Ṛigveda has been edited by Dr. T.R. Chintamani who has shown in his above-mentioned paper that this Gṛihya was composed by Śāmbavya. After the name of its author the same work has been called the 'Śāmbavya Gṛihya' by Professors Oldenberg and Hillebrandt.[42] The Kaushītaka G. S. consisting of five Adhyāyas is very closely allied to the Sankh. G. S. For the greater part the former follows the latter word for word. But the fifth and sixth Adhyāyas of the Sankh. G. S., as we have already pointed out, are not found in the Kaush. G. S. The fifth Adhyāya of the Kaush. G. S., which deals with funeral rites, is not found in the Sankh. G. S., but seems to be based on the Sankh. S. S. IV, 14-16. The Karṇavedha ceremony described in the Kaush. G. S. I, 20, is peculiar to this Gṛihya. In his introduction to the Kaushītaka Gṛihyasūtra Dr. T.R. Chintamani has examined in detail the textual affinities and differences between the Kaushītaka Gṛihya and the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya.[43]

The Kaushītaki Gṛihya edited by Ratna Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in the Benares Sanskrit Series scarcely differs from the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya.

The Āśvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra : The Āśvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra belonging to the Āśvalāyana Śākhā of the Ṛigveda consists of four Adhyāyas. Āśvalāyana is said to be the author of this Gṛihya. According to a tradition mentioned by Shaḍguruśishya, Āśvalāyana was a student of Śaunaka who composed among other works the first Kalpa Sūtra ; but when Āśvalāyana composed a Sūtra and announced it to Śaunaka, the latter destroyed his own Sūtra and proclaimed that Āśvalāyana's Sūtra should be adopted by the students of that Vedic Śākhā.[44]

At the conclusion of the Asv. G. S., we find the words : 'Namaḥ Śaunakāya' (adoration to Śaunaka), and the view of Śaunaka is cited in a Śloka quoted in the same Gṛihya.[45] Besides, the views of Śaunaka are mentioned in the Asv S.S. as well.[46] This proves one thing beyond doubt that the opinion of Śaunaka was highly valued by the author of the Āśvalāyana Sūtras ; and consequently it lends some support to the traditional view which regards Āśvalāyana as a student of Śaunaka.

The Unpublished Gṛihyasūtras of the Ṛigveda

The Śaunaka Gṛihyasūtra : A Śaunaka Gṛihya is often referred

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to in various works of Sanskrit literature. Prof. Caland believes that the Śaunaka Gṛihyasūtra, which is repeatedly mentioned, seems to have been still present before Hemādri who quotes 'Śaunakāśvalāyanau.'[47] Dr. T. R. Chintamani also refers to the fragments of a Śaunaka Gṛihyasūtra.[48] According to Burnell, quotations from Śaunaka are found in Shaḍguruśishya's Abhyudayapradā.[49] Bhavatrāta in the beginning of his commentary on the Kaushītaka Gṛihya quotes Śaunaka's words : "The (rites) based on the spreading of (the three sacred fires) have been declared. We shall declare the Gṛihya rites" ; and these words are exactly identical with the opening Sūtra of the Asv. G. S.[50] In connection with the Śaunaka Smṛiti Prof. Bühler states that its scope is wider than that of a Gṛihyasūtra and that some of its rites resemble those of the Asv. G. S.[51] It is likely that the Śaunaka Smṛiti is based on the Śaunaka Gṛihyasūtra.

The Bhāravīya Gṛihya : Bhavatrāta, the commentator of the Kaush. G. S., refers to a Bhāravīya Gṛihya.[52]

The Śākalya Gṛihya : Shaḍguruśishya in the introduction to his commentary on the Sarvānukramaṇī speaks of a Śākalya Gṛihya.

The Paiṅgi Gṛihyasūtra : The Saṁskāra Ratnamālā of Gopīnātha refers to a Paiṅgi Gṛihya.[53] In the description of the Tarpaṇa ceremony the Asv. G. S., the Sankh. G. S., and the Kaush. G. S. make the mention of Paiṅgya as a teacher.[54] The Kāśikā Vṛitti on Pāṇini IV, 3, 105, mentions Paiṅgin as a representative of the old Kalpas.[55]

The Pārāśara Gṛihyasūtra : Rai Bahadur Hira Lal has noticed the manuscript of a Pārāśara Gṛihya.[56] With regard to this Gṛihya Dr. Chintamani advances the conjecture that the Pārāśara Gṛihya noticed by Hira Lal probably belongs to the followers of the Pārāśara Śākhā of the Ṛigveda.[57] Pt. Bhagavaddatta suggests the possibility of the former existence of a *Bahvṛicha Gṛihya* and an *Aitareya Gṛihya*.[58]

The Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the Sāmaveda

The following published Gṛihyasūtras belong to the Sāmaveda :

(1) The Gobhila Gṛihyasūtra,
(2) The Khādira Gṛihyasūtra, and
(3) The Jaimini Gṛihyasūtra.

The Gobhila Gṛihyasūtra : The essential feature of the Gobh. G. S. consists in that it presupposes, besides the Saṁhitā of the Sāmaveda, another collection of Mantras known as the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa. All the Mantras contained in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa

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are those to be used at the performance of various Gṛihya rites. The Gobh. G. S. simply describes the acts of the Gṛihya rites and quotes only the initial words of the Mantras which should accompany the Gṛihya acts and which are found in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa. But the Mantras which are not found in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa are quoted by the Gobh. G. S. in full.

Now we turn to the relationship between the M. Br. and the Gobh. G. S. Prof. Knauer holds the view that the M. Br. preceded the Gobh. G. S. and that the latter was worked out on the basis of the former.[59] He, therefore, makes the following remarks : "Als thatsache gilt mir, dass das Mbr. dem G. voraufgegangen und in letzteres in extenso aufgenommen worden, so dass G. im grunde weiter nichts ist als eine systematische verarbeitung des Mbr."[60] Further, Prof. Knauer goes to the extent of suggesting that Gobhila had a written copy of the M. Br. before him.[61]

But an entirely different view has been put forward by Prof. Oldenberg who says that the two works—the M. Br. and the Gobh. G. S.—were composed simultaneously and on a common plan.[62] The fact that certain Mantras occurring in the Gobh. G. S. have been omitted in the M. Br. forms the chief plank of his argument. The distinguished scholar makes the following statement in this connection : "Gobhila gave the full wording of the shorter Mantras with which the description of the ceremony could be interwoven without becoming obscure or disproportionate ; the longer Mantras would have interrupted, rather tediously and inconveniently, the coherency of his ritual statements ; so he separated them from the rest of his work and made a short Saṁhitā of them."[63] But exceptions to this supposed rule which Prof. Oldenberg seeks to father upon Gobhila are, in fact, so numerous that they appear to militate against Prof. Oldenberg's assumption ; and the plea advanced by him that 'allowance must be made for a certain inconsistency or carelessness in the distribution of material between the two texts' does not sound convincing in this case ;[64] for, as many as thirty-three short Mantras, out of which twenty-eight are given *in extenso* in the Gobh. G. S. and only five in an abridged form, occur in the M. Br.[65] On this point Prof. Winternitz observes, "If Prof. Oldenberg were right in assuming that the authors of the Gṛihyasūtras were also the compilers of the Mantra-collections, surely Gobhila as well as Āpastamba, would have included such short questions and answers as 'Ko Nāmāsi', 'Asau Nāmāsmi' etc. not in the collection of Mantras, but in their Gṛihyasūtras. Yet we find them both in the M. Br. (I, 6, 17) and in our Mantrapāṭha (II, 3, 27-30)."[66]

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"Numerous short Mantras," he further points out, "occur in the Mantrapāṭha, and the Mantras occurring in the Gṛihyasūtra are by no means all short."[67]

In the light of these facts it seems quite reasonable to hold that the M. Br. preceded the Gobh. G. S. and that the latter was worked out on the basis of the former. The Kh. G. S. which, as we shall presently see, is nothing but an abridgement of the Gobh. G. S., also admits the fact that the arrangement of rites in the Gṛihyasūtra is based on the arrangement of Mantras in 'the collection of Mantras'. So it says, "Of these two acts—the taking of a wife and the taking of the bath signifying the end of studentship—the taking of the bath comes first. However, in keeping with the order of the Mantras (in the collection of Mantras) marriage is here explained before the bath."[68] In another place also the Kh. G. S. makes a reference to the collection of Mantras.[69] Prof. Knauer who thinks that the Gobh. G. S. III, 4, 13 and the Kh. G. S. III, 1, 9 (referred to above) make a reference to the M. Br. says, "Einen ganz directen hinweis auf das Mbr. sehe ich G. 3, 4, 13, wo mantravarṇaḥ im grunde nichts anderes ist als=mantrabrāhmaṇa, dessen zweites glied auch durch andere worte vertreten werden kann, wie solches sich bei unseren comm. beobachten lässt; so konnte denn auch Khād. 3, 1, 9 (*cf.* 1, 3, 4) dafür mantrābhivāda setzen, und wenn hier das wort im abl. steht im sūtra, das da lautet: svayaṁ vā mantrābhivādāt, so mag man das als weiteren fingerzeig für die directe verweisung auf Mbr. 1, 7, 1-2 hinnehmen."[70]

From the foregoing discussion it appears quite probable that the M. Br. had already been compiled before the composition of the Gobh. G. S.

There is hardly any reason to doubt the native tradition which ascribes the authorship of the Gobh. G. S. to Gobhila who was by all means a follower—and perhaps a teacher—of the Sāmaveda.[71]

The Khādira Gṛihyasūtra: The Kh. G. S. belonging to the Drāhyāyaṇa school of the Sāmaveda is entirely based upon the Gobh. G. S., the instructions of the latter having been remarkably abridged in the former. Prof. Oldenberg has, therefore, aptly remarked, "Upon the whole, though certainly the Khādira Gṛihya does not contain much matter which is not known to us from other sources, it notwithstanding possesses a certain interest, since it shows by a very clever example how a Sūtrakāra of the later time would remodel the work of a more ancient author, trying to surpass him by a more correct arrangement, and especially by what became more and more appreciated as the chief accomplishment of Sūtra composition,

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the greatest possible succinctness and economising of words."[72] The authorship of the Kh. G.S. is ascribed to Khādirāchārya.

Drāhyāyaṇa Gṛihyasūtra Vṛitti : The Drāhyāyaṇa Gṛihyasūtra Vṛitti published in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series agrees almost word for word with the Khādira Gṛihyasūtra which has been published in the Oriental Library Series of the Mysore Government, together with the commentary of Rudra Skanda. The Drāhyāyaṇa Gṛihyasūtra published by Thakur Udaya Narayana Singh of Muzaffarpur together with Rudra Skanda's commentary is not at all different from the Khādira Gṛihyasūtra of Mysore edition, its translation in Hindi being the only point of difference.

The Jaimini Gṛihyasūtra : The Jaim. G.S. published in the Punjab Sanskrit Series belongs to the Jaiminīya Śākhā of the Sāmaveda, which has been mentioned in the Charaṇavyūha.[73] This Gṛihya is divided into two halves—Pūrvam (first half) and Uttaram (second half) ; the first half is subdivided into twenty-four khaṇḍas and the second one into nine. The Jaim. G.S. presupposes the Jaiminīya Saṁhitā and indicates the Mantras of this Saṁhitā, which have been employed in this Gṛihya, by their Pratīka (initial words).[74] Dr. Caland, the editor of this Gṛihya, has shown that in point of language the Jaim. G.S. harmonizes with the tradition of the Jaiminīyas.[75]

The Kauthuma Gṛihya : A 'Kauthuma Gṛihya' has been recently published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It would be quite erroneous to give the title of Gṛihyasūtra to this book. In my humble opinion, the text that has appeared under the title of 'Kauthuma Gṛihya' is nothing but a mutilated fragment of some late Paddhati. The text of the so-called Kauthuma Gṛihya is hopelessly corrupt.

The Unpublished Gṛihyasūtras of the Sāmaveda

The Gautama Gṛihyasūtra : The Gṛihya-ratna edited at Mysore in 1881 cites a Gautama Gṛihyasūtra, but all the passages attributed to this Gṛihya are found in the Kh. G.S.

The Chhāndogya Gṛihyasūtra : On the authority of a quotation in the Gobhila Śrāddha Kalpa and in Hemādri's work Prof. Caland mentions a Chhāndogya Gṛihyasūtra and believes that it is different from the Kh. G.S.[76] Ashṭāvakra, the commentator of the Man. G.S., quotes the words of the Chhāndogya Gṛihya.[77] Chintāmaṇi Bhaṭṭāchārya who has edited with his own notes the Gobh. G.S. with Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa's commentary frequently quotes from a Chhandoga Gṛihya Sūtra.[78] Besides, the Saṁskāra-ratnamālā

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quotes passages from the Chhāndogya Gṛihya, but all these passages are identical with those contained in the Gobh. G.S.[79]

The Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the Śukla Yajurveda

The Pāraskara Gṛihyasūtra : Among the Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the Śukla Yajurveda the Pāraskara Gṛihyasūtra is now available in print. It is also known as the Kātīya Gṛihyasūtra. In the beginning as well as at the end of his commentary Jayarāma uses the expression 'Kātīya Gṛihyasūtra' for the Par. G.S. The 'Vājasaneya Gṛihyasūtra' is said to be still another name of the same Gṛihya.[80] The sayings and verses which are quoted in the Par. G.S. by initial words belong to the Mādhyaṁdina Śākhā of the Śukla Yajurveda.[81] According to native tradition, Pāraskara is regarded as the author of this Gṛihya.

The Baijavāpa Gṛihyasūtra : From Hemādri's work Dr. Caland has taken notice of a Baijavāpa Gṛihyasūtra belonging to the Śukla Yajurveda.[82] Ashṭāvakra, the commentator of the Man. G.S., quotes passages from the Baijavāpa Gṛihyasūtra.[83] The Vārāha Gṛihyasūtra Paddhati of Gaṅgādhara also cites the Baijavāpa Gṛihya.[84] In his paper read at the Oriental Conference, Allahabad, Pandit Bhagavaddatta gives important information regarding the Baijavāpa Gṛihya.[85]

The Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the Kṛishṇa Yajurveda

To the Kṛishṇa Yajurveda belong the following Gṛihyasūtras which have been published :

(1) The Baudhāyana Gṛihyasūtra,
(2) The Bhāradvāja Gṛihyasūtra,
(3) The Āpastambīya Gṛihyasūtra,
(4) The Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛihyasūtra,
(5) The Vaikhānasa Gṛihyasūtra,
(6) The Āgniveśya Gṛihyasūtra,
(7) The Mānava Gṛihyasūtra,
(8) The Kāṭhaka Gṛihyasūtra, and
(9) The Vārāha Gṛihyasūtra.

The Baudhāyana Gṛihyasūtra : The Baudh. G.S. forms part of the Baudhāyana Kalpa which is regarded to be the oldest of all the extant Kalpas belonging to the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Kṛishṇa Yajurveda. The reputed author of this Gṛihya, as its name indicates, is Baudhāyana. The Baudhāyana Gṛihyasūtra was published in the Mysore Government Oriental Library Series in 1920 under the title of 'Bodhāyana Gṛihyasūtra' along with Paribhāshā, Gṛihyaśesha,

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and Pitṛimedha Sūtras. It consists of four Praśnas. But in some MSS. the number of Praśnas is ten. This Gṛihya seems to have been subjected to many additions and alterations. A fully authentic edition of the Baudhāyana Gṛihyasūtra is still a desideratum.

The Bhāradvāja Gṛihyasūtra : The Bhāradvāja Gṛihyasūtra forms part of the Bhāradvāja Kalpa which belongs to a subdivision of the Taittirīyas. The Bhar. G.S. consisting of three Praśnas has been edited by Dr. Salomons of Leyden. As regards the special features of the Bhar. G.S. Dr. Salomons remarks, "The contents of our Sūtra are rather extensive. The succession of the different subjects is not very logical ; I cannot find any system in it."[86]

A passage in the Bhar. G.S. lays down the qualifications of a bride and lays special stress on her intelligence.[87] Questioning the genuineness of this passage Dr. Salomons observes, "The first part of the wedding ritual (p. 10 ; 1.16) looks very modern. The third-mentioned factor, which renders a girl desirable as a wife is intellect. For, as the author says, 'How would it be possible to live together with a person without intellect ?'. In my opinion this must be a later transformation of the original. The startling Prajñā must have taken the place of the Prajā, the idea which we are inclined to expect here. When, after the replacing of Prajñā by Prajā (p. 10, 1.16; p. 11, 1.1), we cancel the modern-looking rhetorical interrogation and 'athaitad aparam' (p. 11, 1.2), or, perhaps better still, when we cancel the whole passage from 'prajñāyām na khalv' (p. 1, 1.1-2), and read, instead of it, 'tato bāndhavam,' the original meaning of the Sūtra appears logical and clear. How otherwise can we explain in the present state of the text the transition to : 'For she is not married in view of worldly advantages ; the fitness to bear children is in her the main point' "?[88]

But we fail to understand why the quality of Prajñā for a bride, as recommended by this Gṛihya, is regarded by Dr. Salomons as a later interpolation ; for, according to several other Gṛihyas also, Prajñā constitutes an indispensable quality of the girl to be chosen as a bride.[89] The reasoning, therefore, for the replacing of Prajñā by Prajā is not very sound. With the words 'Athaitad aparam' (and this is another) the author of the Gṛihya puts forward another argument to attach greater importance to the innate qualities of the bride, such as intellect, in comparison with her external qualifications, such as family. This is why the Sūtrakāra says, "For she is not married in view of worldly advantages ; the fitness to bear children is in her the main point."

I again disagree with Dr. Salomons when she ascribes the

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character of 'a later addition' to another passage of the Bhar. G.S., which reads as follows : "Truly there are many marks. But those who can judge of marks quote a Śloka : 'Whomsoever his heart takes a delight in and whomsoever his eye dwells on, her he will consider provided with good marks. What will he do with the knowledge of marks ?' "[90] With regard to this passage Dr. Salomons remarks, "Can this ironical passage be said to agree with the serious task of a religious Sūtrakāra ? In my opinion it must be a later addition from a light-hearted copyist."[91]

If the Sūtrakāra recommends the choice of a bride who delights the heart of the groom, it cannot be considered as a sacrilege of the holy sacrament. When the Sūtrakāra is discussing various aspects of the choice of a bride, he cannot ignore this important quality of a girl. Further, the Ap. G.S. also refers to a similar view which is as follows : "A wife, who is pleasing to his mind and eyes, will bring happiness to him ; let him attach no importance to other considerations : such is the opinion of some."[92] Therefore, Dr. Salomons's view that "it must be a later addition from a light-hearted copyist" is untenable.

The Āpastambīya Gṛihyasūtra : The Ap. G.S. forms the XXVII Praśna of the Āpastamba Kalpa which comprises thirty Praśnas in all. Like the Gobh. G.S., the Ap. G.S. presupposes a collection of Mantras known as Mantrapāṭha. The Ap. G.S. refers to the Mantras of the Mantrapāṭha by such phrases as Uttarayā or Uttareṇa or Uttareṇa Yajushā. The Mantrapāṭha forms the XXV and XXVI Praśnas of the Āpastambīya Kalpa. The relationship between the Mantrapāṭha and the Ap. G.S. is quite analogous to that between the M. Br. and the Gobh. G.S.[93] The style of the Ap. G.S. is remarkably terse and laconic.

The Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛihyasūtra : The Hir. G.S., which is also known as the Satyāshāḍha Gṛihyasūtra, forms the XIX and XX Praśnas of the Hiraṇyakeśi Kalpa. Satyāshāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin is considered to be the author of this Kalpa. The Mantras to be recited at the performace of Gṛihya ceremonies are given in full by this Gṛihya. The style adopted in the Hir. G.S. is, broadly speaking, diffuse and not so terse as that of the Ap. G.S. In a few cases this Gṛihya does not conform to the rules of grammar laid down by Pāṇini.[94] The twenty-sixth Khaṇḍa of the first Praśna of the Hir. G.S. appears to be a later addition, for it has not been taken notice of by Mātṛidatta, the eminent commentator of the Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛihya. Besides, this Khaṇḍa is not included in some MSS. of the Hir. G.S.[95] The genuineness of the last three Khaṇḍas of its second

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Praśna is questioned by Dr. Kirste who says, "Possibly the three last Khaṇḍas of the second Praśna may also be later additions, for the commentator says at the end of Chapter II, 17, "samāptāni cha Gṛihyakarmāṇi."[96] But this remark is not found in Mātṛidatta's commentary on the Hir. G. S. published (with the Śrautasūtra) in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series. In order to prove these three Khaṇḍas as later addition, Prof. Oldenberg observes, "It may be observed in connection with this, that in the Āpastambīya Gṛihya, which throughout is so closely related to our text, the ceremonies of the Upākaraṇa and Utsarjana, of which these three chapters treat, are not described."[97] But Prof. Oldenberg has perhaps not noticed that the ceremonies treated of in these three Khaṇḍas are described with very similar details in the Bhar. G. S. which is related to the Hir. G. S. more closely than the Ap. G. S.[98] This relationship between these Gṛihyas has been discussed below. Further, the Ap. G. S. also prescribes the performance of the ceremonies described in the three Khaṇḍas in question, though it does not give their details.[99] Mātṛidatta's commentary on these three Khaṇḍas is also available. I am, therefore, of the view that these three Khaṇḍas of the Hir. G. S. are not later additions.

The Vaikhānasa Gṛihyasūtra. The Vaikh. G. S. belongs to the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Kṛishṇa Yajurveda. Like the Gobh. G. S., it presupposes a collection of Mantras ; and the Mantras belonging to this collection are indicated in the Vaikh. G. S. by their Pratīka, *i.e.* by their opening words only. This collection of Mantras is known as the Mantrasaṁhitā Vaikhānasīyā. As for the relation of time between the Vaikh. G. S. and the Mantrasaṁhitā Vaikhānasīyā, Prof. Caland says, "Whilst scholars are at variance about the question whether, for instance, the Sūtra of Gobhila presupposes the existence of the Mantrabrāhmaṇa or, on the other hand, the Mantrabrāhmaṇa is of later date than Gobhila (*see* Oldenberg in SBE. XXX, p. 4 sqq., and Knauer in "Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth" p. 61 sqq.), I at any rate, have not the slightest doubt that the Mantra-Saṁhitā of the Vaikhānasīyas was composed either later than the Gṛihya text or, at least, at the same time. The facts which seem to prove this theory are to be found in note 4 on V. 4, note 25 on II. 6, and note 5 on III. 5. On the other hand, it is not quite certain that our Sūtra presupposes the Saṁhitā, and Brāhmaṇa, and Āraṇyaka of the Taittirīyas, in the recension in which these texts are known to us nowadays ; a few times the Yajus-Saṁhitā is mentioned (*see* note 8 on VI.8 and note 5 on II. 11, but *cf.* note 6 on II.10)."[100] Prof. Caland has further shown that the Vaikh. G. S.

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is the most recent of all the Sūtras belonging to the Taittirīya Śākhā and that its style of composition in some passages is rather clumsy and betrays the influence of Tamil-style of composition.[101]

The Āgniveśya Gṛihyasūtra : The Āgniveśya Gṛihyasūtra is ascribed to a Vedic teacher named Agniveśa who is said to have founded the Āgniveśya school forming a subdivision of the Vādhūla school of the Taittirīyas. Judged from the point of view of matter, style and language, this Gṛihya is far removed from the other Gṛihyas. Its style is diffuse and discursive and is marked with a stamp of recentness. Some of the topics treated of in the Agni. G. S. are absolutely foreign to the tenor of the other Gṛihyasūtras and bear the stamp of later religious ideas. We may, for example, mention Nārāyaṇat-Bali, Yati-Saṁskāra, Saṁnyāsat-Vidhi, Vānaprastha-Vidhi, Ravī-Kalpa, and Vāyasa-Bali. It lacks originality, as we shall see below in Chapter IV.

The Mānava Gṛihyasūtra : The Mānava Gṛihyasūtra is known as the Maitrāyaṇīya Mānava Gṛihyasūtra also, and the commentator Ashṭāvakra designates it as Pūraṇa (*infra* note 103). The Man. G. S. is generally dependent upon the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā, and the Mantras quoted by Pratīka in this Gṛihya are mostly from this *Saṁhitā*. The Charaṇavyūha mentions Mānavas as one of the six subdivisions of the Maitrāyaṇīyas, and the commentator Mahidāsa opines that a Maitrāyaṇīya studies the Vājasaneya Veda and follows the Mānava Kalpasūtra.[102] According to Ashṭāvakra, the commentator of the Man. G. S., this Gṛihya was composed by Mānavāchārya.[103] However, it cannot be decided with certainty whether Mānavāchārya was the actual author of this work or the Gṛihya Sūtra derives its name from the school founded by Mānavāchārya. Our Sūtra is divided into two Purushas, and each Purusha is subdivided into a number of Khaṇḍas. The worship of four Vināyakas and Shashṭhī-Kalpa are peculiar to the Man. G. S. As regards the spuriousness of certain parts of this Gṛihya, Prof. Lele observes, "The Mānava Gṛihya Sūtra, therefore, seems to be a product of different schools. As such it is quite natural that the Sūtra must have received several additions at different times and from different hands. Thus the opening sections which give the Vratacharyā and Sandhyā as well as the next four sections appear to be later. The Sīmantonnayana ceremony is mentioned twice at I.12.2 and I.15. At the end of the First Purusha we find several Dīkshās mentioned which do not appear to be directly connected with Gṛihya ritual."[104]

But Prof. Lele has given no reasons to prove that 'the opening sections which give Vratacharyā and Sandhyā, as well as the next

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four chapters' should be regarded as later. On the other hand, the genuineness of the opening chapters of the Man. G. S. is fully established by the fact that the Kath. G. S. and the Var. G. S., which are closely related to the Man. G. S., contain such passages as show verbal agreements with the said chapters of the Man. G. S. to a great extent ; and the opening chapters of the Kath. G. S. are the same as those of the Man. G. S.[105] Prof. Lele's statement that 'the Sīmantonnayana ceremony is mentioned twice at I.12.2 and I. 15' is again untenable. As a matter of fact, the Sīmantonnayana ceremony is mentioned only once in I, 15. The Sūtra I, 12,2 has got nothing to do with the Sīmantonnayana ceremony. This Sūtra speaks of a very peculiar marriage custom, according to which the bridegroom parts the hair of the bride with a porcupine's quill or Darbha-blades at the bride's house after the performance of Saptapadī.[106] It is, therefore, a part of the marriage ceremony and is not the independent Sīmantonnayana ceremony which is performed a few months after conception (*infra*, Chapter XIII). Prof. Lele's view that the Dīkshās do not appear to be directly connected with the Gṛihya ritual is quite baseless. The Gṛihyasūtras prescribe various Vratas and Dīkshās which ought to be performed by the student before he proceeds to study certain portions of the Vedas and other sacred texts.[107] It is, therefore, quite clear that the Dīkshās form essential part of the Gṛihya ritual.

The Kāṭhaka Gṛihyasūtra : The Kāṭhaka Gṛihyasūtra, as the title suggests, belongs to the Kāṭhaka Śākhā of the Kṛishṇa Yajurveda. This Gṛihya is known also as the Laugākshi Gṛihyasūtra. As it is divided into five large parts called Adhyāyas, it is known as the Gṛihya Pañchikā also. Like the Ap. G. S., the Kath. G. S. presupposes, according to Dr. Caland, a collection of Mantras to be used at the domestic ritual.[108] The authorship of the Kath. G. S. is ascribed by Kashmirian tradition to Laugākshi.[109] The Kat. S. S. (I, 6,24) refers to the views of a teacher named Laugākshi.

The Vārāha Gṛihyasūtra : The Vārāha Gṛihyasūtra belongs to the Vārāha subdivision of Maitrāyaṇīyas who form one of the twelve divisions of the Charaka Śākhā of the Yajurveda. This Gṛihya describes nearly half the Gṛihya ceremonies. As most of its sūtras are common to those found in the Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S., it does not contain much information of real importance.

The Śāṇḍilya Gṛihyasūtra : Rudradatta, the commentator of the Āpstamba Kalpa, mentions a Śāṇḍilya Gṛihyasūtra.[110]

The Māvila Gṛihya : The Saṁskāra-ratna-mālā (p. 607) cites a Māvila Gṛihya.

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The Maitareya Sūtra : A quotation from a Maitareya Sūtra—probably a Gṛihyasūtra—is given in the Saṁskāra-ratna-mālā (p. 170).

The Kauśika Sūtra of the Atharvaveda

The Kauśika Sūtra belongs to the Śaunaka Śākhā of the Atharvaveda. This Sūtra is not a mere Gṛihyasūtra, but besides important instructions regarding the domestic ritual it contains the magical practices connected with the Atharvanic hymns. Consequently much of the material found in the Kauśika Sūtra is unknown to the other Gṛihyas. Prof. Bloomfield holds that the Kauśika Sūtra is a mixture of two distinct kinds of Sūtras, *viz.* Atharva-sūtras and Gṛihya-sūtras.[111] The same scholar further states that the distinction between Atharva-sūtras and Gṛihya-sūtras is justified by their difference in subject-matter, style, and Sūtra technique.[112]

4. MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIVIDUALGRIHYA SUTRAS

As the Gṛihyasūtras dwell upon a common theme, *i.e.* the Gṛihya ritual, a sort of loose and general agreement between them is quite natural. A close scrutiny of the contents of the Gṛihya-sūtras will, however, lead us to the conclusion that the differences between the Gṛihyasūtras are, in fact, far more numerous than those which would appear to us at the first glance. The reasons mainly responsible for such differences as well as agreements between individual Gṛihyasūtras have been aptly summed up by Prof. Knauer in the following words : "Diese thatsache sowohl wie die der übereinstimmungen nöthigte dann weiter zu der frage nach dem grunde beider ; vielleicht käme man dabei zu dem resultat, dass derselbe bezüglich der übereinstimmungen mehr in der gemeinsamen tradition der handlungen in ihren allgemeineren umrissen, bezüglich der differenzen dagegen mehr im feineren detail der einzelhandlung, sowie in der verschiedenen auswahl der sprüche incl. ihrer modificationen zu suchen ist."[113]

Besides common tradition, the borrowing by one Gṛihya from another may also lead to agreements in some cases. It is true that the differences between the Gṛihyasūtras are mainly due to the differences of traditions prevalent in the Vedic Śākhās. Differences between the traditions of various Vedic Śākhās may well owe their existence to variations in local customs. In certain cases the differences between the Gṛihyas are in fact so wide that a number of ceremonies described in a particular Gṛihya or in a group of Gṛihyas closely allied to each other are unknown to the other Gṛihyas.

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It will be seen that the Gṛihyas belonging to the same Veda and especially to the same Śākhā of that Veda are generally found to be closely allied to each other and form themselves into a homogeneous group. The three important groups of this type may be noted below :

(1) The Gobh. G. S., the Kh. G. S., and the Jaim. G. S. ;

(2) The Baudh. G. S., the Bhar. G. S., the Ap. G. S., and the Hir. G. S. ; and

(3) The Man. G. S., the Kath. G. S., and the Var. G. S.

However, we cannot put it as a general proposition that the Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the same Veda must necessarily form a homogeneous group. The Asv. G.S. and the Sankh. G.S., for example, cannot be said to form a group of allied Gṛihyasūtras like those mentioned above, though both of them belong to the Ṛigveda.

Now we shall briefly discuss the relationship between those Gṛihyasūtras which either show verbal agreements in certain places or which form themselves into a homogeneous group with respect to the procedure of describing Gṛihya ceremonies common to them.

The Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihyasūtra and the Kaushītaka Gṛihyasūtra

The Kaushītaka Gṛihyasūtra, as we have already shown, is very closely related to the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihyasūtra. The first four Adhyāyas of the Kaush. G. S. show, to a very great extent, verbal agreements with the first four Adhyāyas of the Sankh. G. S. The fifth and sixth Adhyāyas of the Sankh. G. S. are not found in the Kaush. G. S., and the fifth Adhyāya of the latter is similarly wanting in the former. For further discussion on this point, *see* Chapter IV below.

The Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihyasūtra and the Pāraskara Gṛihyasūtra

There is a verbatim agreement between the Sankh. G. S. I,5,1-5 and the Par. G. S. I, 4, 1-5. In both the Gṛihyasūtras these common Sūtras are prefixed to the description of the marriage ritual. In this connection Prof. Oldenberg has advanced the conjecture that these Sūtras were the opening Sūtras of an old Gṛihyasūtra now lost to us.[114] Such an agreement is again found between the Sankh. G.S. I,14, 13-16 and the Par. G. S. I, 8, 15-18 ; these Sūtras occur at the conclusion of wedding in both the Gṛihyasūtras. Further, the Sankh. G. S. I, 22, 10-12 and the Par. G. S. I, 15, 6-7 show a remarkable agreement. The Sankh. G. S. (III,11), the Par. G. S. (III,9), and the Kath. G. S. (59) agree quite closely with regard to the description of the Vṛishotsarga ceremony. Śāṅkhāyana's description of this

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ceremony seems to be original, for the Mantras employed therein belong to the Ṛigveda. So Prof. Oldenberg observes, "There can thus be no doubt that Pāraskara here borrowed from a Sūtra text belonging to the Ṛigveda, a *Pratīka*, which when referred to the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, results in nonsense."[115] The relationship between the Saṅkh. G. S. and the Par. G. S. will be discussed further in Chapter IV below.

The Gobh. G. S., the Kh. G. S., and the Jaim. G. S.

The Kh. G. S., as we have already stated, is little more than an abridged edition of the Gobh. G. S. The Jaim. G. S. also shows some affinities with the Gobh. G. S. The former contains a number of Sūtras which agree almost word for word with the Sūtras of the latter.[116] Unlike the Gobh. G. S., the Jaim. G. S. does not acknowledge the Mantrabrāhmaṇa as its authority for the Mantras to be employed at the performance of the Gṛihya ceremonies.

The Jaim. G. S. and the Sūtras of the Yajurveda

With regard to the description of some Gṛihya ceremonies the Jaim. G. S. shows similarities with the Sūtras of the Kṛishṇa Yajurveda. A part of the Jātakarman of the Jaim. G. S. I, 8, agrees with the Jātakarman of the Bhar. G. S. and the Hir. G. S. (*infra* Chap. XIII). As for the relation of the Jaim. G. S. to the texts ascribed to Baudhāyana, Prof. Caland observes, "We may close this Introduction with a few remarks concerning the relation of our Sūtra to some texts outside the Sāmaveda. In the second part of our Sūtra we meet with some whole chapters, which, *mutatis mutandis*, are found also in other texts. So the last four chapters occur also in the texts of the Baudhāyanīyas. The gṛihavidhi (II, 6) is found almost verbally agreeing in Baudh. Gṛihyapariśishṭa (I. 16) (Baudh. G. Śesha, I, 18) ; the adbhutaśānti (II. 7) occurs somewhat longer in the Baudh. gṛihyasūtra III. 9 (*correct* III. 6), the Mantras, as is to be expected, differing ; the anaśnatsaṁhitākalpa (II, 8) has its counterpart and perhaps its origin in the Baudh. Dharmasūtra III. 9, while finally the grahavidhi agrees nearly verbally with the Baudh. Gṛihyapariśishṭa I, 15 (Baudh. G. Śesha, I, 16). I, for my part, am inclined to believe—we cannot prove it with absolute certainty—that we must admit the possibility of the Jaiminisūtra having borrowed these parts from Baudhāyana."[117] Dr. Caland's conjecture appears quite plausible, and the indebtedness of the Jaim. G. S. to the texts ascribed to Baudhāyana points to the close proximity between the followers of the Jaimini school and Baudhāyana school.

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The Baudh. G. S., the Bhar. G. S., the Ap. G. S., and the Hir. G. S.

The Kalpasūtras of Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, and Hiraṇyakeśin stand in a close relation to each other. The relationship between the Gṛihyasūtras of these schools is not so close as that between the Śrautasūtras of the same ; however, we find a marked affinity between these Gṛihyasūtras as well.[118] It will be well to remember that the Baudh. G.S. is not allied to the other three Gṛihyasūtras, *viz.* the Bhar. G.S., the Ap. G.S., and the Hir. G.S., so closely as these three Gṛihyasūtras are related to each other. As regards the relationship between the Ap. G.S. and the Hir. G.S., Prof. Hillebrandt observes, "H. (Hiraṇyakeśin) sage häufig dasselbe wie Āp., nur mit andern Worten und gegenüber der fast übertriebenen Kürze des Āp. sei er so weitschweifig, dass man manchmal glauben könnte, einen Komm. des letzteren vor sich zu haben ; der wesentlichste äussere Unterschied zwischen beiden besteht darin, dass H. Opfersprüche und Handlung zusammen gibt, Āp. dagegen jene als Mantrapāṭha absondert."[119]

It goes without saying that there is a close agreement between the Ap. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. It would, however, be quite unsafe to assume, as Prof. Hillebrandt does, that one could believe the Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛihya to be a commentary of the Ap. G.S. Despite its close agreement with the Ap. G.S., the Hir. G.S. maintains its own independent character. The Ap. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. show little agreement with respect to the description of a number of Gṛihya rites, such as Samāvartana, Chaturthīkarman, and Puṁsavana. The Hir. G.S. does not describe a number of Gṛihya rites contained in the Ap. G.S., *e.g.* Dampatī-prītikarman (Ap. G.S. III, 9,4), Pativaśyakaraṁ karman (Ap. G. S. III, 9,5-7), Sapatnībādhakarman (Ap. G.S. III, 9,8-9), Bhāryākshayanivṛitti karman (Ap. G. S. III, 9,10), and Jarāyupatana karman (Ap. G.S. VI, 14,15). Thus it is clear that there are a good many differences also between the Ap. G.S. and the Hir. G.S., though they closely agree with each other in regard to the description of several ceremonies.

The agreement between the Bhar. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. is worth mentioning. Both the Gṛihyasūtras closely agree with each other in regard to the description of a good many Gṛihya ceremonies, such as Jātakarman, Āgrahāyaṇī, Upanayana, Śūlagava, Śālākarman, Bhāryāgupti, Sambhṛitya-gupti, Ashṭakā, Śvagrahaprāyaśchittam, Upākarman, and Utsarga. In the case of many of these ceremonies the Bhar. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. show almost a verbatim agreement.[120] The style of the Bhar. G.S. is on the whole more diffuse than that of the Hir. G.S. This is easily illustrated by a comparison of

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the ceremonies common to both the Gṛihyasūtras. It appears that the relationship between the Bhar. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. is much closer than that between the Ap. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. In regard to the description of some Gṛihya rites, such as Samāvartana, Puṁsavana, and Kshiprasuvana, the Bhar. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. agree very closely with each other. Both of these Gṛihyas prescribe that the householder should kiss his son as well as his daughter on forehead with the recitation of Mantras after returning from a journey.[121] The other Gṛihyas, on the contrary, lay down that this ceremony for a girl should be performed silently. The Baudh. G.S. and the Bhar. G.S. agree in prescribing rainy season for the Upanayana of a Rathakāra.[122] The other Gṛihyas are silent about the Upanayana of a Rathakāra. The description of Avāntaradīkshā is very similar in the Baudh. G.S. and the Bhar. G.S.[123] The Hir. G.S. and the Ap. G.S. make no mention of Avāntaradīkshā. In the description of the Utsarga ceremony, the Baudh. G. S. and the Bhar. G.S. show verbal agreement.

From the foregoing discussion it is pretty clear that the Baudh. G.S., the Bhar. G.S., the Ap. G. S., and the Hir. G.S. are closely allied to each other ; and the cases of verbatim agreement are also found in these Gṛihyasūtras.

The Man. G.S., the Kath. G.S., and the Var. G.S.

There is a very close relationship between these three Gṛihyasūtras. In the description of a number of ceremonies these Gṛihyas show almost verbal agreement. We may cite, for example, the Brahmachāri-vratāni, Samāvartana, Upākarman, Utsarjana, Vivāha with all its subsidiary rites, and Garbhādhāna. Besides these, the Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. agree with each other in regard to the description of other ceremonies also, such as Phālgunī and Dhruvāśvakalpa, which are not found in the Var. G.S. It is thus clear that the relationship between the Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. is a close one. The Var. G.S. has close affinities with the Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. The Var. G.S. can lay little claim to originality, for most of its sūtras are not different from those found in the Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. It should, however, be borne in mind that the relation of the Var. G.S. with the Man. G.S. is closer than that with the Kath. G. S. The sūtras dealing with the Upanishadarhas, Kanyāvaraṇa, and Godāna are found to be almost identical in both the Man. G.S. and the Var. G.S., but not in the Kath. G.S.[124] In the description of the Chūḍākaraṇa and Pravadana-karman the Var. G.S. contains some sūtras which closely agree with the similar sūtras

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of the Kath. G.S.[125]

It is thus quite clear that we find a very close relationship between the Mān. G.S., the Kāth. G.S., and the Vār. G.S. As the Vārāhas and the Mānavas are the subdivisions of the Maitrāyaṇīyas, a close affinity between their Sūtras is quite natural. The close relationship between the Kāth. G.S. and the Mān. G.S. may be due to the common tradition current among the Kaṭhas and the Maitrāyaṇīyas, who belong to the Charaka Śākhā of the Yajurveda.[126]

Notes and References

1. ग्रामवचनं च कुर्युः। विवाह-श्मशानयोर्ग्रामं प्रविशतादिति वचनात्। तस्मात्तयोर्ग्रामः प्रमाणमिति श्रुतेः॥ पा० गृ० सू० १, ८, ११-१३।

2. ब्राह्मण्यश्च वृद्धा जीवपत्यो जीवप्रजा यद् यदुपदिशेयुस्तत्तत्कुर्युः॥ आ० गृ० सू० १, १४, ८।

3. SBE, Vol. XXX, pp. ix-x.

4. Ibid., p. x.

5. Ibid., pp. x-xiv.

6. Winternitz's Introduction to the Mantrapāṭha, pp. XLIV seq.

7. Tait. Saṁh. I, 7, 1, 3 ; ibid. VI, 2, 5, 4.

8. The following hymns of the Atharvaveda are connected with the Gṛihya ceremonies noted against each :

I, 11 : Rites of child-birth. I, 13 : Godāna. II, 25 : Prevention of abortion. II, 26 : Benedictory verses to be recited over cattle as they return home. II, 36 : To secure a husband for a marriageable girl. III, 10 : A prayer to Ashṭakā. III, 12 ; Benediction for a newly-built house. III, 13 : A hymn prescribed for the occasion of cutting a channel from a river. III, 14 : Benediction for the cattle-pen. III, 15 : A merchant's prayer for success in trade. III, 17 : A farmer's song and prayer to the agriculture deity Sītā (cf. R.V. IV, 57). III, 23 : For removing sterility of a woman and assuring the birth of a male child. III, 24 : A song of harvest home. V, 25 : Garbhādhāna. VI, 11 and VI, 17 : Puṁsavana. VI, 27-28 : To avert the threatened misfortune on the entry of a wild pigeon (Kapota) in the house (cf. R.V.X, 165). VI, 29 : To avert the threatened misfortune on the entry of an owl and a wild pigeon. VI, 60 : To secure a husband for a girl. VI, 68 : Godāna. VI, 77 : A charm to bring cattle home. VI, 78 : A nuptial benediction. VI, 81 : A charm to facilitate child-birth. VI, 117 : A prayer for freedom from debt. VI, 133 : A prayer on the occasion of wearing a girdle (Mekhalā). VII, 11 : A prayer to protect crops from lightning and drought. VII, 36 : A Mantra to be pronounced by the bride and bridegroom on the occasion of marriage. VII, 46 : A prayer to Sinīvālī for offspring. VII, 60 : A hymn to be recited by a householder on the eve of his departure from home on a journey. IX, 3 : A hymn to be recited at the consecration of a newly-built house (Śālā). XI, 5 : The glorification of a Brahmachārin. XII, 2 : A funeral hymn. XIV, 1 and 2—The whole Kāṇḍa contains the Mantras relating to marriage (cf. R.V.X, 85). XVIII—All the hymns in this Kāṇḍa are connected with funeral rites.

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9. SBE, Vol. XLII, p. xliii.

10. दीक्षणीयेष्टिस्तायते। ताम् एवानु याः काश्चेष्टयस्ताः सर्वा अग्निष्टोममपियन्तीडामुपहव्यत, इडाविधा वै पाकयज्ञा इडामेवानु ये के च पाकयज्ञास्ते सर्वेऽग्निष्टोममपियन्तीति ॥ ऐ० ब्रा० ३, ४०, २ ॥ Sat. Br. I, 4, 2, 10 ; cf. Tait. Saṁh. I, 7, 1, 3.

11. Ait. Br. VIII, 10, 6.

12. Ait. Br. VII, 9 ; Kaush. Br. IV, 12 ; cf. Tait. Saṁh. V, 7, 2.

13. Sat. Br. XI, 5, 6, 1—the Pañcha Mahāyajñas ; ibid. XI, 5, 4, 1 seq.-the Upanayana ; ibid. XIV, 9, 4, 17 (Bṛih. Up. VI, 4, 18)-Garbhādhāna, Soshyantī-karman, Jātakarman, Āyushyakarman, Medhājanana, Nāmakaraṇa.

14. SBE, Vol. XXX, p. xviii.

15. Ibid., p. xvii.

16. R.L., p. 23.

17. Ibid., p. 23.

18. Neu und Vollmondsopfer, p. XV.

19. Ait. Br. Introduction, pp. 10-11.

20. Asv. G.S.I, 1, 5 ; Baudh. G.S.I, 3, 8 ; ibid. I, 7, 36 ; Ap. G.S. III, 8,12 ; ibid. VI, 15, 10 ; ibid. I, 3, 3 ; Hir. G.S.I, 24, 7 ; Asv. G.S. IV, 8, 6 ; Bhar. G.S.I, 20 : 21, 2.

21. अथापि रौरुक्मिब्राह्मणं भवति कुमारान् ह स्म वै मातरः पाययमाना आहुः, शक्वरीणां पुत्रका व्रतं पारयिष्णवो भवतेति ॥ गो० गृ० सू० ३, २, ६।

22. या एवाग्निहोत्रे देवतास्ता औपासने य एवाहिताग्नेर्धर्मः स एव धर्मो य एवाहिताग्नेर्लोकः स एवौपासनिकस्येति शाट्यायनिब्राह्मणं भवति ॥ भा० गृ० ३, १८ ।AP.S.S, V, 23, 3.

23. Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 25. 43 (Skt. Text in N. 33). The Asv. S. S, I, 5, also refers to the view of Śāṭyāyana. The Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa is frequently adverted to by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the R.V. ; see H. Oertel, JAOS 18, 1897, pp. 15 ff. According to the Charaṇavyūha, II, 1, Śāṭyāyanī is a subdivision of the Khāṇḍikeyas who form an important branch of the Taittirīyas ; so it says—

तत्र तैत्तिरीयका नाम द्विभेदा भवन्त्यौखेयाः खाण्डिकेयाश्चेति । तत्र खाण्डिकेया नाम पंचभेदा भवन्ति, कालेता शाट्यायनी हैरण्यकेशी भारद्वाज्यापस्तम्बी चेति ॥

Perhaps the Bhar. G.S. and the Baudh. G.S. refer to the works of this Śāṭyāyanī Śākhā. Cf. Ap. S.S. X, 12, 13-14.

24. Baudh. G.S.I, 3, 15-17 : Ātreya, Āṅgirasa, Ātharvaṇa ; ibid. I, 4, 43 : Bādari, Ātreya, Kāśakṛitsna ; ibid. I, 7, 48 : Śāliki, ibid IV, 5, 6 : Śāliki ; ibid. IV, 5, 7 : Aupamanyava. Bodhāyana in I, 7, 47 ; III, 8, 6 ; IV, 5, 5 ; and III, 3, 34.

25. Bhar. G.S.I, 20 : 21, 5 : Āśmarthya, Ālekhana, cf. Ap. S.S. IX, 4, 7. 9 ; ibid. II, 6 : 37, 13 : Dhaumya, Asita Turaṅga, Kāvya Dālbhya.

26. Hir. G.S.I, 25, 3-4 : Ātreya and Bādarāyaṇa ; ibid. I, 6, 8 : Pushkarasādi.

27. Sankh. G S.I, 9, 11 ; ibid. I, 24, 7 ; and ibid. IV, 5, 5, mention Māṇḍūkeya ; ibid. IV, 5, 6 : Kaushītaki.

28. Asv. G.S. IV, 7, 14 : Śaunaka ; ibid. IV, 9, 24 : Śāṁvatya.

29. Kaus. S. 9, 10 : Gārgya, Pārthaśravasa, Bhāgali, Kāṅkāyana, Upari-babhrava, Kauśika, Jāṭikāyana, Kaurpathi ; ibid. 9, 11 : Yuvā Kauśika ; ibid. 13, 7 : Gārgya ; ibid. 17, 27 : Bhāgali ; ibid. 22, 13 : Kāṅkāyana ; ibid. 63, 27 : Kaurupathi ; ibid. 138, 15 : Ishuphāli and Māṭhara.

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30. Kath. G.S. 4, 15.

31. Gobh. G.S.I, 6, 1 : Mānatantavya ; Kh. G.S. II, 1, 5, mentions Mānadantavya. Gobh. G.S. III, 10, 4 : Kautsa ; ibid. III, 10, 5 : Audgāhamāni ; ibid. III, 10, 6 : Gautama and Vārkakhaṇḍi ; ibid. III, 10, 11 : Audgāhamāni ; ibid. III, 4, 33 : Kauhalīyas.

32. Jaim. G.S.I, 18 : 16, 12—Audgāhamāni ; ibid. I, 19 : 18, 10-Āruṇi Gautama.

33. मानतन्तव्यो होवाचाहुता वा एतस्य मानुष्याहुतिर्भवति य औपवसथिकं नाश्नाति । अनीश्वरो ह क्षोधुको भवत्यकाम्यो जनानां पापवसीयसी हास्य प्रजा भवति ।। य औपवसथिकं भुंक्ते ईश्वरो ह भवत्यक्षोधुकः काम्यो जनानां वसीयसी हाऽस्य प्रजा भवति ॥ गो० गृ० सू० १, ६, १-३ ।

तदु तथा न कुर्यान्नानुक्तायां सावित्र्यां प्राश्नीयादित्यनूक्तायामनूक्तायां सावित्र्यां प्राश्नीयादिति शाट्यायनकम् । कौ० गृ० सू० २, ५, ४३, । cf. Asv. G.S.I, 1, 4-5.

34. Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya with Nārāyaṇa's commentary, Ind. Stud. Vol. XV, p. 211 : अथ परिशिष्टाख्यः पंचमोऽध्याय आरभ्यते ।

35. Ibid. p. 250 : पंचमोऽध्यायः परिशिष्टरूपः समाप्तः ।

36. Ibid. p. 133 : अग्नय इत्यादिकं क्षेपकमपि खण्डं देवताज्ञानाय व्याख्यायते ।

37. SBE. Vol. XXIX, p. 3.

38. Ibid. pp. 3-4.

39. अत्रारणिप्रदानं यदध्वर्युः कुरुते क्वचित् । मतं तन्न सुयज्ञस्य मथितं सोऽत्र नेच्छति ॥

40. The Proceedings and Transactions of the IX Oriental Conference Trivandrum, pp. 180 seq.

41. SBE, Vol. XXIX, pp. 3 and 113.

42. SBE, Vol. XXIX, pp. 6-9; R.L., p. 25; cf. Introduction to Kaush. G.S., p. XVII.

43. Kaushītaka Gṛihya, Introduction pp. XX-LXIX.

44. Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 120 seq. ; Rajendralal Mitra's Introduction to the Ait. Ar., pp. 8 seq:—

शौनकस्य तु शिष्योऽभूद् भगवानाश्वलायनः ।स तस्माच्छ्रुत-सर्वज्ञः सूत्रं कृत्वा न्यवेदयत् ॥
प्रबोधपरिशुद्ध्यर्थं शौनकस्य प्रियं त्विति । सहस्रखण्डं स्वकृतं सूत्रं ब्राह्मण-सन्निभम् ॥
शिष्याश्वलायनप्रीत्यै शौनकेन विपाटितम् । उक्तं तत्तत्कृतं सूत्रमस्य वेदस्य चास्त्विति ॥
द्वादशाध्यायकं सूत्रं चतुष्कं गृह्यमेव च ।चतुर्थारण्यकं चेति ह्याश्वलायनसूत्रकम्॥ षड्गुरुशिष्यस्य ।

45. नोद्धरेत् प्रथमं पात्रं पितॄणामर्घ्यपातितम् । आवृतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः शौनकोऽब्रवीत् ॥

आ० गृ० ४,७,१४ । नमः शौनकाय नमः शौनकाय ॥ आ० गृ० ४, ६, ४५ ।

46. Asv. S.S. Uttarashaṭka VI, 8; ibid. VI, 10; ibid. VI, 15.

47. Altindischer Ahnencult, p. 143.

48. The Proceedings and Transactions of the VIII Oriental Conference, Mysore, p. XXXIII—"Fragments of Śaunaka Gṛihyasūtra."

49. Tanjore Catalogue, 13b.

50. उक्तानि वैतानिकानि । इदानीं स्मार्तानि वक्ष्यामः । तेषां गृह्यसंज्ञा । तथाहि शौनकेनोक्तम् 'उक्तानि वैतानिकानि । गृह्याणि वक्ष्यामः' इति ॥ भवत्रातकृतविवरणे । उक्तानि वैतानिकानि गृह्याणि वक्ष्यामः ॥ आ० गृ० १,१,१, ।

51. JASB, XXXV, p. 153.

52. Kaush. G.S, p. 69.

53. Kaush. G.S., Introduction, p. XVI ; cf. V.V. I., p. 125.

54. Asv. G.S. III, 4, 4; Sankh. G.S. IV, 10; Kaush. G.S. II, 5, 3.

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55. पुराण-प्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु ॥ प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणमेतत्। प्रोक्ते णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति यत् प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताश्चेद् ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति। पुराणेन चिरन्तनेन मुनिना प्रोक्ताः। ब्राह्मणेषु तावत्। भाल्लविनः शाट्यायनिन ऐतरेयिणः। कल्पेषु। पैंगी कल्पः। आरुणपराजी। पुराणप्रोक्तेष्विति किम्। याज्ञवल्कानि ब्राह्मणानि। अश्मरथः कल्पः। पाणिनीयव्याकरणे ४, ३, १०५, काशिकावृत्तिः ॥

56. Catalogue of MSS. in the Central Provinces, No. 2868.

57. Kaush. G.S., Introduction, p. XVI.

58. वैदिक वाङ्मय का इतिहास, प्रथम भाग, पृ० १२१, १२८-१२९।

59. Knauer : German Translation of the Gobh. G.S., Introduction, pp. 24 seq.

60. Ibid., p. 24.

61. Ibid., p. 31.

62. SBE, Vol. XXX, pp. 7 seq.

63. Ibid., p. 7.

64. Ibid., p. 8.

65. See Knauer, Vedische Fragen in 'Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth' pp. 61-64.

66. Mantrapāṭha, Introduction, p. XXXIV.

67. Ibid., p. XXXVI.

68. तयोराप्लवनं पूर्वम् ॥ मन्त्राभिवादात्तु पाणिग्रहणस्य पूर्वं व्याख्यातम् ॥ खा० गृ० १, ३, ३-४।

In the SBE, Vol. XXIX, p. 380, Oldenberg suggests that instead of 'Pāṇigrahaṇasya', in the fourth Sūtra, perhaps 'Pāṇigrahaṇam' would be correct.

69. स्वयं वा मन्त्राभिवादात्। खा० गृ० ३, १, ९।

70. Knauer's Translation of the Gobh. G.S., Introduction, p. 34.

71. Ibid., p. 52.

72. SBE, Vol. XXIX, p. 372.

73. Charaṇavyūha, III, 1.

74. Compare for example, 'Tvaṁ Varuṇa' etc. in the Jaim. G.S. I, 13 : 13,20—the Jaim. Samh. III, 5,4, 6; 'Pratyagne...' etc. in the Jaim. G.S. II, 7: 32, 9, and the Jaim. Samh. I, 1,10,6; etc. See Jaim. G.S. pp. 73 ff 'List of Mantras'

75. Jaim. G.S., Introduction, p. IX.

76. Alt. Ahn. C., p. 121.

77. लोके शालाशब्दो गृहपर्यायः। तथा च गृह्यकर्माणि इति छान्दोग्येऽभिहितं वाह्यन्यायोक्तानि चैतानिकानि गृह्याणि वक्ष्याम इत्युक्तम् ॥ मा० गृ० भाष्ये पृष्ठ ८० ॥

78. Gobh. G.S. with Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa's commentary in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, pp. 22,27,131, etc.

79. Saṁskāra-ratna-mālā, pp. 187 and 607.

80. Hillebrandt, R.L., p. 27.

81. Par. G.S.I, 2,8; ibid. I,10, 1-2; ibid. II,6,13-15; etc.

82. Alt. Ahn. C., p. 113.

83. Man. G.S., Baroda Edition, pp. 106 and 109.

84. Var. G.S., Dr. Raghuvira's edition, Introduction, p. 8.

85. Proceedings and Transactions of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad, Summaries of Papers, pp. 8-9 ; Vol. II pp. 59-67.

86. Bhar. G.S., Introduction, p.x.

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87. चत्वारि विवाहकरणानि वित्तं रूपं प्रज्ञा बान्धवमिति। तानि चेत् सर्वाणि न शक्नुयाद् वित्तमुदस्येत् ततो रूपम्। प्रज्ञायां च तु बान्धवे च विवदन्ते। बान्धवमुदस्येदित्येक आहुः। अप्रज्ञेन हि कः संवासः। अथैतदपरं न खल्वियमर्थेभ्य उह्यते। प्रजननार्थोऽस्यां प्रधानः। भा० गृ० १, ११।

88. Bhar G.S., Introduction, p. XI; cf. Dresden, *Mānava Gṛihyasūtra*, pp. 25-26.

89. पंच विवाहकारकाणि भवन्ति वित्तं रूपं विद्या प्रज्ञा बांधव इति॥ एकालाभे वित्तं विसृजेद् द्वितीयालाभे रूपं तृतीयालाभे विद्यां प्रज्ञायां बान्धव इति च विवहन्ते॥ मा० गृ० १, ७, ६-७।

पंच विवाहकारकाणि भवन्ति—वित्तं रूपं विद्या प्रज्ञा बान्धवमिति॥ एकालाभे वित्तं विसृजेत्। द्वितीयालाभे रूपम्। तृतीयालाभे विद्याम्। प्रज्ञायां तु बान्धवे च विवदन्ते। वा० गृ० १०, ५-६।

बुद्धि-रूप-शील-लक्षणसम्पन्नामरोगामुपयच्छेत्॥ आ० गृ० १, ५, ३।

90. अथ खलु बहूनि लक्षणानि भवन्ति। श्लोकं तु लाक्षणा उदाहरन्ति —

यस्यां मनोऽनुरमते चक्षुश्च प्रतिपद्यते।

तां विद्यात् पुण्य-लक्ष्मीकां किं ज्ञानेन करिष्यति॥ इति। भा० गृ० १,११, : ११,१२।

91. Bhar. G.S., Introduction, p. XI; cf. Dresden,*op. cit.*

92. यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निबन्धस्तस्यामृद्धिर्नेतरदाद्रियेतेत्येके॥ आप० गृ० १, ३, २०॥ यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निबन्धनं तस्याम् ऋद्धिर्नेतरामाद्रियेतेत्येके॥ वात्सा० का० सू० ३, १, १४।

93. See Winternitz's Introduction to the Mantrapāṭha, pp. XXXI-XXXIX.

94. Hir. G.S. II,4,17—Abhijighrya for Abhighrāya; I,2,9—Sarasvate for Sarasvati; I,27,7—Sthūṇau for Sthūṇe; II,12,4, Vindyāt for Vidyāt; vide Kirste's Preface to the Hir. G.S., pp. VII-VIII.

95. Vide Kirste's note on the Hir. G.S.I, 26,22.

96. Hir. G.S., Preface, p. VIII.

97. SBE, Vol. XXX, p. 241, footnote.

98. Bhar. G.S. III, 8-11.

99. Ap. G.S. III, 8, 1-2; cf. Ap. D.S.I,3,9, 1-3; ibid. 1,3,11, 1-2.

100. Prof. Caland's Translation of the Vaikh. G.S., Introduction, pp. XI-XII.

101. Ibid. pp. XIII-XV.

102. तत्र मैत्रायणीया नाम षड्भेदा भवन्ति, मानवा वाराहा दुन्दुभाश्छागलेया हारिद्रवेया श्यामायनीयाश्चेति॥ चर० सू० २, १॥ मैत्रायणीयस्तु वाजसनेयवेदाध्यायी। मानवं कल्पसूत्रम्॥ चरणव्यूहभाष्ये पृ० ३३॥

103. सरस्वत्याः प्रसादेन यथैतत्कृतवान् पुरा। भगवान् मानवाचार्यः पूरणाख्यं प्रयत्नतः॥ मा० गृ० भाष्ये पृ० १०५॥

104. Man. G.S., Baroda Edition, Preface, p. 7.

105. Kath. G.S. Kaṇḍikās I-4; ibid. Kaṇḍikās 9-11; Var. G.S. Khaṇḍas VI & VIII

106. अत्रैव सीमन्तं करोति त्रीश्येतया शलल्या समूलेन वा दर्भेण सेनाहनामेत्येतया॥ मा० गृ० १, १२,२, । cf. Chap. XII.

107. Man. G.S.I, 23; Kath. G.S. 42-43; Var. G.S. VII, 1-22; vide Chap. XIV.

108. Kath. G.S., Lahore Edition, Preface, pp. VI-VII.

109. Hillebrandt, R.L., p. 32.

110. Rudradatta on the Ap.S.S. IX, 11,21; cf. R.L., p. 29; V.V.I., p. 216.

111. Kauśika Sūtra, Introduction, p. XXI.

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112. Ibid., p. XXXI.

113. Knauer, German Translation of the Gobh. G.S., Introduction, pp. 41-42.

114. SBE, Vol. XXX, Introduction, p. xxxix.

115. Ibid., p. XXXVIII.

116. See Caland's Introduction to the Jaim. G.S., p. X.

117. Ibid., p. XI.

118. Winternitz, Alt. Hoch., p.5, and WZKM. IV, Notes on Śrāddhas pp. 202-212. Caland, Alt. Ahn. C., p. 145.

119. R.L., p. 30.

120. For verbal agreements between the Bhar. G.S. and the Hir. G.S., see the description of following rites in these Gṛihyas: Garbharakshā, Kshipra-suvana, Jātakarman, Nāmakaraṇa, Agrahāyaṇī, Upākarman, Utsarga.

121. कुमारीमुत्तरेण यजुषाभिमन्त्रयते ॥ आप० गृ० ६, १५, १३ ॥
सर्वेभ्यः प्राणेभ्यो जातासि सा जीव शरदः शतमिति दुहितुः ॥ भा० गृ० १, २७ ।

122. वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत । ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यं वर्षासु रथकारमिति । सर्वानेव वा वसन्ते ॥ बौ० गृ० २, ५, ६ ।
वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ग्रीष्मे हेमन्ते वा राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यं वर्षासु रथकारं शिशिरे वा सर्वान् ॥ भा० गृ० १, १ ।

123. Baudh. G.S. III, 4; Bhar. G.S. III, 6-7.

124. *Upanishadarhas* :—Man. G.S.I,7, 1-2; Var. G.S. VIII, 12-13.
Kanyāvaraṇa :—Man. G.S.I,7,3-12; Var. G S. X, 1-16.
Godāna :—Man. G.S.I,21,13-14; Var. G.S. IX, 1.

125. *Chūḍākaraṇa* :—Kath. G.S. 40, 1-8; Var. G.S. IV, 18-19.
Pravadanakarman :—Kath. G.S. 17, 2-3; Var. G.S. XIII.

126. यजुर्वेदस्य षडशीतिर्भेदा भवन्ति । तत्र चरका नाम द्वादश भेदा भवन्ति, चरका आह्वरकाः कठाः प्राच्यकठाः कपिष्ठलकठाश्चारायणीया वारायणीया वार्त्तान्तवेया श्वेताश्वतरा औपमन्यवः पाताण्डनीया मैत्रायणीयाश्चेति ।. चर० सू० २, १ ।

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CHAPTER III

THE DHARMASUTRAS

1. THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE DHARMASUTRAS

The Dharmasūtras are closely allied to the Gṛihyasūtras, and several topics, such as Upanayana, Anadhyāya, marriage, Śrāddhas, and Pañcha Mahāyajñas, are common to both. The scope of the Dharmasūtras is, however, much wider than that of the Gṛihyasūtras for the latter are mainly concerned with the description of domestic ritual. The Dharmasūtras include in their scope the treatment of economic, social, political, religious and philosophical questions. Though the Dharmasūtras are the precursors of metrical Smṛitis, they do not ascribe their authorship to inspired sages or divine beings; nor do they indulge in such hyperbolical statements as are found in the latter Smṛitis and Purāṇas. The case of the Vishṇu Dharmasūtra is, however, on a different footing, as we shall see below. The authors of the Dharmasūtras declare themselves to be ordinary mortals and state plainly that they are endeavouring to codify Dharma as known from three main sources, *viz.* the Veda, tradition (Smṛiti) and the standard conduct of unselfish and virtuous personages.

The topics of Dharma treated of in the Dharmasūtras may be conveniently classed into three broad categories, namely *Varṇa-dharma* (duties of castes), *Āśrama-dharma* (duties of Āśramas), and *Naimittika-dharma* (casual duties, such as the performance of various penances). The Gaut. D.S. (XIX, 1) seems to support this threefold classification. In the Yaj. (I, 1) and the Vi. D. S. (I, 48) the duties of Varṇas and Āśramas are spoken of as the principal contents of Dharmaśāstras ; and Kumārila considers these two categories of Dharma as the subject-matter of the Dharmasūtras.[1] The commentator Medhātithi on Manu II, 25, remarks that the commentators dwell upon fivefold division of Dharma, *i.e. Varṇa-dharma*, *Āśrama-dharma*, *Varṇāśrama-dharma* (*e.g.* the girdle of a Kshatriya Brahmachārin should be made of a bow-string), *Naimittika-dharma*, and *Guṇa-dharma* (*e.g.* the duties of a consecrated king). Commenting on the Gaut. D. S. XIX, 1, Haradatta also mentions this fivefold division of Dharma. But the commentator Vijñāneśvara

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on the Yaj. I, 1, adds *Sādhāraṇa-dharma*, *i.e.* duties common to all, to the five categories mentioned above and thus makes this division sixfold. It is, of course, possible to classify the contents of the Dharmaśāstras into five or six categories. But only three categories, namely Varṇa-dharma, Āśrama-dharma, and Naimittika-dharma, are prominent and comprehend most of the topics treated of in the Dharmasūtras.

Dealing with Varṇa-dharma, the Dharmasūtras enumerate castes and inter-castes, detail their religious duties and proper occupations, and lay down alternative occupations for those who are unable to carry on their proper occupations due to unavoidable circumstances. In connection with the duties of a Kshatriya, the Dharmasūtras specify the duties of a king and dilate upon civil law, criminal law, taxation, system of government, administration of justice, and laws of war. The largest portion of the Dharmasūtras is devoted to Āśrama-dharma. According to the scheme of life envisaged in the Dharmasūtras, the entire life of a Dvija (twice-born) is divided into four stages (Āśramas), namely Brahmacharya, Gārhasthya, Vānaprastha, and Saṁnyāsa. The Dharmasūtras lay down rules and regulations governing the life of a Dvija in each of these stages. In the first stage of life called Brahmacharya, a Dvija must receive education at the house of a teacher. In this connexion, the Dharmasūtras prescribe rules regarding Upanayana, holidays, the conduct of a Brahmachārin, and the duties of a teacher. On the completion of education a Brahmachārin becomes Snātaka (graduate) and is entitled to enter the next stage of life called Gārhasthya, *i.e.* the stage of a householder. The Dharmasūtras attach great importance to a Snātaka and exhort him to follow a code of dignified conduct in life and conversation. The Gṛihasthāśrama is highly commended in these Sūtras and regarded as the Āśrama *par excellence*. The Sūtra-writers hold that all the Āśramas are dependent upon the Gṛihasthāśrama which alone can perpetuate race and culture. Dwelling upon the duties of a householder, the Sūtras deal with the law of marriage, conjugal relations, the types of sons, the law of succession, daily sacrifices, and rites for the manes. Gārhasthya is followed by Vānaprastha, *i.e.* the order of forest-dwelling ascetics. A householder may choose at proper time to abandon his household and to reside in the forest all alone or in the company of his wife. Many types of Vānaprasthas and their mode of living are described in the Dharmasūtras, but no great importance is attached to this Āśrama. Saṁnyāsa, which signifies the renunciation of worldly possessions and relations,

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is the fourth and final stage of life. The Dharmasūtras prescribe a code of standard conduct for a Saṁnyāsin and enjoin upon him to refrain from dabbling in astrology, palmistry, speechification, etc. According to the Sūtras, a Saṁnyāsin should lead a life of complete resignation, contentment, self-abnegation and meditation.

Having described the duties of castes and orders, the Dharmasūtras turn to Naimittika-dharma, enumerate various types of sins, and prescribe penances for the atonement of sins. Besides, the Dharmasūtras lay down rules regarding purification and the period of impurity after death and birth ; and the problem of forbidden food is also discussed in detail. Philosophical questions concerning the nature of soul, theory of retribution, and the doctrine of metempsychosis are also touched upon in these Sūtras. Thus the Dharmasūtras endeavour to provide guidance in social, political, religious and philosophical matters.

2. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DHARMASUTRAS

The meaning of the word *Dharma* varies from age to age, and reflects the changes which Hindu religion has undergone in the course of millennia. The meaning of the word Dharma in the Ṛigveda (X, 90, 16) is not exactly the same as is expressed by it in the Bhagavadgītā (II, 31). It is neither necessary nor possible to trace here the long and intricate history of the word Dharma. What *Dharma* stands for in the Sūtras is sufficiently clear from the foregoing outline of the contents of the Dharmasūtras. As the Dharma propounded in the Dharmasūtras comprehends mainly Varṇa-dharma, Āśrama-dharma, and Naimittika-dharma and does not embrace all the aspects of Dharma, it gives rise to the question why the treatises dealing with Varṇa-dharma, Āśrama-dharma, and Naimittika-dharma are styled as Dharmasūtras, while the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras which also deal with important aspects of Dharma are not given this title. The matter of fact is that the popular title 'Dharmasūtra' is elliptically used for the full title *Sāmayāchārika Dharmasūtra* or *Smārta Dharmasūtra*. The Dharmasūtras nowhere claim to deal with Dharma in its entirety and openly declare that they are going to expound Smārta Dharma or Sāmayāchārika Dharma. The Ap. D.S., for instance, opens with the words : "Now we shall expound Sāmayāchārika Dharmas." So in the Dharmasūtras the word Dharma is employed in a restricted sense and signifies *Smārta Dharma* only. The Dharma based on established tradition (Smṛiti) is called Smārta Dharma ; and the Dharma founded upon conventional practice (Samayāchāra) is known as Sāmayāchārika

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Dharma. Thus tradition or conventional practice is the main source of Dharma propounded in the Dharmasūtras.

Since a rule based on mere tradition or convention may not command the general acceptance of the entire community, the Dharmasūtras advance reasons to assert the authoritativeness of Smārta Dharma propounded in them. They preface the treatment of Smārta Dharma with the statement that, as the tradition or conventional practice was established in accordance with the precepts of the Veda, the Veda is the ultimate source of Dharma embodied in them. All later authorities on Smārta Dharma subscribe to this view. It is agreed on all hands that if anything in the Smṛitis is repugnant to the injunctions of the Veda, it must be rejected. But it may be urged against this view that, since the Veda contains nothing corresponding to so many usages embodied in the Dharmasūtras, the authoritativeness of such usages would be in doubt. In order to rebut this charge, commentators like Haradatta argue that, though the source of many precepts embodied in the Dharmasūtras cannot now be traced to the Veda, such precepts are based on those Vedic Śākhās which are now hidden (or extinct, as Āpastamba believes) ; that Manu and other law-givers had those Śākhās before them ; and that the former existence of those Śākhās may be inferred from the fact that such precepts are now actually practised by the people.

It is perfectly true that a number of Vedic Śākhās are now extinct and that some of the precepts embodied in the Sūtras may have been derived from them. And it cannot be gainsaid that a small number of social customs recorded in the Dharmasūtras may date from the earliest period of Vedic history when Aryan society was fully organized ; for any social organization is inconceivable without a minimum number of social customs and rules. But to seek the source of entire Smārta Dharma in the Vedas is to deny the capacity for development to Aryan society. As the growth of society gave rise to new problems, new customs were evolved to solve them. Thus the number of social customs and rules went on increasing with the growth of society. Though the Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas did not purport to record all social customs and rules, a few of them found expression in these texts. By the time of the Sūtras, Aryan society had developed to an appreciable extent, and the number of social customs and laws had enormously increased ; so it became inexpedient to administer laws and customs by word of mouth ; and a need was felt to systematize the Smārta Dharma in handy treatises. The task of systematizing the Smārta Dharma was accomplished in the *Sūtra Charaṇas* which were the

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centres of intellectual activity in those times. The authors of the Dharmasūtras not only systematized the laws and customs inherited from their ancestors, but also pondered over social, political and religious problems of the day, and suggested their solutions in keeping with the spirit of the age.

The process of social development went on; and when the rules and customs embodied in the earlier Dharmasūtras were felt to be inadequate to cope with the changed circumstances, the later Dharmasūtras were composed. When it was again felt after some time that the provisions of Smārta Dharma enshrined in the Dharmasūtras fell short of the needs of society, an enlarged and amended version of the earlier Dharmas was formulated in the form of the Manusmṛiti. In course of time the Manusmṛiti was succeeded by many other Smṛitis, the most important of them being the Yājñavalkyasmṛiti, the Parāśarasmṛiti and the Nāradasmṛiti. After the practice of composing new Smṛitis had almost come to a stop, the development of Smārta Dharma found expression in the writings of commentators and Nibandhakāras (*i.e.* the writers of digests) who interpreted the text of the Dharmasūtras and Smṛitis in conformity with the needs of the times. Though Smārta Dharma has seen phenomenal development in the course of millennia, it has never disowned its earlier sources. It highly redounds to the credit of Smārta Dharma that it has continuously kept pace with new social developments without severing itself from its moorings.

3. MANAVA DHARMASUTRA AND MANUSMRITI

There is no denying the fact that the Smārta Dharma embodied in the Smṛitis is more developed than that propounded in the Dharmasūtras, and that the Smṛitis are indebted to the Sūtras. But the question of exact relationship between the Sūtras and the Smṛitis is highly controversial. There are two important views on the relationship between the Sūtras and the Smṛitis. The first view is that the Smṛitis are mere recasts of the earlier Dharmasūtras ; and the second is that, though the Smṛitis have drawn upon the Sūtras, they are new compositions and represent a further stage of development in the Smārta Dharma. Prof. Max Müller put forward the first view and hypothesized that the Manusmṛiti is a redaction of a Mānava Dharmasūtra belonging to the Maitrāyaṇīya school of the Black Yajurveda.[2] Dr. Bühler has upheld this view and sought to demonstrate that the Manusmṛiti is a recast and versification of a Mānava Dharmasūtra.[3] Since a Mānava Dharmasūtra is not mentioned in any work of Sanskrit literature, Dr.

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Bühler has advanced ingenious arguments to prove that a Mānava Dharmasūtra once existed. His main arguments are as follows :

(1) In regard to the rate of legal interest on secured loans, the Manusmṛiti (VIII, 140) refers to Vasishṭha's view which is the same as that given in the Vas. D.S. (II, 50) ; and this circumstance, in Dr. Bühler's opinion, proves the posteriority of the Manusmṛiti to the Vas. D.S.

(2) The posteriority of the Manusmṛiti to the Vas. D.S. leads him to the inference that the views and verses which the Vas. D.S. quotes under Manu's name cannot belong to our Manusmṛiti but to an earlier work. That this earlier work was a Mānava Dharmasūtra consisting of prose sūtras and verses is proved by the Vas. D.S. (IV, 5-8), which is, in Dr. Bühler's view, a unified quotation from the Mānava Dharmasūtra ; for the fifth sūtra, he argues, refers to '*Mānavam*', sūtras 6 and 7 agree with Manu V, 41 and 48 respectively, and the particle '*iti*' (thus) occurs at the end of sūtra 8.[4]

(3) As the quotations cited in the Vas. D.S. under Manu's name show pretty close, but not complete, agreement with the verses of the Manusmṛiti, it indicates, in Dr. Bühler's opinion, that the source of Vasishṭha's quotations was not our Manusmṛiti but a Mānava Dharmasūtra which closely resembled, but was not identical with our Manusmṛiti.

(4) The Kāmandakīya Nītisāra quotes twice the opinions of the '*Mānavāḥ*' and once an opinion of Manu, but rejects them in favour of Kauṭilya's views. These quotations show that Kāmandaki knew a work ascribed to Manu, which contained rules on the duties of kings and in some respects agreed with the seventh chapter of our Manusmṛiti. This work must have been, in Dr. Bühler's opinion, the old Mānava Dharmasūtra, because it is twice referred to by the title 'Mānavāḥ' and because its opinions are rejected like those of a Dharmasūtra of a particular school. Dr. Bühler further argues that the opinions of the Manusmṛiti, which is acknowledged as authoritative by all, are not thus cited for refutation in any work of Sanskrit literature.

Explaining the reason why a Mānava Dharmasūtra was converted into a metrical Smṛiti, Dr. Bühler states that when the accumulation of subjects in the Vedic Charaṇas led to the establishment of special schools devoted to special subjects of study, special law-schools which were not bound up with any particular Śākhā of the Veda came into being and remodelled a Dharmasūtra into a Smṛiti for the purposes of instruction because the treatment of law in

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the Dharmasūtra was incomplete and unsystematic. The learned scholar believes that the numerous myths surrounding the name of Manu from early times induced the special law schools to select the Mānava Dharmasūtra alone for converting it into an authoritative law-book commanding general acceptance.

The strongest argument of Dr. Bühler rests, as he himself admits, on Manu's quotations cited in the Vas. D. S. But the text of the Vas. D. S., as we shall see below, is so unsatisfactory that the arguments based on this text alone can hardly be regarded as fully conclusive. The Vas. D. S. II, 50, which Dr. Bühler adduces as proof of the priority of the Vas. D. S. to the Manusmṛiti, is itself a quotation and closely agrees in wording with the Gaut. D. S. XII, 26. The reasons given by Dr. Bühler to ascribe this verse to the author of the Vas. D. S. are far from convincing. The verse, in fact, belongs originally to a source other than the extant Vas. D. S. and would not suffice to prove the posteriority of the Manusmṛiti to this Sūtra.

The argument to prove the Vas. D. S. IV, 5-8 as one quotation is very tenuous ; for the particle '*iti*' occurs not only in the eighth sūtra but also in the fifth and sixth sūtras. So the occurrence of the particle '*iti*' does not prove that all the four sūtras form one quotation, but it shows that the eighth sūtra is a quotation. So far as the fifth sūtra is concerned, the commentator Kṛishṇapaṇḍita Dharmādhikārin remarks that the word *Mānavam* means simply an opinion of Manu ; and the entire sūtra may be a summary of Manu's views. That the quotations cited under Manu's name in the Vas. D. S. do not fully agree with similar verses found in the Manusmṛiti does not necessarily imply that the Vas. D. S. borrowed them from a Mānava Dharmasūtra.

It is a well-known fact that the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaki is based on the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. So Kāmandaki's references to the Mānavas are derived from the Arthaśāstra which quotes the opinions of the Mānavas five times. The identity of the Mānavas referred to in the Arthaśāstra is still a moot point ; and except for the name there is nothing substantial to show that the Mānavas of the Arthaśāstra had any connexion with a Mānava Dharmasūtra or with the Mānava charaṇa of the Maitrāyaṇīya Śākhā.

Besides, in the whole range of Sūtra literature we find no proof of the existence of a Mānava Dharmasūtra. References to Manu in the Gaut. D. S. XXI, 7 and in the Sankh. G. S. II, 16, 1, may not necessarily point to a Mānava Dharmasūtra, as Dr. Bühler himself admits. The Baudh. D. S. refers to Manu thrice, but two of the references occur in the fourth Praśna which, as we shall see below,

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is a later addition ; and the third one belongs to a quotation from the Tait. Samh. III, 1, 9,4. So the Baudh. D. S. knows nothing of a Mānava Dharmasūtra.

In the Ap. D. S. II, 7, 16, 1, Manu is credited with the establishment of the institution of Śrāddha, and in II, 6, 14, 11, the above-mentioned quotation of the Tait. Samh. occurs. Āpastamba does not refer to Manu's view on any other point, while the opinions of several other teachers are quoted in the Ap. D. S. on matters of Dharma. Āpastamba's silence on the contribution of Mānava school to Smārta Dharma seems to go against the existence of a Mānava Dharmasūtra ; for Āpastamba, who drew upon the Mānava Śrauta-sūtra (*infra*, Chap. IV) and who referred to the opinions of so many authorities on Smārta Dharma, could have hardly ignored the views of the Mānava School on Smārta Dharma, if he had actually known a Mānava Dharmasūtra. Moreover, the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras of the Mānava school show no special agreement with the doctrines ascribed to Manu in the Vas. D. S. and in the Manusmṛiti. On the other hand, we find obvious discrepancy between the teachings of the Man. G. S. and those of Manu. In order to explain away this difficulty, Dr. Bühler resorts to a roundabout argument and says, "All that has been brought forward in substantiation of this portion of Professor Max Müller's hypothesis is that as close an affinity exists between the Vishṇu-smṛiti, the modern recension of the Kāṭhaka Dharma-sūtra, and our Manusmṛiti, as is found between the Kāṭhaka and Mānava Gṛihya-sūtras and between the Kāṭhaka and Mānava Saṁhitās, and that hence the Vedic original of the Manusmṛiti may be supposed to have belonged to the Mānava school."[5] But the entire force of this argument depends upon the assumption that the Vishṇu-smṛiti was originally a Kāṭhaka Dharmasūtra. The relationship of the Vishṇusmṛiti with the other Smṛitis and Sūtras will be fully discussed below, and it would suffice to state here that the evidence at our disposal does not lend much support to the hypothesis that the Vishṇusmṛiti was originally a Kāṭhaka Dharmasūtra.

As the Sūtra Charaṇas of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and Hiraṇyakeśin possess complete sets of Kalpasūtras comprising Śrauta, Gṛihya, and Dharmasūtras, Dr. Bühler infers by analogy that the school of the Mānavas also may have had a Dharmasūtra of its own; and the learned scholar seeks to find confirmation of his assumption in the tradition of the Mīmāṁsā school 'that originally each Vedic school or Charaṇa possessed a peculiar work on Dharma.'

It is not always safe to conclude by analogy, for sometimes analogy leads to absurd conclusions. The history of Sūtra literature

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does not warrant us to draw such conclusions by analogy. It all depended upon the aptitude and ability of a particular Sūtrakāra to decide how many Sūtras he would compose. There was no holy injunction that a Sūtrakāra must compose all types of Sūtras, and that every Sūtra Charaṇa must have a Dharmasūtra of its own. So far as the rules on Gṛihya topics, such as marriage and Upanayana, were concerned, the Sūtra Charaṇas could depend upon the Gṛihyasūtras. And the rules on other topics, such as occupations of castes, duties of kings, administration of justice, etc., which fell within the exclusive purview of the Dharmasūtras, were equally applicable to all the Sūtra Charaṇas and were seldom fettered by the customs and traditions of individual Sūtra Charaṇas. It was, therefore, not necessary that each Sūtra Charaṇa must possess a Dharmasūtra of its own. However, it cannot be gainsaid that the Sūtra Charaṇas contributed a great deal to the development of Smārta Dharma literature. As the Sūtra Charaṇas were the centres of learning at that time, those scholars who specialized in Smārta Dharma also belonged to any of the Vedic schools.

In this connection it is interesting to note Dr. Kane's hypothesis on the origin of the Dharmasūtras. The learned scholar believes that as the Sūtra Charaṇas of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin, which in his opinion flourished in the South, were in the early days of their colonization surrounded by an alien culture and alien customs, they thought it necessary to formulate distinctly the rules of general conduct for the Aryan community in Southern India, whereas there was no such necessity in Northern India where the members of the Sūtra Charaṇas knew their ordinary everyday duties very well and were more or less a homogeneous community with the same ideals and culture. Dr. Kane adds that, when the leaders of Sūtra Charaṇas in the North came to know of the complete set of Kalpasūtras composed by Āpastamba and others, they thought to complete the sets of their Kalpasūtras by the addition of Dharmasūtras and consequently appropriated those independent Dharmasūtras which had already been composed in the North; and that in this way the followers of the Sāmaveda and the Ṛigveda adopted the Gaut. D.S. and the Vas. D.S. respectively, which had hardly anything special to connect them with the two Vedas.[6] This hypothesis of Dr. Kane is based on the sole assumption that the Charaṇas of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin arose and flourished in the South. This assumption about the home of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana is, as we shall see below in Chap. V, wholly unfounded; and consequently the entire superstructure

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vanishes with it. Moreover, it is also important to note that Dr. Kane himself is not quite certain that the home of Baudhāyana was in the South.[7] The argument that the location of certain Charaṇas in the midst of an alien culture necessitated the composition of Dharmasūtras in those Charaṇas carries little weight. The Dharmasūtras are not the sole repository of culture, and other works including the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras also embody great Aryan culture. Were they all composed in the South ? It is a novel theory that works on the culture of a community are not composed in its chief centre, but in isolated colonies of the community. It is also not quite correct to state that there is hardly anything in the Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Vasishṭha to connect them specially with the Sāmaveda and the Ṛigveda respectively. That the Gaut. D.S. and the Vas. D.S. are specially connected with the S.V. and the R.V. respectively will be shown below.

It follows from the foregoing discussion that the hypothesis in regard to the former existence of a Mānava Dharmasūtra is quite baseless and that the intricate problem of tracing the origin of our Manusmṛiti could not be tackled on the facile assumption that this Smṛiti is a recast and versification of a Mānava Dharmasūtra. So far as historical sequence between the Sūtras and Smṛitis is concerned, I fully endorse Prof. Max Müller's standpoint that the Dharmasūtras as a whole are earlier than the metrical Smṛitis. But it is not quite correct to consider the Smṛitis as mere recasts of the earlier Dharmasūtras. The Smṛiti-writers' contribution to the development of Dharma literature is by no means less substantial than that of the Dharmasūtra-writers.

4. THE INDIVIDUAL DHARMASUTRAS

The Gautama Dharmasūtra : The Gautama Dharmasūtra, which is regarded as one of the earliest Dharmasūtras, consists of 28 chapters composed entirely in prose. According to Kumārila, the Gaut. D.S. was studied by the followers of the Sāmaveda as a textbook of their school.[8] That the Gaut. D.S. originally belonged to the Sāmaveda is corroborated by internal evidence also. The whole of its Twenty-sixth Chapter is identical with the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa (1, 2) ; and it is not unreasonable to assume that the Gaut. D.S. has borrowed this chapter from the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa. The majority of purificatory texts prescribed by Gautama (XIX, 13) belong to the Sāmaveda. Moreover, Gautama prescribes the employment of five *Sāma-Vyāhṛitis* in two places (I, 57 ; XXV, 12). That a Gautama Charaṇa of the Sāmaveda

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once existed in ancient times is confirmed by the Charaṇa-vyūha (III, 1) which mentions Gautama Charaṇa as one of the subdivisions of the Rāṇāyanīya Śākhā. The probability of the existence of a Gautama Charaṇa gains support from Gobhila also who refers to Gautama's view on the performance of Aṣṭakās in the Gobh. G.S. III, 10,6 and exhibits close agreement with Gautama on certain points.[9] And this view is further strengthened by those references which point to the existence in earlier times of a Gautama Gṛihyasūtra (*supra*, Chap. II). The Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra and the Drāhyāyaṇa Śrautasūtra also speak of Gautama.[10] It follows, therefore, that the Gaut. D.S. was in all probability composed as a Dharmasūtra of the Gautama Charaṇa of the Sāmaveda.

Dr. Kane's standpoint on the origin of the Gaut. D.S. appears to be inconsistent. First he considers the Gaut. D.S. to be part of the Gautama Kalpa and remarks, "Therefore it is not improbable that a complete Gautamasūtra embodying Śrauta, Gṛihya and Dharma doctrines once existed ;"[11] but subsequently the learned scholar seeks to propound a new theory about the independent origin of the Gaut. D.S. and the Vas. D.S. and says, "The fact that, though Gautama and Vasishṭha are said to have been specially studied by the students of the Sāmaveda and the Ṛigveda respectively, there is hardly anything in these dharmasūtras that specially connects them with the two Vedas affords some corroboration of the above hypothesis. This assimilation of independent dharmasūtras into individual *sūtracharaṇas* probably took place before or in the first centuries of the Christian era."[12] Since Dr. Kane's theory about the independent origin of these works has already been discussed above, it may be added here that Dr. Kane nowhere refutes those arguments which he has himself adduced in favour of "indications pointing to the close connection of the Gautama-dharmasūtra with the Sāmaveda".[13]

It is a matter of regret that the Gaut. D.S. has in the course of centuries undergone many modifications, accretions and interpolations and has, therefore, not come down to us in its pristine purity. In some MSS. a chapter on Karma-Vipāka is found inserted after Chapter XIX,[14] but both the commentators Haradatta and Maskarin do not recognize this chapter. Several sūtras dealing with castes and inter-castes also seem to be interpolations.[15] In this connection it is interesting to mention the controversy raging round the occurrence of the word *Yavana* in the Gaut. D.S. IV, 21. Regarding the occurrence of *Yavana* as a mark of lateness, Dr. Jolly observes, "Altertümlich ist die Wiederholung des Schlussworts in

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jedem adhy., dagegen enthält die Sprache wenig Archaischs, auch die Aufführung der Mischkasten mit den Yavana 4, 21 macht einen modernen Eindruck."[16] Dr. Kane strongly disapproves of this view and remarks, "Gautama cites the opinion of some that Yavana is the offspring of a Kshatriya male and a Śūdra female (4.17). It is supposed by many scholars that the Yavanas became known to the Indians only at the time of Alexander's invasion and hence every work in which the word *yavana* occurs must be later than 320 B.C. Bühler (S.B.E. vol. II, Intro. lvi) seems to suggest that the sūtra where the word Yavana occurs in Gautama may be an interpolation. This is not a satisfactory explanation. One may ask, if Bühler believes that the Indians borrowed their alphabet centuries before Alexander from the neighbours of the Greeks, why it is improbable that the Indians may not have heard of the word Yavana centuries before Alexander and why Yavanas may not have resided in India long before that date."[17] I entirely agree with Dr. Kane that the occurrence of the word *Yavana* in any work can not be regarded as a sufficient proof for dating it after Alexander's invasion. But the criticism that Dr. Kane has directed at Dr. Bühler seems to be unwarranted, because Dr. Bühler does not attribute the spuriousness of the said sūtra to the occurrence of the word Yavana, nor does he subscribe to the view that 'every work in which the word Yavana occurs must be later than 320 B.C.' On the contrary, Dr. Bühler deprecates the tendency of drawing any chronological conclusion from the word Yavana and says, "And it has been occasionally asserted that an Indian work, mentioning the Yavanas, cannot have been composed before 300 B.C., because Alexander's invasion first made the Indians acquainted with the name of the Greeks. This estimate is certainly erroneous, as there are other facts, tending to show that at least the inhabitants of north-western India became acquainted with the Greeks about 200 years earlier."[18]

Many sūtras in the Gaut. D.S. appear to be of doubtful authenticity, and it is an important task for future researchers to determine precisely the spurious sūtras interpolated in the original Dharmasūtra.

The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra : The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra which now comprises four Praśnas is regarded as part of the Baudhāyana Kalpa ascribed to Baudhāyana. The spirit, style and language of the fourth Praśna distinguish it from the preceding three Praśnas. The fourth Praśna mainly consists of verses, and some of its rules are incongruous with those contained in the preceding Praśnas. Numerous rules of the fourth Praśna simply

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repeat what has been stated in the preceding Praśnas. Thus the fourth Praśna seems to be a later addition. The authenticity of the third Praśna is also doubtful. The tenth Adhyāya of this Praśna is almost identical with the nineteenth Adhyāya of the Gaut. D.S.; one verse (III, 1, 1, 24) closely agrees with Manu (V, 109); and many expressions (*e. g.*, III, 5, 5, 8) bear the imprint of a later date. Though the first two Praśnas are regarded as original, they do not seem to be entirely free from interpolations. The fifth Adhyāya of the second Praśna mentions nine planets and later deities like *Durgā*.

The Baudh. D.S. seems to have been preceded by the Baudh. G.S., for the former refers to the latter in two places.[19] There is no reason for doubting the traditional view that both the Baudh. G.S. and the Baudh. D.S. were composed by the famous *Pravachanakāra* Baudhāyana who was perhaps the first teacher to attempt a systematic exposition (*Pravachana*) of Vedic Kalpa.[20] A remarkable feature of the Kalpasūtras of Baudhāyana is that the name of Baudhāyana (or Bodhāyana) is mentioned in them many a time. In the Baudh. D.S. III, 6, 6, 20, we come across the phrase *Bhagavān Baudhāyanaḥ*. The commentator Govindasvāmin proposes many alternatives to account for the occurrence of Baudhāyana's name in the Baudh. D.S. I, 3, 5, 13, and says, "The author speaks of himself in the third person; or his teacher is referred to by the author who may have been a pupil of Baudhāyana as Bhṛigu, the author of the Manusmṛiti, was a pupil of Manu; or some other teacher named Baudhāyana whose works are now lost is referred to here." It follows from the statement of Govindasvāmin that he did not inherit any dependable tradition to arrive at a definite conclusion in regard to the occurrence of Baudhāyana's name in the Dharmasūtra. Therefore, he is advancing all possible conjectures to account for this phenomenon. Govindasvāmin's ingenious suggestion that another Baudhāyana whose works are now lost is referred to here carries little weight. Besides the Dharmasūtra, the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras also mention Baudhāyana's name a number of times. Shall we assume on this basis alone that, alongside of our present Kalpasūtras of Baudhāyana, a complete set of Śrauta, Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras composed by another Baudhāyana was also extant in ancient times? Such an assumption finds no support in Indian tradition and should be dismissed as utterly implausible. The other assumption that a pupil of Baudhāyana composed this Dharmasūtra is also unfounded; for there is no inkling of proof for it in the whole range of Indian literature.

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Taking his cue from Govindasvāmin, Dr. Kane propounds the theory that Kāṇva Baudhāyana may have been a descendant of Kaṇva Bodhāyana. But his whole structure is based on a difference of reading exhibited by the MSS. of these Sūtras. In the description of Tarpaṇa-ceremony contained in the Baudh. G.S. (edited by Shamasastry) the name of 'Kaṇva Bodhāyana' precedes those of Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin ; and the Bhar. G.S. has the reading 'Bodhāyana' in place of 'Kaṇva Bodhāyana', but the Baudh. D.S. (Kashi Skt. S.Ed., 1934) and some MSS. read 'Kāṇva Baudhāyana' instead of 'Kaṇva Bodhāyana'. From the reading found in the Baudh. G.S. Dr. Kane draws the inference that 'Kaṇva Bodhāyana was an ancient sage when the Baudh. D.S. was written, that Kaṇva Bodhāyana could not have been the author of the Gṛihya or Dharmasūtras of Baudhāyana, and that Baudhāyana may have been a descendant of this Kaṇva Bodhāyana'.[21] Moreover, Dr. Kane seeks support for his theory from Govindasvāmin who gives the epithet of *Kāṇvāyana* to Baudhāyana in the explanation of the sūtra referred to above. But it is quite unsafe to base any theory on a slight difference of reading in the MSS. Different editions and MSS. of the works of Baudhāyana bear ample testimony to the fact that both the variants—*Bodhāyana* and *Baudhāyana*—refer to one and the same person, and that both the forms—*Kaṇva* and *Kāṇva*—are also variants of the same word.[22] The difference is so unimportant that even Dr. Kane himself writes 'Kaṇva Bodhāyana' on page 21 and 'Kāṇva Bodhāyana' on page 39 of the H. D. S. Vol. I. It would, therefore, be unsafe to conclude from minor differences of reading that Kāṇva Baudhāyana is a descendant of Kaṇva Bodhāyana. The inclusion of Bodhāyana (or Baudhāyana) in the Tarpaṇa-list contained in the Gṛihya or Dharmasūtras can scarcely prove that he was an ancient sage at the time of the composition of these Sūtras ; for the Tarpaṇa-lists given in the Sūtras possess little chronological significance, and seem to have been brought up-to-date by the followers of the Sūtra-writers. The Tarpaṇa-list of the Sankh. G.S. includes Āśvalāyana besides Śāṅkhāyana, and that of the Asv. G.S. mentions Śāṅkhāyana along with Āśvalāyana. Similarly the Baudh. G.S. mentions Bodhāyana, Bhāradvāja aud Āpastamba; and the Bhar. G.S. also enumerates these names. As Govindasvāmin who gives the epithet of Kāṇvāyana to Baudhāyana is in doubt whether Baudhāyana mentioned in the Sūtra is the author or the author's teacher or a person different from both, his explanation can hardly prove any point. If Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin who are mentioned in the Tarpaṇa-list are regarded as authors of the Kalpasūtras

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ascribed to them, we see no reason why Baudhāyana (or Bodhāyana) should not be treated on a par with them. There is at present no conclusive evidence to prove that Kaṇva Bodhāyana who is included in the Tarpaṇa-list is different from the author of the Baudhāyana Kalpasūtras. Such sūtras as include the phrase 'Bhagavān Baudhāyanaḥ' (or Bodhāyanaḥ) seem to be of doubtful authenticity and may have been retouched later by the followers of Baudhāyana. The Dharmasūtra contains only one sūtra of this kind which occurs in the third Praśna.

The Āpastamba Dharmasūtra : The Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, which forms an integral part of the Āpastambīya Kalpa, constitutes XXVIII and XXIX Praśnas of this Kalpa. The author of the Ap. D.S., as we have seen above in Chapter I, is identical with the author of the Ap. G.S. The Praśna on Gṛihya ceremonies, as Dr. Bühler observes, has been made very short and concise in the Āpastambīya Kalpa with a view to reserving matter for the Praśnas on Dharma. Āpastamba confines the scope of his Gṛihyasūtra to the description of domestic ceremonies and to a few general remarks concerning these ceremonies, while he devotes his Dharmasūtra to the discussion of various views on Smārta Dharma. In the Gṛihyasūtra, for instance, Āpastamba contents himself with giving a bare outline of the Upanayana ceremony, while he fully discusses the aim, importance and optional rules of Upanayana in the Dharmasūtra. But so far as marriage is concerned, Āpastamba has nearly exhausted its treatment in the Gṛihyasūtra; and only the forms of marriage and two sūtras on exogamy are included in the Dharmasūtra. Dr. Kane's observation on this point is not quite accurate; for the learned scholar says, "About the choice of a girl Āp. gṛihya gives only a single rule (1.3.19). While it is the Dharmasūtra that tells us that the bride must not be *sagotra* nor *sapiṇḍa*."[23] The matter of fact is that the Gṛihyasūtra of Āpastamba contains as many as ten sūtras (1, 3, 10-18 & 20) about the choice of a bride, while the Dharmasūtra contains only two sūtras on this topic. Another observation of Dr. Kane may also be mentioned in this connection. Discussing Āpastamba's acquaintance with other works of Vedic literature, Dr. Kane observes, "He speaks of the six aṅgas of the Veda (II. 4.8.10) and in the next sūtra enumerates Chhandas, Kalpa, grammar, Jyotisha, Nirukta, Śikshā (phonetics) and Chhandovichiti (metrics), which are seven (Śikshā being probably intended to be included in grammar)."[24] There is no basis for Dr. Kane's supposition that seven Aṅgas are enumerated in the above-quoted sūtra of the Ap. D.S., and that Śikshā is intended to be

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included in grammar. In fact, only six Aṅgas have been enumerated by Āpastamba; and Dr. Kane seems to have inadvertently split up the first Vedāṅga *Chhandaḥkalpa* into two, *i.e.* Chhandas and Kalpa. The commentator Haradatta rightly explains Chhandaḥkalpa as one Vedāṅga signifying Kalpasūtras.[25]

Since the chief aim of the Gṛihyasūtra is to give a mere description of rites and that of the Dharmasūtra is to expound Smārta Dharma, the style of the latter is not so terse and laconic as that of the former. Moreover, the Dharmasūtra contains a number of verses interspersed in its sūtras.

The Hiraṇyakeśi Dharmasūtra : The Hiraṇyakeśi Dharmasūtra, which forms XXVI and XXVII Praśnas of the Hiraṇyakeśi Kalpa, is little more than a slightly modified edition of the Ap. D.S. According to Dr. Bühler, either Hiraṇyakeśin himself or at least his immediate successors have appropriated Āpastamba's Dharmasūtra and have inserted it with slight modifications in their own collection.[26] Therefore, the Hiraṇyakeśi Dharmasūtra is of little value for historical purposes. It may, however, be of some help in checking the readings of the Ap. D.S.

The Vāsishṭha Dharmasūtra : Vasishṭha is regarded by Manu and Yājñavalkya as an eminent authority on Dharma, and the commentators of Smṛitis and digest-writers often quote Vasishṭha's views on matters of Dharma. The Dharmasūtra which is now ascribed to Vasishṭha is a mixture of prose sūtras and verses. Though it has appeared in several editions, the editions and MSS. of the Vas. D.S. widely differ from each other. These differences concern not only individual verses but entire chapters. The number of chapters in different MSS. varies, as Dr. Jolly has pointed out, from six to thirty.[27] Though a number of verses occurring in each edition are found to agree with those attributed to Vasishṭha in other works on Smārta Dharma, the authenticity of the bulk of verses contained in them has yet to be established ; and a large number of verses ascribed to Vasishṭha in other works on Hindu law are not traceable to any of the extant MSS. of the Vāsishṭha Dharmasūtra. Thus a thoroughly authentic text of the Vas. D.S. is still a desideratum. The following discussion concerning the Vas. D.S. is based on its text as published in Dr. Führer's edition, which contains 30 chapters and is definitely better than the other editions published so far. The views ascribed to Vasishṭha in other works are mostly met with in Chapters 1-23 of Dr. Führer's edition. Though Chapters 1-23 are not entirely free from alterations and interpolations, Chapters 24-30 seem to be later additions. The 24th

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Chapter, which is the smallest one consisting of 7 sūtras only, first mentions 'Bhagavān Vasishṭhaḥ' in sūtra 5 ; and its following two sūtras closely agree with the Baudh. D.S. IV, 4,4, 9-10. The next four Chapters (25-28) are entirely in verse, and this feature is uncommon to the preceding Chapters, because in most of them the prose sūtras outnumber verses. Though Chapters 29 and 30 contain a few sūtras, too, the subject-matter dealt with in them adds little to the Dharma already propounded in Chapters 1-23. In view of the reasons stated above, Chapters 24-30 seem to be mostly spurious.

The treatment of subject in this Dharmasūtra is not throughout consistent and logical. One and the same subject is dealt with in more than one place ; rules on inheritance, marriage, castes, the conduct of a student, and duties of women may be cited for instance. Even in the matter of idiom the Vas. D.S. shows inconsistency. For example, the Vas. D.S. XIV, 47, employs the un-Pāṇinian form *Vivadanti*, while XVII, 6, has the form *Vivadante* which fully conforms to the rules of Pāṇinian grammar. Such a discrepancy in forms may be due to the oversight of the scribe.

As for the Vedic affiliations of the Vas. D.S., Kumārila observes that this Dharmasūtra was studied especially by the followers of the Ṛigveda.[28] But Dr. Kane holds a different view on the origin and Vedic affiliations of the Vas. D.S. and puts forward the hypothesis that the Vas. D.S. was originally composed as an independent work and later on seized upon by the students of the Ṛigveda, who had only Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras of Āśvalāyana.[29] The reasons given by Dr. Kane in support of his hypothesis have already been examined above. Besides, Dr. Kane adds that the Dharmasūtra of Vasishṭha cites quotations from all the Vedas and that beyond the name Vasishṭha there is hardly anything special in the Dharmasūtra to connect it with the Ṛigveda.[30] There is no doubt that the Vas. D.S. cites quotations not only from the Ṛigveda and the Ait. Br., but also from the Mait. Samh., the Tait. Samh., the Kath. Samh., and the Sat. Br. The other Dharmasūtras are also on a par with the Vas. D.S. in this respect ; and the quotations from the Ṛigveda and the Ait. Br. can hardly account for the special importance which, in the opinion of Kumārila, the followers of the Ṛigveda attached to the Vas. D.S. We have discussed above in detail Dr. Kane's hypothesis that the Gaut. D.S. and the Vas. D.S. were originally composed as independent works and later on taken over by the followers of the Sāmaveda and the Ṛigveda respectively ; and we have seen that such a hypothesis lacks plausibility. Though the Vas. D.S. is not known to have formed part of a Ṛigvedic Kalpa, the internal

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evidence points to its close relationship with the Gṛihyasūtras of the Ṛigveda and militates against Dr. Kane's conclusion that beyond the name Vasishṭha there is hardly anything special in the Vas. D.S. to connect it with the Ṛigveda. It is important to note that the Vas. D.S. is in close agreement with the Sankh. G.S. in regard to the treatment of Gṛihya matters, such as Upanayana, Anadhyāya, the conduct of a Snātaka, and the Pañcha Mahāyajñas ; and numerous sūtras of the Vas. D.S. show remarkable agreement with the sūtras of the Sankh. G.S., the Asv. G.S., and the Kaush. G.S.[31]

Barring the Gṛihyasūtras of the Ṛigveda, it is only the Par. G.S. which supplies a few parallels to the sūtras of Vasishṭha. Since the Par. G.S. is also highly indebted to the Gṛihyasūtras of the Ṛigveda, the points of agreement between the Par. G.S. and the Vas. D.S. lend further support to the view that the latter Sūtra must have been affiliated with the Ṛigveda. Numerous agreements between the Vas. D.S. and the Gṛihyasūtras of the Ṛigveda can hardly be brushed aside as merely incidental, if it is borne in mind that the other Gṛihyasūtras have few points of agreement with the Vas. D.S. So far as the broad principles of Dharma were concerned, the Dharmasūtras did not depend upon any particular Veda and drew upon all the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas without any distinction. But in the matter of domestic rites and customs the Sūtra schools adhered to their own traditions ; and the Sūtra-writers were naturally inclined to accord the first preference to those rites and customs which had attended their birth and upbringing. Thus the Gṛihya rites and customs can help us, to some extent, in determining the Vedic affiliations of the authors of the Dharmasūtras. Considered from this point of view, numerous points of remarkable agreement between the Vas. D.S. and the Gṛihyasūtras of the Ṛigveda confirm Kumārila's view that the Vas. D.S. belongs to the followers of the Ṛigveda ; and this evidence leads us to the conclusion that the author of the Vas. D.S. followed those rites and customs which were prevalent in the Sūtra schools of the Ṛigveda.

The Vaikhānasa Dharmasūtra : The Vaikhānasa Dharmasūtra forms the VIII, IX and X Praśnas of the Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra edited by Dr. Caland. The special feature of this Dharmasūtra consists in that it deals mainly with the duties of Āśramas and Varṇas. It devotes a good deal of space to the classification of Vānaprasthas, Gṛihasthas and Saṁnyāsins ; and such a thorough classification of the Āśramas is almost unknown to the other Dharmasūtras. No other Dharmasūtra contains so much information on the conduct of Saṁnyāsins as this Sūtra does. This Sūtra is again unique in

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enumerating a very large number of inter-castes. But the Vaikhānasa Dharmasūtra is silent on the duties of a king, administration of justice, and Śrāddhas, which figure prominently in the other Dharmasūtras. Another important feature of this Sūtra is that a number of rules contained in it closely agree with those of Manu and correspond to nearly four dozen verses of the Manusmṛiti. The Gṛihyasūtra of Vaikhānasa also agrees with the Manusmṛiti in respect of more than a dozen rules. The relationship between the Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra and the Manusmṛiti has been discussed below in Chap. IV.

The Vishṇu Dharmasūtra : The Vishṇu Dharmasūtra which comprises a hundred chapters is the only Dharmasūtra to claim divine authorship. The number of chapters seems to have been purposely brought to the round figure of a hundred to coincide with the number of Vishṇu's names enumerated in Chapter XCVIII ; for some of the chapters, *e.g.*, Chapters XXXIV, XXXIX, XL, XLII and LXXVI, which consist of a sūtra and a verse each, have no other justification for their separate entity. The first and the last Chapters are entirely in verse, and in many other chapters verses outnumber sūtras. This Dharmasūtra has got the unique distinction of mentioning the custom of *suttee*, the word *Pustaka* for a book, the days of the week, Trimūrti, and many Tīrthas situated in the South. Attempting a novel definition of Āryāvarta, the Vi. D.S. (LXXXIV, 4) says that the country where the system of four castes does not exist is a Mlechchha country and that Āryāvarta is beyond that.

It is important to note that over 160 verses occurring in this Sūtra are identical with those found in the Manusmṛiti. Moreover, a large number of sūtras in the Vi. D.S. closely agree in substance with the verses of Manu. This phenomenon naturally gives rise to speculations regarding the relationship between the two works. Dr. Jolly has put forward the view that the verses and sūtras of the Vi. D.S. are earlier than the corresponding verses contained in the Manusmṛiti. The main arguments adduced by Dr. Jolly in support of his view are that Vishṇu, unlike Manu, does not mention South Indian peoples, such as Dravidas and Āndhras ; that the Vi. D.S. does not show acquaintance with any other system of philosophy except Yoga and Sāṅkhya ; that it does not speak of female ascetics disparagingly ; and that it does not inveigh against the custom of Niyoga.[32] But it may be humbly submitted in this connection that little weight can be attached to the *argumentum exsilentio* ; and that Manu's acquaintance with the peoples of the South does not prove his posteriority to the author of the Vi. D.S.,

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because the Ait. Br. (VII, 18) also betrays acquaintance with the peoples of the South. Moreover, in Chapter LXXXV, the Vi. D.S. mentions many Tīrthas situated in the South. As to the argument resting on non-condemnation of Niyoga by Vishṇu, it may be pointed out that the Yaj. also, which is definitely later than the Manusmṛiti, does not censure the custom of Niyoga. There is, on the other hand, abundant evidence to show that the Vi. D.S. is later than the Manusmṛiti and has borrowed verses from it. For example, the Vi. D.S. has appropriated Manu's famous verse (V, 41) by substituting *kathañchana* for '*abravīn Manu*,' in LI, 64 ; the verse (V, 131) by substituting '*Parikīrtitam*' for '*Manurabravīt*', in XXIII, 50 ; and a hemistich of the verse (V, 122) by substituting '*Prokshaṇena cha pustakam*' for '*Punaḥpākena mṛiṇmayam*', in XXLII, 56. Hundreds of such instances may be cited. In all these cases which point to the posteriority of the Vi. D.S. to the Manusmṛiti, Dr. Jolly resorts to a different method of argumentation and ascribes all the passages betraying signs of lateness to a late Vishṇuite editor who is believed to have recast this work. Even a cursory examination of Vishṇu's sūtras agreeing in substance with the verses of Manu would show that the author of these sūtras is merely paraphrasing the verses of the Manusmṛiti.

Similarly the Vi. D.S. has a number of verses in common with the Yaj. and fully agrees with it on many important points. In this case, too, Dr. Jolly seeks to prove the posteriority of the Yaj. to the Vi. D.S. His principal arguments are that the whole anatomical section of the Yaj. (III, 84-104) has been shown by Prof. Max Müller to have been borrowed from the Vi. D.S. (XCVI, 43-96) ; that the allusions to astrology and astronomy of the Greeks (Yaj. I, 80. 295), the whole passage on the worship of Gaṇeśa and of planets (Yaj. I, 270-307) and the philosophical doctrines propounded in the Yaj. (I, 349-50) have no parallel in the Vi. D.S. ; that the Yaj. (I, 57) disallows a Śūdrā wife, while the Vi. D.S. (XXIV, 1-4) allows such a wife ; and that the term *Nāṇaka* for coined money referred to in the Yaj. (II, 240-41) is wanting in the Vi. D.S.[33]

It may be urged in this connection that, since the details of human anatomy contained in the Yaj. and the Vi. D.S. are identical with those found in the Charaka Saṁhitā (IV, 7), it is quite likely that these details were borrowed by either or both of them from this Saṁhitā. The worship of Vināyakas described in the Yaj. is contained in the Man. G.S., which is one of the earliest Sūtras. The Vi. D.S., on the contrary, prescribes the image-worship of Vāsudeva (Chap. XC) and mentions the days of the week (Chap. LXXVIII)

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which were, according to all indications, not introduced in India prior to the astronomy of the Greeks. As for the philosophical doctrines propounded in the Yaj., the Vi. D.S. is not supposed to contain everything that the Yaj. has. As regards the sūtras of Vishṇu allowing a Śūdrā wife to the three higher castes, it may be pointed out that these sūtras have been borrowed by the Vi. D.S. from the Baudh. D.S. (I, 8, 16, 2-5) ; therefore, no chronological conclusions can be drawn in this case from these sūtras. The date of introduction of the term *Nāṇaka* is not yet definite, and its non-mention in the Vi. D.S. can hardly settle the chronology of this work. Moreover, a comparison of the styles of the Yaj. and the Vi. D.S. makes it perfectly clear that the former is throughout consistent in the use of compact and concise verses, while the latter has no style of its own ; in some places the Vi. D.S. employs the terse style of the Yaj. and in others it uses very loose sūtras to express the ideas contained in the verses of the Yaj. To illustrate this point we may compare the rules of the Vi. D.S. (XVII, 4-21) with the verses of the Yaj. (I, 135-38 ; I, 143-45). It appears that the Vi. D.S. has borrowed *verbatim* some verses of the Yaj. and merely paraphrased others. The balance of probability is in favour of the view that the Vi. D.S. has copiously borrowed rules from the Yaj.

Dozens of sūtras contained in the Vi. D.S. agree very closely with the sūtras of the Gaut. D.S., and the only reasonable explanation for this phenomenon is that the former has borrowed them from the latter. Sixteen verses from the Bhagavadgītā are also found to occur in the Vi. D.S. Some of these verses, it seems, have been slightly modified by the Vi. D.S. to conform to the narrative of its own composition. For instance, '*Kaunteya*' of the Bh. G. XIII, 1, has been replaced by '*Vasudhe*' in XCVI, 97 ; and 'Bhārata' of the Bh G. XIII, 2, has been replaced by 'Bhāvini' in XCVI, 98. Several verses from other parts of the Mahābhārata are also identical with the verses of the Vi. D.S. Over a dozen sūtras are common to the Vi. D.S. and the Par. G.S., and some verses of the former agree in substance with the sūtras of the latter. Similarly some sūtras of the Sankh. G.S. also agree with those of the Vi. D.S. Special significance attaches to the points of agreement between the Vi. D.S. and the Kath. G.S. About forty sūtras of the Vi. D.S. closely agree with those of Kath. G.S. ; nineteen of them deal with the Vaiśvadeva sacrifice, fifteen of them are concerned with the Śrāddha, and six of them describe the Vṛishotsarga rite. And, of course, the Mantras quoted or referred to in these sūtras are identical in both

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the works. These sūtras and Mantras have been relied upon by eminent Indologists including Jolly and Kane to prove close affinity between the Vi. D.S. and the Kath. G.S. Believing that the version of the Vi. D.S. is in a few cases more genuine than that of the Kath. G.S., Dr. Jolly advances the conjecture that the author of the Vi. D.S. cannot have borrowed these rules from the Kath. G.S. and that both must have drawn from a common source, *i.e.* the tradition current in the Kaṭha school ; and thus the learned scholar seeks to confirm Dr. Bühler's hypothesis that the bulk of the so-called Vishṇusmṛiti is really the ancient Dharmasūtra of the Kāṭhaka Śākhā of the Black Yajurveda.[34] Endorsing this view Dr. Kane also opines that, as the Vi. D.S. used Kāṭhaka Mantras and borrowed from the Kath. G.S., it may have been a text-book of the Kāṭhaka school and probably originated in Kashmir and Punjab which is the home of the Kaṭhas.[35]

In my humble opinion, the above hypothesis about the origin of the Vi. D.S. is based on tenuous evidence. Though the Vi. D.S. shares some sūtras with the Kath. G.S. in the description of the Śrāddha and Vaiśvadeva, it is very important to note that the description of these rites in the Vi. D.S. is not confined to the common sūtras and is much more comprehensive than that contained in the Kath. G.S. So far as the Vṛishotsarga is concerned, the common sūtras occur in the Par. G.S., the Sankh. G.S., and the Kaush. G.S. as well. It is really significant to note in this connection that one rule of the Vi. D.S. (LXXXVI, 2), which is missing in the Kath. G.S. and the Par. G.S., is found in the Sankh. G.S. (III,11, 10) and the Kaush. G.S. (III, 6, 4) ; and that another expression '*Āśvayujyām*' of the Vi. D.S. (LXXXVI, 2) is met with in the Kaush. G.S. (III,6,2) *only*. When the Vi. D.S. is found to share several sūtras with the other Gṛihyasūtras also as shown above, and differs from the Kath. G.S. on many important points, it is unsafe to assume that the Vi. D.S. was originally a Dharmasūtra of the Kaṭhas. As for the Mantras employed by the Vi. D.S., it may be pointed out that the largest number of Mantras prescribed in the Vi. D.S., belong to the Ṛigveda. The version of the Vi. D.S. is, in my opinion, not more genuine than that of the Kath. G.S. The Vi. D.S. seems to have borrowed rules from the Kath. G.S. in the same way as it has borrowed from the other Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras and Smṛitis. No special relationship between the Vi. D.S. and the Kath. G.S. can be proved on the basis of the evidence available at present.

As most of the rules embodied in the Vi. D.S. are common to other works on Dharma, this phenomenon may be explained on the

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assumption that either all other works borrowed from the Vi. D.S. or it borrowed from other works. The first alternative seems to be impossible in the extreme, because the Vi. D.S. is so unimportant a work that all authorities on Dharma from Gautama to Yājñavalkya could not have drawn upon it. Then we are left with the other alternative. It appears that a devotee of Vishṇu picked up sūtras and verses from earlier works on Dharma and rehashed them in the so-called Vishṇusmṛiti. If all those rules which are common to other works on Dharma are taken away from the Vi. D.S., it is left with almost nothing of importance. Approving of the view advanced by Professors Bühler and Jolly, Dr. Kane observes that, although the extant Vishṇu Dharmasūtra is a later recast, it contains a few doctrines that were held in ancient times ; and in order to illustrate this point Dr. Kane says that the Vi.D.S. allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry a girl of any one of the four castes (XXIV, 1) and does not inveigh against *Niyoga* as Manu does.[36] Elsewhere Dr. Kane places some chapters of the Vi. D.S. on a par with the ancient Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba and cites for instance the Chapters about Rājadharma (III) and punishment (V), the rules about twelve sons (XV) and mixed castes (XVI), funeral rites (XXI) and mourning (XXII).[37]

The two arguments adduced by Dr. Kane to establish the antiquity of the Vi. D.S. were first put forward by Dr. Jolly, as we have seen above, to prove Vishṇu's priority to Manu and Yājñavalkya ; and it has already been pointed out above that those sūtras of the Vi. D.S. which allow a Śūdrā wife to the three higher castes have been borrowed from the Baudh. D.S. (I, 8, 16, 2-5) ; and that the Yaj., too, which is definitely later than the Manusmṛiti, does not condemn Niyoga has also been stated above. Therefore, on the basis of these two instances the Vi. D.S. can scarcely be credited with any doctrines of antiquity. Let us now examine those chapters which Dr. Kane places on a par with the Gaut. D.S. and the Ap. D.S.

In Chapter III, three verses and forty odd sūtras closely agree with the verses of Manu ; nearly ten sūtras are in agreement with the precepts of the Yaj. ; about two dozen sūtras are in perfect accord with the rules of both Manu and Yaj. ; and approximately half a dozen sūtras are found to agree with the sūtras of Gautama. And if all such sūtras and verses are removed from this Chapter, nothing of importance is left over. Similarly in Chapter V, three verses and fifty odd sūtras closely agree with the verses of Manu ; nearly seventy sūtras contain the same rules as are laid down in the Yaj. ; and over two dozen sūtras agree in substance

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with the precepts of both Manu and Yaj. It is also a remarkable feature that numerous expressions in the Fifth Chapter are exactly identical with those of Manu and Yaj. Similarly Chapter XV is also found to possess little originality ; its rules about twelve sons, which have been especially mentioned by Dr. Kane to prove its antiquity, have nearly all been borrowed from the Vas. D.S. (XVII, 13-38) ; one verse and many expressions have been borrowed *verbatim* from the Vas. D.S. ; and this Chapter owes two verses to the Manusmṛiti. Similar is the case with Chapter XVI which has one verse and many rules common with the Manusmṛiti and a few rules common with the Yaj. As regards Chapter XXI, which has nearly half a dozen sūtras common with the Kath. G.S., one verse (XXI, 23) fully agrees with the Yaj. (I, 254) and the other verse and some sūtras agree in substance with the precepts of the Yaj. So far as Chapter XXII is concerned, most of its rules agree in substance with those of Manu ; a dozen verses are almost identical with those of Manu ; and some of its expressions fully coincide with those found in the Manusmṛiti and the Yaj. Thus a thorough examination of the Chapters in question shows that these Chapters, on the whole, contain little that is more ancient than the rules of the Vas. D.S., the Manusmṛiti, and the Yaj.

The upshot of the whole discussion is that the Vi. D.S. can hardly claim any originality and that there is very meagre evidence to corroborate the view that the Vi. D.S. was originally a Dharma-sūtra of the Kāṭhaka School and was later recast by a Vishṇuite editor. In my humble opinion, the Vi. D.S. was from its very inception nothing but a mere rehash of the earlier works on Dharma.

Notes and References

1. Tantravārtika (Banaras Ed.), p. 237.
2. H.A.S.L. (Allahabad Ed.), pp. 32, 68-70 ; SBE, Vol. II, pp. ix-xi.
3. SBE, Vol. XXV, pp. xviii-lxv.
4. *See* SBE, Vol. XIV, pp. xviii-xix.
5. SBE, Vol. XXV, p. xxiii.
6. H.D.S., Vol. I, pp. 84-85.
7. *Op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.
8. Tantravārtika (Banaras Ed.), p. 179.
9. *Cf.* GGS. III, 3,24=GDS. XVI, 32 ; GGS. III, 3,20=GDS. XVI, 35 & 38 ; GGS. III, 3,21-22=GDS. XVI, 37 ; GGS. I, 1,8.12=GDS.V, 7.
10. Lāt. S. S.I, 3,3 ; 1,4,17 ; Drah. S.S. IX, 3,15.
11. *Op. cit.*, p. 13.
12. *Op. cit.*, p. 85.
13. *Op. cit.*, p. 13..
14. *See* Gaut. D.S., Calcutta Ed. of 1876 ; SBE, Vol. II, p. lvii.
15. Bühler, SBE, Vol. II, pp. lvi-lxi.

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16. *Recht und Sitte*, p. 5.

17. *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

18. SBE, Vol. II (*second* Ed., 1896), p. lxi. Dr. Kane refers to the *first* Ed. only.

19. *Cf.* BDS.II, 8,15,9,=BGS.II, 11, 42 ; BDS.I, 2,3,16=BGS.II, 5,66.

20. Dr. Bühler (SBE, Vol. XIV, p. xxxvi) discusses the meaning of the term *pravachana* and observes, "If, therefore, a teacher is called the author of the pravachana of a Śākhā, that can only mean that he is something more than a common Sūtrakāra, and is considered to be the originator of the whole system of instruction among its followers." And Dr. Caland, who in his work '*Über Das Rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*', p. 3, draws a distinction between a Pravachanakāra and a Sūtrakāra, remarks, "Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach wird mit Pravachanakāra derjenige Lehrer gemeint, der das Ritual in mündlicher Überlieferung fixiert hat, während der Sūtrakāra derjenige ist, der es zu einem Sūtra, Leitfaden, verarbeitet hat."

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 21. For *Kāṇva* and *Kāṇvāyan as* Gotra-names, *see* SBE, XIV. p. xxxvi.

22. *Cf.* Baudh. D.S. (Kashi Sanskrit Series Ed., 1934), II, 9,5,14 ; Baudh. G.S. (Mysore Ed., 1920) III, 9,6 ; Ap. D.S.I, 10,28,1 (Kashi Sanskrit Series Ed., 1932 ; Kumbhakonam Ed. ; and Bühler's Ed.)

23. *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

24. *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

25. छन्दो वेदः । तत्कल्पयति प्रतिशाखं शाखान्तराधीतेन न्यायप्राप्तेन चाङ्गकलापेनोपेतस्य कर्मणः प्रयोगकल्पनयोपस्कुरुत इति छन्दःकल्पः कल्पसूत्राणि ॥ Kashi Skt. Series Ed. उज्ज्वला on AP. D. S. II, 4, 8, 11.

26. SBE, Vol. II, p. xxiv.

27. *Recht und Sitte*, p. 6.

28. Tantravārtika (Banaras Ed.), p. 179 ; *cf.* Govindasvāmin on the Baudh. D.S. I, 1,2,5.

29. *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

31. *Cf.* Vas DS. XI, 3=SGS.II, 14,3 ; Vas DS. XI, 49=SGS.II, 1,1 ; Vas DS.XI, 52=SGS.II, 1,18 ; Vas DS.XI, 53=SGS.II, 1,19 ; Vas DS.XI, 54=SGS. II, 1,20 ; Vas DS.XI, 59=SGS.II, 1,16 and AGS.I, 19, 11 ; Vas DS.XIII, 5= SGS.IV, 6,7-8 ; Vas DS.XIII, 18=SGS. IV, 7,34 ; Vas DS. XIII, 19=SGS.IV, 7, 49 ; Vas DS.XIII, 22=SGS IV, 7,7 ; Vas DS.VI, 21=SGS.II, 16,5 ; Vas DS.IV, 6=SGS.II, 16,1.

Vas. DS. IV, 15=AGS. IV, 4,15 ; Vas DS. XI, 55-57=AGS. 1, 19, 13 ; Vas DS.XI, 75=AGS.I, 19,7 ; Vas DS.XII, 25-26=AGS.III, 9,7 ; Vas DS.XII, 45=AGS.III, 9, 7.

Vas DS. XI, 65-66=Kaush. G.S. II, 1, 9-10 ; Vas DS. XIII, 3=Kaush. G.S. III, 7,8 ; Vas DS. XIII, 10=Kaush. G.S. III, 9,15 ; Vas DS. XIII, 16=Kaush. G.S.III, 9, 50 ; Vas DS,XIII, 21=Kaush. G.S. III, 9,26.

32. SBE, Vol. VII, pp. xiii seq.

33. *Op. cit.*, pp. xx seq.

34. *Op. cit.*, pp. xi seq.

35. H.D.S., Vol. I, p. 68.

36. *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

37. *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

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CHAPTER IV

THE AGE OF THE SUTRAS

The question of settling the chronology of the Sūtras bristles with many difficulties, and in the present state of our knowledge it is almost impossible to assign precise dates to the composition of individual Sūtras. However, it is worthwhile to attempt a relative chronology of the Sūtras and to explore the possibilities of determining the approximate limits of the period which witnessed the growth of Sūtra literature. The entire discussion on the age of the Sūtras is, therefore, divided into two parts : the first part deals with the relative chronology of individual Sūtras, and the second part which is in the form of concluding remarks seeks to fix tentatively the upper and lower limits of the Sūtra period.

I. THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF INDIVIDUAL SUTRAS

The Sūtras of Āśvalāyana : The authorship of the Asv. G.S. and the Asv. S.S., as we have discussed above in Chapter II, is ascribed to Āśvalāyana who was according to a tradition mentioned by Shaḍguruśishya (*vide* Chap. II, Note 44) a pupil of the famous teacher Śaunaka, the reputed author of the Ṛigvedaprātiśākhya and many other works.[1] The view of Śaunaka is referred to in the Asv. G. S., and homage is paid to him at the end of this Gṛihya. Similarly the Asv. S.S. also mentions the views of Śaunaka (*supra*, p. 21).

In this connection we get an important piece of evidence from the *Bṛihaddevatā* which is ascribed to Śaunaka, but is in all probability the work of some pupil who was not separated from Śaunaka by a long interval of time.[2] The Bṛihaddevatā IV, 139, makes an explicit reference to Āśvalāyana's view as propounded in the Asv. G.S. II, 6, 12. This reference is very helpful in fixing the relative chronology of the Asv. G.S. ; for the Bṛihaddevatā which is one of the chief sources of Kātyāyana's Sarvānukramaṇī must be earlier than Kātyāyana, who probably also composed the Śrautasūtra and the Vājasaneyi-Anukramaṇī, besides the Sarvānukramaṇī.[3] And the occurrence of numerous archaic and un-Pāṇinian forms in the Sarvānukramaṇī is regarded as ample proof of Kātyāyana's priority to Pāṇini.[4] Thus the mention of Āśvalāyana in

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the Bṛihaddevatā shows that Āśvalāyana must be considerably older than Pāṇini.

The Aitareya Āraṇyaka also confirms the above view concerning the relative chronology of Āśvalāyana. Shaḍguruśishya ascribes the authorship of the Fourth Book of the Ait. Ar. to Āśvalāyana (*vide* Chap. II, Note 44) and always refers to the Fifth Āraṇyaka as Fourth, apparently looking upon the Fourth and Fifth as one book.[5] Thus the Fifth Book of the Ait. Ar., which is composed in Sūtra-style, is regarded by Shaḍguruśishya as Āśvalāyana's composition ; and Prof. Keith, who sees in the Ait. Ar. V, 3,2, a reference to the Asv. S.S.I 5, 17, believes that this reference proves the identity of authorship in the case of the Asv. S.S. and the Ait. Ar. (Book V).[6] Since the Ait. Ar. is regarded as prior to Pāṇini[7], Āśvalāyana, the author of its Fifth Āraṇyaka, must be earlier than Pāṇini.

Moreover, in point of style also the Asv. G.S. appears to be a work of earlier Sūtra period, for in certain passages the style of this Gṛihya approaches that of the Brāhmaṇas.[8] It is thus highly probable that the Asv. G.S. is considerably older than Pāṇini. The style of the Asv. S.S. is, however, comparatively terse. But it cannot be held on that ground that the Asv. S.S. is later than the Asv. G.S. In all probability both the works are the compositions of the same author.

The Kaushītaka Gṛihyasūtra : Before we enter upon a discussion on the relative chronology of the Sūtras of Śāṅkhāyana, it is essential to assess the chronological value of certain Ślokas which occur in the Sankh. G.S. as well as in the Kaush. G.S. In one of these Ślokas the authority of Manu is cited, and some of the Ślokas agree in substance with the similar Ślokas occurring in the Manusmṛiti.[9] Dr. Chintamani places great reliance on these Ślokas and puts forward the view that since the author of the Kaush. G.S. cites the Ślokas of the Manusmṛiti this Gṛihyasūtra is definitely later than the Manusmṛiti.[10] The above-mentioned Śloka containing Manu's name is found in the Vas. D.S. also, which shows complete agreement with the Manusmṛiti in regard to the reading of this Śloka ; but its reading in these two Gṛihyasūtras is slightly different. Both the Gṛihyasūtras read *'Some'* in place of *'Yajñe'* occurring in the Vas. D.S. and the Manusmṛiti. Commenting on the occurrence of the above Śloka in the Sankh. G.S., Prof. Bühler opines that the Sankh. G.S. is here possibly referring to the Mānava Dharmasūtra ; and then turning to the other Ślokas of the Sankh. G.S., the same scholar remarks that as the Sankh. G.S.

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agrees in a number of rules with Manu, it is not improbable that its author may have drawn upon the original of the latter.[11] But Prof. Bühler strikes a note of caution that one cannot be perfectly confident on this point unless some difficult questions about the critical condition of Śāṅkhāyana's text have been fully cleared up.[12] Thus Prof. Bühler's views on these Ślokas do not lend any support to Dr. Chintamani's thesis that our Gṛihyasūtra has drawn upon the present Manusmṛiti; and Dr. Chintamani has adduced no arguments to substantiate his point of view. It is also important to note that the practice of quoting verses in the Sūtras is not peculiar to these two Gṛihyasūtras. The other works of the Sūtra period also cite popular verses to support their point of view, and Yāska quotes a verse containing Manu's view.[13] Such phenomena could hardly be explained on the assumption that Śāṅkhāyana and Yāska borrowed these verses from the Manusmṛiti. The best possible explanation in such cases could be, as Professors Hopkins and Bühler have suggested, that there already existed a floating mass of proverbial sayings ascribed to Manu, some of which were reverentially quoted by different authors.[14]

As for the above-mentioned Śloka containing Manu's name, the reading preserved in the Sankh. G.S. appears to be earlier than that found in the Vas. D.S. and the Manusmṛiti; for Śāṅkhāyana's version, which reads 'animals may be killed at the Soma sacrifice', belongs to that age when the Soma sacrifice accompanied with the immolation of animals was a living institution. The Vas. D.S. and the Manusmṛiti which employ the general term sacrifice (*Yajñe*) in lieu of the precise term '*Soma sacrifice*' show that, as Soma sacrifices had become rare, if not obsolete, in the time of these works, the precise term '*Some*' was replaced by the general term '*Yajñe*' in them. Moreover, the circumstance that all the Ślokas contained in the Kaush. G.S. are found invariably at the end of Khaṇḍas raises some doubt regarding their genuineness.[15] The topics dealt with in the aphorisms of this Gṛihyasūtra are nowhere incomplete without these Ślokas. At the end of the tenth Khaṇḍa of the third Adhyāya as many as ten Ślokas are found put together. Such a phenomenon is generally uncommon in the Gṛihyasūtras. It appears that these Ślokas were tacked on to the Khaṇḍas of the Gṛihyasūtra in later times without disturbing the order of the aphorisms in any way. In the light of these considerations it is unsafe to draw any conclusion regarding the date of the Kaush. G.S. from the Ślokas contained in it.

Excepting the Fifth Adhyāya which is probably based upon the

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Sankh. S.S. (IV, 14-16), the whole of the Kaush. G.S. is little more than a slightly modified version of the Sankh. G.S. and hardly deserves the title of an independent Gṛihyasūtra. Therefore, the date of the Kaush. G.S. is chiefly dependent on that of the Sankh. G.S.

The Sūtras of Śāṅkhāyana : Some of the Ślokas quoted by the Kaush. G.S. are contained in the Sankh. G.S. also.[16] But nearly half the Ślokas quoted by the Kaush. G.S. are not known to the Sankh. G.S. It is also important to note that the Sankh. G.S., too, contains the common Ślokas at the end of the Khaṇḍas. Therefore, no safe conclusion could be drawn from these Ślokas in regard to the chronology of the Sankh. G.S.

Now let us discuss the chronological relationship between the Sankh. G.S. and the Asv. G.S. Though the name of Śāṅkhāyana precedes that of Āśvalāyana in the list of teachers mentioned in the Tarpaṇa ceremony of these Gṛihyasūtras, this order of names can hardly prove anything concerning the relative chronology of the two authors ; for ancient teachers, such as Aitareya and Śākalya, are also preceded by Śāṅkhāyana in this very list.[17] A thorough comparison of the two Gṛihyasūtras, in respect of their style of composition and the development of ideas, points to the priority of Āśvalāyana. In comparison with the Asv. G.S., the Sankh. G.S. follows a more laconic style of composition and lays greater stress on caste-distinctions. Apart from the fact that the Sankh. G.S. avoids all manner of illustrations and explanatory quotations, this Gṛihya frequently resorts to the use of gerunds, locative absolutes, and present participles with a view to economizing words.[18] The Sankh. G.S. lays great stress on caste-distinctions respecting gifts to be given at the end of nuptials (I, 14), the age of the child at the time of Chūḍākaraṇa (I, 28), and the metres of the Sāvitrī to be taught to the students of different castes at Upanayana (II, 5). But all these distinctions are unknown to the Asv. G.S. The reader will find below in Chapters VI and XIV that emphasis on caste-distinctions becomes more pronounced in later works.

Āśvalāyana's priority to Śāṅkhāyana is also confirmed by a comparison of the Ait. Ar. and the Sankh. S.S. It has been shown above in Chap. I that the Gṛihyasūtras of Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana often refer to the Śrautasūtras of their respective schools ; and the native tradition corroborated by internal evidence deducible from language, style and subject-matter of the Śrauta and Gṛihya sūtras convincingly establishes the identity of authorship in regard to the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras ascribed to the same author. It is, therefore, beyond doubt that Suyajña Śāṅkhāyana was the author of

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the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras ascribed to Śāṅkhāyana, and that Āśvalāyana composed a Śrautasūtra, a Gṛihyasūtra and the Fifth Book of the Ait. Ar., as discussed above. Though Prof. Hillebrandt considers the Sankh. S.S. to be earlier than the Asv. S.S.,[19] a comparison of the Mahāvrata ritual, as described in the Ait. Ar. and the Sankh. S.S., would show that the Ait. Ar. (V), which refers to the Asv. S.S., is earlier than the Sankh. S.S.[20] The priority of the Asv. S.S. to the Sankh. S.S. proves that the Asv. G.S. must be earlier than the Sankh. G.S.

The Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra and the Pāraskara Gṛihyasūtra : The posteriority of the Par. G.S. to the Kat. S.S. appears to be highly probable. In many of its sūtras the Par. G.S. refers to the Kat. S.S.[21] Some sūtras of the Par. G.S. are found to be identical with those of the Kat. S.S.[22] As the author of the Kat. S.S. is most probably the same as that of the Sarvānukramaṇī,[23] Āśvalāyana's priority to the Sarvānukramaṇī, as discussed above, leads us to the conclusion that both the Kat. S.S. and the Par. G.S. are later than the Sūtras of Āśvalāyana. This view regarding the relative chronology of the Par. G.S. is fully borne out by the style and subject-matter of the Pāraskara Gṛihya. In comparison with the Asv. G.S., the Par. G.S. adopts a more laconic style of composition and lays greater stress on caste-distinctions.[24] As a matter of fact, the Par. G.S. prescribes more caste-distinctions than even the Sankh. G.S. does.

As regards the relationship between the Sankh. G. S. and the Par. G.S., it should be noted that, in addition to the description of a whole ceremony called *Vṛishotsarga*, over two dozen sūtras are almost identical in these two Gṛihyasūtras (*supra*, p. 33). Śāṅkhāyana's description of the Vṛishotsarga seems to be original ; for the Pratīka '*Mayobhū*' (*vide* Sankh. G. S. III, 11, 15 and Par. G.S. III, 9, 7) definitely refers to the Ṛigveda X, 169, 1. In respect of the identical sūtras also, the Sankh. G.S. appears to be original. We take, for instance, the identical sūtras dealing with the *Madhuparka* (*see* Sankh. G.S. II, 15, 2. 3. 10 ; and Par. G.S. I, 3, 29-31). In the Par. G.S. the position of these sūtras does not appear to be so logical and appropriate as that in the Sankh. G.S. Since the sense expressed by the thirty-first sūtra of the Par. G.S. I, 3, has already been conveyed by the third sūtra of the same Kaṇḍikā, its position at the end of the Kaṇḍikā is odd and inappropriate. The only justification for placing this sūtra at the end of the Kaṇḍikā could be that all the three sūtras (*i.e.* I, 3, 29-31) were borrowed by Pāraskara from some other work and put together at the end in the original order. Similarly a comparison of the Sankh. G.S. IV, 7 and

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the Par. G.S. II, 11, would demonstrate that the short sūtras of Śāṅkhāyana have been welded by Pāraskara into longer ones. For instance, the sūtras 8, 21-23, 26, 31, 33, 37 and 38 of the Sankh. G.S. IV, 7, have been incorporated by Pāraskara in a single sūtra (II, 11, 6) by means of a long compound of six words. More instances of this kind can be cited from the two Gṛihyasūtras. Therefore, the balance of probability is that Śāṅkhāyana is earlier than Pāraskara.

As to the relationship between Pāraskara and Pāṇini, we may mention Pāṇini's sūtra (VI, 1, 157) regarding the formation of the name Pāraskara. Prof. Keith believes that the Pāraskara Gṛihya-sūtra may possibly be intended in this sūtra, but the Mahābhāshya and the Kāśikāvṛitti interpret the Pāraskara of this sūtra as the name of a country.[25] Though a few un-Pāṇinian forms occur in the Par. G.S., no definite conclusion regarding Pāraskara's date can be drawn from them. Therefore, we had better hazard no conjecture on the exact relationship between Pāraskara and Pāṇini.

The Par. G.S. is probably earlier than the Vas. D.S., for the Vas. D.S. I, 24-25, closely agrees with the Par. G.S. I, 4, 8-11 ; and in the following sūtras, *i.e.* I, 26-27 the Vas. D.S. vehemently refutes the view (quoted in Vas. D.S. I, 25) that the members of the three higher castes are entitled to marry a girl of the Śūdra caste. A comparison of the two texts makes it perfectly clear that the Vas. D.S. is quoting the above-mentioned sūtras of Pāraskara mainly with a view to rebutting Pāraskara's approval of inter-caste marriage between Dvijas and Śūdras. Moreover, the Vas. D.S. I, 36, disapproves of the Par. G.S. I, 8, 18. Thus the refutation of Pāraskara's views by Vasishṭha indicates that the Par. G.S. is earlier than the Vas. D.S.

The Kalpasūtras of Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin : As the Sūtras of these four schools are closely related to each other, it is quite important to determine the chronological order existing between them. According to Mahādeva, the commentator of the Hiraṇyakeśi Śrautasūtra, the Kalpasūtras belonging to the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Yajurveda stand in the following chronological sequence : Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, Vādhūla, and Vaikhānasa.[26] Prof. Garbe has accepted this sequence for the Śrautasūtras of Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, and Hiraṇyakeśin ;[27] and Prof. Winternitz has shown that the Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the schools of these four Kalpas stand in the said sequence.[28] Prof. Bühler has proved that the same chronological order is tenable with regard to the Dharmasūtras of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin.[29] Dr. Caland has

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also arrived at the conclusion that the Kalpasūtra of Baudhāyana is the earliest among the Kalpasūtras of the Taittirīya Śākhā.[30] Mahādeva's view regarding the chronological order of the above-mentioned Gṛihyasūtras is fully borne out by the internal evidence available from them, as we shall see below. First of all we shall take up Āpastamba's date, which has already been discussed by various scholars of eminence.

The Sūtras of Āpastamba : Prof. Bühler has put forward the view that Āpastamba cannot be placed later than the third century B.C., and that if Āpastamba's statement regarding Śvetaketu is taken into account the lower limit for the composition of Āpastamba-Sūtras can be put further back by 150-200 years.[31] Adducing the argument that Āpastamba does not obey, in many instances, the normal rules of grammar laid down by Pāṇini, Prof. Bühler observes, "As it is thus not probable that Āpastamba employed his peculiar expressions in obedience to the tradition of the Vedic schools or of his particular school, he must have either been unacquainted with Pāṇini or have considered his teachings of no great importance. In other words, he must either have lived earlier than Pāṇini or before Pāṇini's grammar had acquired general fame throughout India, and become the standard authority for Sanskrit authors."[32] This fact has been fully illustrated by Professors Garbe and Winternitz as well.[33] Prof. Bühler's second argument for the dating of Āpastamba consists in that Āpastamba regards Śvetaketu, who is mentioned in the Sat. Br. and the Chhāndogyopanishad, as an *Avara* (i.e. a person of later or of his own times).[34] This view of Āpastamba, according to Prof. Bühler, renders it probable that the interval of time between Śvetaketu and Āpastamba cannot exceed two or three hundred years at the most.

Subscribing to the view of Prof. Bühler, Dr. Hillebrandt remarks, "Wenn es auch möglichsein, wird, einen erheblichen Teil davon mit Böhtlingk (ZDMG, XXXIX, pp. 517 seq., Winternitz, ZDMG XLIII, pp. 598 seq.) Verschlechterungen der Handschriften und andern Einflüssen zuzuschreiben, so spricht doch die Menge der Erscheinungen für Bühler's Ansicht, dass Āp. entweder vor Pāṇini oder wenigstens bevor dessen Grammatik allgemein anerkannte Autorität geworden war, gelebt haben müsse. Die hier an den Dharmasūtren gemachte Beobachtung, hat sich an dem Śrauta-und Gṛihyasūtra bestätigt."[35] On this point Dr. Keith opines : "That the argument from language is of some weight is undeniable, but it does not carry Āpastamba beyond say 300 or 350 B.C. ; *see* Eggeling, SBE, Vol. XII, p. XL."[36] But he gives no reasons why

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Āpastamba's date cannot go beyond 300 or 350 B.C. The same scholar makes the following remarks elsewhere : "In style and condensation of expression Kātyāyana is certainly more developed than Āpastamba, and this argument helps to give him a latest date of the third century B.C. and even probably the fourth century B.C. Garbe, with Bühler, indeed does not hesitate to assign Āpastamba to the fifth century B.C. ; but this seems to me to go beyond the necessities of the case."[37]

Dr. P.V. Kane (H.D.S., Vol. I, p. 45) places Āpastamba between 600 B.C. and 300 B.C., but adduces no cogent arguments in support of his view. It is not possible, in the present state of researches into Vedic literature, to assign precise dates to individual Sūtrakāras ; and we can at the most determine approximately the lower and upper limits of the Sūtra period. We are, therefore, not going to discuss here the possibility of assigning precise dates to individual authors. However, in the second part of this Chapter we shall briefly refer to the reasons which have led Prof. Keith to assign very low dates to most works of Vedic literature.

In regard to the relative chronology of Āpastamba, it may be noted here that, in addition to the evidence adduced from Āpastamba's language and from the mention of Śvetaketu as an *Avara*, the occurrence of Āpastamba's name in the Bidādi-gaṇa-pāṭha of Pāṇini (IV, 1, 104) lends some support to the view that Āpastamba is earlier than Pāṇini. This view receives confirmation from Prof. Keith also who believes that in point of style Āpastamba is earlier than Kātyāyana, the author of the Kat. S.S., who is regarded by the same scholar as anterior to Pāṇini.[38] It is important to note that Āpastamba's priority to Pāṇini refutes Prof. Keith's above-quoted view that Āpastamba's date cannot go beyond 300 or 350 B.C. ; for the learned scholar observes elsewhere, "I incline to fix Pāṇini's date at about 400-350 B.C."[39] If Pāṇini is placed by Prof. Keith between 400 B.C. and 350 B.C., how can Āpastamba, who appears to be in Prof. Keith's opinion earlier than Kātyāyana, be placed later than Pāṇini ? Though there can be no certainty about the exact date of Āpastamba, the consensus of opinion is in favour of Āpastamba's priority to Pāṇini. The date of Pāṇini will be fully discussed below in the second part of this Chapter.

The Sūtras of Baudhāyana : We have already seen that the Kalpasūtras of Baudhāyana are considered to be the oldest among the Kalpasūtras of the Taittirīya Śākhā. Now we turn to discuss the interval of time between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. In this connection it is important to take notice of the conjecture of

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Prof. Bühler who observes : "It is more probable that Baudhāyana and Bhāradvāja, as well as the latter and Āpastamba, were separated by several intervening generations of teachers, who contented themselves with explaining the works of their predecessors. The distance in years between the first and the last of the three Sūtrakāras must, therefore, I think, be measured rather by centuries than by decades."[40]

Prof. Bühler's view that the interval between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba must be measured by centuries is strengthened by a study of the development of social and religious ideas contained in the sūtras of these authors. The Baudh. G.S. (II, 5, 6), for instance, refers to the Upanayana of a Rathakāra and prescribes the season when this ceremony should be performed for him. Āpastamba, on the other hand, makes no mention of a Rathakāra in regard to the performance of Upanayana rites. It clearly indicates that by the time of Āpastamba the Rathakāra had been deprived of the right of performing the Upanayana. Such a change in the social status of the Rathakāra could have come about in the course of some centuries. Further, in the description of the Śūlagava the Baudh. G.S. (II, 7) prescribes the immolation of a cow, whereas the Ap. G.S. (VII, 19, 13-14; VII, 20, 1-11) lays down that the Śūlagava should be performed by offering a mess of cooked food grains. This change in the custom of performing the Śūlagava could have happened in the course of centuries. It is thus clear that Baudhāyana and Āpastamba might have been separated from each other by an interval of at least two centuries.

Dr. P.V. Kane's views on the chronological relationship between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba appear to be inconsistent. On pages 29-30 of his H.D.S., Vol. I, Dr. Kane argues against Dr. Bühler's view that Baudhāyana is earlier than Āpastamba and emphatically asserts : "For aught we know the sūtra compiled for the school of Baudhāyana may be later than the sūtra manual of the Āpastambīyas" ; and consequently the learned scholar places the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra between 500 B.C. and 200 B.C. and the Āpastambīya Dharmasūtra between 600 B.C. and 300 B.C. But on pages 39-40 of the same book, Dr. Kane argues in favour of the view that Āpastamba betrays his acquaintance with the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra ; and on page 44, the venerable scholar remarks : "The age of the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra can be settled within only approximate limits. It is probably later than the Gautama Dharmasūtra and also the Baudhāyana dharmasūtra."

That the Sūtras of Baudhāyana are earlier than those of

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Āpastamba admits of no serious doubts. The native tradition on this point is fully confirmed by the evidence of style and development of ideas.

The Sūtras of Bhāradvāja : That the Bhar. G.S. is older than the Ap. G.S. appears to be almost certain. In addition to the view of Mahādeva mentioned above, the simple and unlaconic style of the Bhar. G.S. speaks for the priority of this Gṛihya.[41] In point of style the Bhar. G.S. is nearer to the Baudh. G.S. than to the Ap. G.S. Further, like the Baudh. G.S., the Bhar. G.S. (I, 1) also mentions the Upanayana of a Rathakāra. But in the description of the Śūlagava the Bhar. G.S. omits the immolation of a cow. It is thus clear that the Bhar. G.S. is later than the Baudh. G.S., but earlier than the Ap. G.S. Though the whole of the Bhāradvāja Śrautasūtra has not been published so far, the published portion of this Sūtra bears out Mahādeva's view that the Sūtras of Bhāradvāja are later than those of Baudhāyana but earlier than those of Āpastamba. The Kat. S.S. I, 6, 21, refers to the view of Bhāradvāja.

The Sūtras of Hiraṇyakeśin : According to the view of Mahādeva mentioned above, the school of Hiraṇyakeśin is younger than that of Āpastamba. As for the relationship between the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra and the Hiraṇyakeśi Dharmasūtra, Prof. Bühler (SBE, Vol. II, p. xxiv) states that either Hiraṇyakeśin himself, or, at least, his immediate successors have appropriated Āpastamba's Dharmasūtra and have inserted it with slight modifications in their own collection. However, the Hir. G.S. is not so much dependent on the Ap. G.S., as the Hir. D.S. is on the Ap. D.S. We have shown above that the Hir. G.S. possesses many peculiarities of its own and is not a mere recast of the Ap. G.S., though both of these Gṛihyas agree with each other in the description of a number of ceremonies (*supra*, p. 35). The style of the Hir. G.S. is not so laconic as that of the Ap. G.S. In regard to the development of social and religious ideas the Hir. G.S. stands at the same level as the Ap. G.S. ; for the Hir. G.S., like the Ap. G.S., does not mention the Upanayana of a Rathakāra and prescribes that the Śūlagava should be performed with a mess of cooked food (*Sthālīpāka*). In the description of certain ceremonies the Hir. G.S. shows verbal agreements with the Bhar. G.S. (*supra*, p. 35). It is obvious that those passages of the Hir. G.S. which verbally agree with the passages of the Bhar. G.S. must belong to the date of the Bhar. G.S. The composition of the Hir. G.S. is in all probability later than that of the Ap. G.S. However, the interval between the Ap. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. does not appear to be very long.

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The Śrautasūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin closely follows the Śrautasūtra of Āpastamba and amply bears out Mahādeva's view that the Sūtras of Hiraṇyakeśin are later than those of Āpastamba.

The Sūtras of the Mānava school : Mr. Bradke has amply illustrated that the Mānava Śrautasūtra and the Mānava Gṛihyasūtra are very intimately allied to each other.[42] It may, therefore, be safely assumed that both the texts were composed by one and the same author. Anyhow, their contemporaneity appears to be quite probable. The date of the Man. S.S. is earlier than that of the Ap. S.S. ; for the latter follows the former very closely with regard to the description of a number of rites.[43] This fact points to the conclusion that the Man. G.S., too, must have been composed earlier than the Ap. G.S. A comparison of the two Gṛihyas, in respect of their style and subject-matter, would also bear out the view that the Ap. G.S. is definitely later than the Man. G.S.

The Kāṭhaka Gṛihyasūtra : We have already seen that there exists a close relationship between the Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. (*ante*, Chap. II). If the two Gṛihyas are compared from the point of style and subject-matter, it will be clear that the Man. G.S. is definitely earlier than the Kath. G.S. A comparison of the Vṛishotsarga ceremonies described in the Sankh. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. (*supra*, Chap. II) indicates that the latter is later than the former.

The Sūtras of the Vārāha school : In his introduction to the Var. G.S., Dr. Shamasastry observes : "Among the Śrauta-works of the Yajurveda, the Vārāha Śrauta, together with its Gṛihyasūtra, seems to be the latest. In contrasting the Yajus with what is termed Mantras and Kalpas, it cites the authority of Patañjali and Bādarāyaṇa. Unlike the other Śrauta-writers, the author of the Vārāha-Śrauta divides the Śruti into two portions, the Injunction (*Vidhi*) and Flattery (*Arthavāda*) and shows his thorough acquaintance with the technicalities of the Mīmānsā of Jaimini..... It follows, therefore, that the author of the Vārāha Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras, whatever might be his name, was later than Patañjali, Jaimini, and Bādarāyaṇa."[44]

That the Var. G.S. is later than the Man. G.S. as well as the Kath. G.S. is confirmed by such statements of the Var. G.S. as are unknown to the Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. This Gṛihya, for instance, mentions Smṛiti as one of the subjects to be studied by Brahmachārins.[45] Further, the Var. G.S. prescribes that the Sāvitrī verses composed in different metres should be recited to the students of different castes and that the students of different castes should have Kamaṇḍalus of different types.[46] None of the earlier

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Gṛihyas mentions *Smṛiti* as a subject of study and prescribes the use of different types of Kamaṇḍalus for the students of different castes. There is no doubt that the Var. G.S. is one of the latest Gṛihya-sūtras.

The Sūtras of Vaikhānasa : According to the traditional view mentioned by Mahādeva, the commentator of the Satyāshāḍha (Hiraṇyakeśi) Śrautasūtra, the Vaikhānasa Sūtras are the latest among the Sūtras belonging to the Taittirīya Śākhā. Prof. Caland also believes that the view cited by Mahādeva is quite reasonable, and supports this view by discussing the style and language of the Vaikh. G.S.[47] As for the upper limit of the age of the Vaikhānasa Sūtras, Prof. Caland has made the following remarks : "Now we must discuss the difficult question whether it is possible to determine the time of the composition of our Sūtra. There are, indeed, some criteria in our text which enable us to determine, roughly, the *terminus post quem ;* in the first place, the betel-argument. The word *tāmbūla* occurs in IX. 13, and, as it is highly probable that the Gṛihyasūtra and the Dharmasūtra are the works of one and the same author, the conclusion drawn from the occurrence of this word in the Dharmasūtra may be applied to the whole Smārta-sūtra. Long ago, H. Kern made the observation that the habit of betel-chewing must have been introduced into the country of the Hindoos at a time which, roughly, may be determined between Charaka and Suśruta. The conclusion drawn by Speyer, from the argument of betel-chewing occurring in the Kathāsaritsāgara, that this text (at least part of it) can scarcely have been invented before the fourth century A.D., at the lowest rate, must hold good also for the Vaikhānasa-texts. And this limitation is supported by another argument mentioned already by Bloch, in his above-mentioned paper, *viz.* that in our Sūtra occurs the Greek sequence of the Planets and the designation of the days of the week after these Planets, a sequence that, as Jacobi has shown in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (Vol. XXX, page 305 sqq.), must have been introduced into India after the middle of the third century A.D."[48]

Though all the arguments advanced by Prof. Caland may not meet with general acceptance, we see no reason to dispute the view that the Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra in its present form is a very late work. But certain rules of this Sūtra appear to have been derived from an earlier work ascribed to the renowned teacher Vaikhānasa whose view is referred to in the Manusmṛiti VI, 21. Vaikhānasa's view referred to in the Manusmṛiti is found to occur in the Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra IX, 5 ; and a number of other rules and

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expressions contained in the Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra show remarkable agreement with the verses of the Manusmṛiti.[49] On the basis of these agreements between the Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra and the Manusmṛiti, Prof. Caland seeks to prove that the Manusmṛiti has borrowed these rules from this Sūtra, and that the Manusmṛiti is consequently later than the Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra.[50] It is, however, entirely gratuitous to assume on the basis of a few agreements that the Manusmṛiti is later than the Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra in its present form. All that could be inferred from such agreements is that either both the works have borrowed from an earlier work ascribed to the famous teacher Vaikhānasa, or the present Vaikhānasa Sūtra is a later recast of an earlier work known to the Manusmṛiti.

The Śrautasūtra of Vaikhānasa, as we have already pointed out in Chap. I, is later than the Smārtasūtra of this school. The Śrautasūtra of Vaikhānasa closely follows the Śrautasūtras of Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin and possesses little originality.

The Āgniveśya Gṛihyasūtra : The Āgniveśya Gṛihyasūtra appears to be the latest of all the Gṛihyasūtras now available in print. Its style of composition can hardly deserve the name of Sūtra-style. In point of beliefs and superstitions, the Agni. G.S. is nearer to the Purāṇas than to the Gṛihyasūtras. The Agni. G.S. not only mentions the days of the week but also prescribes the performance of certain rites on particular days of the week.[51] Further, the betel-leaf (*tāmbūla*) is also mentioned in the Agni. G.S.[52] Chronological conclusions to be drawn from the mention of the days of the week and *tāmbūla* have already been summed up above in the words of Prof. Caland. All pieces of internal evidence point to the recentness of the Agni. G.S.

As a matter of fact the Agni. G.S. possesses little originality, and most of the sūtras contained in it have been borrowed from other works. A large number of sūtras contained in the Agni. G.S. have been borrowed from the Hir. G.S. and the Baudh. G.S ; and a considerable portion of this work has been borrowed *verbatim* from the appendices of Baudhāyana Sūtras, namely the Baudh. Gṛihyaśeshasūtra, the Baudh. Pitṛimedhasūtra, and the Baudh. Gṛihya Paribhāshāsūtra. One whole Adhyāya (I, 5) of the Agni. G.S. is a mere collection of Mantras. The Agni. G.S. is, on the whole, a late compilation.

The Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra : The Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra, which follows the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa and often quotes lengthy passages from it, is undoubtedly one of the oldest Śrautasūtras

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belonging to the Sāmaveda. In the description of Soma sacrifices and especially in the treatment of the Sattras the Kat. S. S. (XXII-XXIV) agrees with the Lat. S. S. to a great extent. A careful comparison of the two Sūtras in respect of their style and subject-matter shows that the Lat. S. S. is definitely earlier than the Kat. S. S.

The Drāhyāyaṇa Śrautasūtra : The Drāhyāyaṇa Śrautasūtra is later than the Lat. S.S. which it follows very closely. In fact, the Drāhyāyaṇa Śrautasūtra is almost identical with the Śrautasūtra of Lāṭyāyana ; and there are some minor differences between the two Śūtras in a few places.

The Gobhila Gṛihyasūtra : The Gobhila Gṛihyasūtra is no doubt the oldest of all the Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the Sāmaveda. In point of style the Gobh. G.S. distinguishes itself by the fulness of details and clarity of treatment. In certain passages the style of the Gobh. G.S. is very diffuse and discursive.[53] Therefore, the Gobh. G.S. seems to belong to the earlier phase of the Sūtra period.

The Khādira Gṛihyasūtra : The Khādira Gṛihyasūtra, as we have already pointed out, is little more than an abridged edition of the Gobh. G.S. The laconic style of the Kh. G.S. suggests that it must have been composed in the later part of the Sūtra period.

The Sūtras of the Jaiminīya school : The whole of the Jaim. G.S. does not appear to belong to the same age. We have shown above (*ante*, Chap. II) that the Khaṇḍas six to nine of the second part of this Gṛihya show very close similarities with certain portions of the Gṛihyapariśishṭas of the Baudhāyanīya school. It is quite likely that all the Khaṇḍas from four to nine in the second part of the Jaim. G.S. were added to it in later times ; for the repetition of the closing words of the third Khaṇḍa of the second part goes to confirm the view that the original composition of the Jaim. G.S. ends here. We are, therefore, unable to draw any conclusion regarding the age of this Gṛihya from the mention of Planets, such as Budha, Bṛihaspati, Śukra, and Śani, in the ninth Khaṇḍa of its second part. The composition of the original portions of the Jaim. G.S. also appears to belong to the later phase of the Sūtra period. The Jaim. G.S. is probably later than the Gobh. G.S. A comparison of the two Gṛihyas in respect of their style and subject-matter lends support to this view.

The Śrautasūtra of the Jaiminīya school is very short and consists of 26 *Kaṇḍikās* only. This Sūtra does not appear to be very old and is in all probability contemporaneous with the Gṛihya-sūtra of the Jaiminīya school.

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The Kauśika Sūtra : In his introduction to the Kauśika Sūtra Prof. Bloomfield opines that the Sūtra ascribed to Kauśika is a work dating from the later Sūtra period.[54] But the same scholar remarks elsewhere that the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa which Yāska knew is later than the Kauśika Sūtra and the Vaitāna Sūtra.[55] If Kauśika's priority to the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa is regarded as tenable, Kaus. S. would precede Yāska who is most probably earlier than Pāṇini.[56] Prof. Aufrecht has conclusively shown that the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa is older than Yāska.[57] Dr. Gaastra has called in question the priority of the Vaitāna Sūtra to the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa ; he has, however, not challenged the view that the Kauśika Sūtra is earlier than the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.[58] Pāṇini mentions Kauśika's work, and Dr. Keith believes that our Kauśika Sūtra may be here intended by the grammarian.[59] The above-mentioned circumstances point to the conclusion that the Kauśika Sūtra is earlier than Pāṇini. So it may be regarded as one of the earliest Sūtras on the Gṛihya ritual.

The Vaitāna Sūtra : The Śrautasūtra of the Atharvaveda is known as Vaitāna Sūtra and is scarcely original. It presupposes the knowledge of the Kauśika Sūtra and closely follows the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra. Though Prof. Bloomfield considers the Vaitāna Sūtra to be older than the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, Professors Keith, Caland, and Gaastra argue with much probability that the Vaitāna Sūtra is later than the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. The Vaitāna Sūtra is definitely later than the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra and belongs to the later part of the Sūtra period.

The Gautama Dharmasūtra : Baudhāyana, who is considered to be earlier than Āpastamba, refers to the views of Gautama in the Baudh. D.S. (I, 1, 2, 7 ; II, 2, 4, 17) ; and the tenth Adhyāya of the third Praśna of the Baudh. D.S. seems to have been borrowed from the nineteenth Adhyāya of the Gaut. D.S. It follows, therefore, that the Gaut. D.S. is prior to the Baudh. D.S. Since the twenty-sixth Adhyāya of the Gaut. D.S. has been derived from the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, the Gaut. D.S. must be later than this Brāhmaṇa. It is hardly worthwhile to discuss here the arguments advanced by Dr. B. K. Ghosh (I. H. Q., III, pp. 608-11) to prove Āpastamba's priority to Gautama and Baudhāyana ; for Dr. Ghosh has entirely ignored a number of important facts bearing on the relative chronology of these Sūtrakāras. Though the text of the Gaut. D.S. has not come down to us in its pristine purity, Gautama is undoubtedly the oldest writer on Smārta Dharma.

The Vāsishṭha Dharmasūtra : Since Vasishṭha twice refers to the views of Gautama and borrows the XXII Chapter of his Dharma-

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sūtra from the Gaut. D.S. XIX (*cf.* Baudh. D.S. III, 10, 10), he may be placed later than Gautama. Moreover, Vasishṭha is later than Āśvalāyana, Śāṅkhāyana, and Pāraskara ; for several sūtras from the works of these authors are found incorporated in the Vas. D.S., and Pāraskara's view on inter-caste marriage is called in question (*supra*, p. 73). Vasishṭha's relationship with Manu presents a perplexing problem. On the one hand, the Manusmṛiti VIII, 140 refers to Vasishṭha's view on the legal rate of interest on secured loans ; and on the other, the Vas. D.S. often quotes Manu's views and has about fifty verses in common with the Manusmṛiti. Dr. Bühler, as we have seen above (*ante*, p. 48), explains the relationship between Vasishṭha and Manu on the assumption that the Vas. D.S. does not quote from the present Manusmṛiti but from an earlier work called Mānava Dharmasūtra which was later converted into the metrical law-book of Manu. Since the evidence for the former existence of a Mānava Dharmasūtra is virtually non-existent, Dr. Bühler's hypothesis does not solve our problem, and the reasons for Vasishṭha's references to Manu should be sought elsewhere. As Vasishṭha's references to Manu are mostly confined to the verses contained in the Vas. D.S., it may be conjectured that such verses were added later to the Vas. D.S. The sūtra-portion of the Vas. D.S. appears to be earlier than the extant Manusmṛiti. However, the final pronouncement on the relationship between Vasishṭha and Manu should be deferred until the text of Vasishṭha's Dharmasūtra has been satisfactorily restored.

As regards the relationship between the Vas. D.S. and the Vi. D.S., it has been shown above (Chap. III) that it is the Vi. D.S. which borrows rules from the Vas. D.S. But Dr. Jolly (SBE, Vol. VII, p. xix) who seeks to prove the priority of the Vi. D.S. to most works on Smārta Dharma argues that, since the Vi. D.S. contains sūtras corresponding to the Ślokas of the Vas. D.S., the latter is posterior to the former. However, the argument of Dr. Jolly becomes ineffective in view of the considerations that the author of the Vi. D.S. is adept, as discussed above, in transforming the verses of other works into sūtras and that the Vi. D.S. is a mere rehash of earlier works on Dharma. The balance of probability is in favour of the view that the Vas. D.S. is earlier than the Vi. D.S.

The Vishṇu Dharmasūtra : Dr. Jolly who (*op. cit.*, pp. xv seq.) believes that the Vi. D.S. was originally a Kāṭhaka Dharmasūtra is inclined to place the original form of this work prior to all the other Dharmasūtras and Smṛitis and assigns a date later than the third or fourth century A.D. to its later recast.

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Dr. Kane (H.D.S., Vol. I, pp. 68-69) also regards the Vi. D.S. in its earlier form as a text-book of the Kāṭhaka school and places it between 300 B.C. and 100 B.C. But there is in fact little evidence to prove, as discussed above in Chapter III, that the Vi. D.S. was ever a Dharmasūtra of the Kāṭhaka school. On the contrary, there is ample evidence to show that the Vi. D.S. which was a mere rehash from its very inception is highly indebted to the Yaj. and the Manusmṛiti. The Vi. D.S. is in all probability later than the Yaj. and is separated from the other Sūtras by an interval of many centuries.

2. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The foregoing discussion on the relative chronology of the Sūtras makes it abundantly clear that all the Sūtras were not composed at one and the same time and that some of the Sūtras are separated from the others by a long interval of time. The Sūtras presuppose the Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas ; and as the Śrauta, Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras constitute the Kalpasūtras, the composition of these Sūtras belongs to what is known as the Sūtra period of Vedic literature. In the light of the relative chronology discussed above the Sūtras may be classified into the following groups :

(1) The Asv. S.S., the Asv. G.S., the Lat. S.S., the Baudh. S.S., the Baudh. G.S., the Baudh. D.S., the Man. S.S., the Man. G.S., the Kaus. S., the Gaut. D.S., and the Gobh. G.S. form the earliest stratum of Sūtra literature.

(2) The second stratum of Sūtra literature is constituted by the Sankh. S.S., the Sankh. G.S., the Bhar. S.S., the Bhar. G.S., the Ap. S.S., the Ap. G.S., the Ap. D.S., the Kat. S.S., the Par. G.S., and the Kath. G.S., which are later than the Sūtras placed in group 1.

(3) The Drāhyāyaṇa Śrautasūtra, the Kh. G.S., the Jaim. S.S., the Jaim. G.S., the Hir. S.S., the Hir. G.S., the Vaitāna Sūtra, and the Vas. D.S. (sūtra-portion) form the third stratum of Sūtra literature and are later than the Sūtras included in the first two groups.

(4) The Var. S.S., the Var. G.S., the Vaikh. S.S., the Vaikh. G.S., the Vaikh. D.S., the Agni. G.S., and the Vi. D.S. are undoubtedly the latest Sūtras ; and the date of their composition definitely falls outside that period which is generally known as the Sūtra period of Vedic literature. Therefore, the following discussion relating to the upper and lower limits of Sūtra period has little relation to the chronology of the Sūtras placed in group 4. All the Sūtras belonging to this group seem to be later than the beginning of the Christian

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era. However, the composition of the Sūtras belonging to the first three groups dates from an earlier period.

The period during which the Sūtras listed in the first three groups were composed seems to extend over many centuries, because the differences of ideas, customs, and styles, which distinguish the earlier Sūtras from the later ones, tend to show that the earliest stratum of Sūtra literature is separated from the third one by a long interval of time. This view is further corroborated by the tradition that Baudhāyana and Hiraṇyakeśin are separated from each other by several generations of teachers. Moreover, important and far-reaching social changes are found to have occurred during the period intervening between the earlier and the later Sūtras. The Baudh. G.S. (II, 5, 6), for instance, permits a Rathakāra to perform the Upanayana, while the Ap. G.S. and Hir. G.S. make no mention of a Rathakāra in connection with the Upanayana ceremony. Customs and rites had also undergone material changes by the time of the later Gṛihyasūtras. The Gobh. G.S. (II, 1, 18), for example, prescribes the use of *Yajñopavīta* for a bride at the time of wedding. But the Kh. G.S., which closely follows the Gobh. G.S. throughout, does not prescribe the use of *Yajñopavīta* for a bride at the time of wedding. This omission is, in my opinion, not due to the tendency of using the fewest possible words, but due to a change in the custom. The use of *Yajñopavīta* is so important that it could have hardly been sacrificed at the altar of insignificant brevity, because only one word '*Yajñopavītinī*' needs to be inserted in the Kh. G.S. I, 3, 6, to describe this important custom. Similarly we find a change of custom with regard to the performance of the Śūlagava. The earlier Gṛihyasūtras, such as the Asv. G.S., the Baudh. G.S., and the Man. G.S., prescribe the immolation of a cow at the Śūlagava, while the later Gṛihyasūtras, such as the Ap. G.S. and the Hir. G.S., lay down that the Śūlagava should be performed by sacrificing a mess of cooked food (Sthālīpāka) (*vide* Chap. XIX below). A good many instances of this kind can be cited to demonstrate the difference between the earlier and the later Sūtras. As the period of a few decades is utterly inadequate to account for such important differences between the earlier and the later Sūtras, the probability suggests itself that the period intervening between the earlier and the later Sūtras extends over many centuries. In other words, the period of the Sūtras seems to cover centuries rather than decades.

Now we are confronted with the difficult task of fixing the upper and lower limits of the Sūtra period. According to the foregoing

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discussion on the relative chronology of individual Sūtras, most of the Sūtras listed in group 2 are regarded as earlier than Pāṇini ; and consequently all the Sūtras falling in group I must be held pre-Pāṇinian. Therefore, if we could have an idea of the approximate date of Pāṇini, the relative position of pre-Pāṇinian Sūtras would enable us to fix tentatively the upper limit of the Sūtra period. But unfortunately the date of Pāṇini is far from certain, and eminent Indologists have expressed widely divergent views on this question. Professors R.G. Bhandarkar, Goldstücker, Belvalkar and Pathak place Pāṇini in the 7th century B.C., whereas Professors Lassen, Böhtlingk and Keith assign Pāṇini to the 4th century B.C.[60]

Dr. V. S. Agrawala's thesis entitled '*India as known to Pāṇini*' is the latest work to discuss the date of Pāṇini. Dr. Agrawala is inclined to place Pāṇini in the middle of the 5th century B.C.[61] So far as the upper limit of Pāṇini's date is concerned, Dr. Agrawala regards Pāṇini as later than the Buddha and advances two main arguments in support of his thesis. Dr. Agrawala's strongest argument consists in that in one sūtra (IV, 4, 60) Pāṇini betrays his acquaintance with the chief doctrine of the Ājīvikas and that in another sūtra (VI, 1, 154) the grammarian refers to the name of Maṅkhali Gosāla, the founder of the Ājīvika sect, who was a contemporary of the Buddha ;[62] and the other important argument advanced by Dr. Agrawala is that Pāṇini's 'references to such specifically Buddhist terms as Maskarin, Kumārī Śramaṇā (maiden nun), Nikāya and Nirvāṇa suggest that Pāṇini came after the Buddha.'[63] It is rather difficult to find corroboration for the above arguments of Dr. Agrawala. There is no cogent proof to substantiate the assumption that the word *Maskarin* in Pāṇini's grammar stands for Makkhali Gosāla who was a contemporary of the Buddha. According to Pāṇini, the word Maskarin is synonymous with the word Parivrājaka denoting a wandering mendicant, and Patañjali restricts the sense of the word Maskarin to a particular type of mendicants who denounce action. No authority on Pāṇinian grammar interprets Maskarin as a proper noun. Moreover, the Buddhist and Jaina traditions are not unanimous in regard to the name Makkhali Gosāla ; some Buddhist texts have the forms Gośālikāputra and Gośāliputra, while the Jain scriptures refer to the Ājīvika teacher as Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta.[64] In this connection Dr. Basham observes that Makkhali or Maskarin, a fairly common appellation of a staff-bearing ascetic, was rather a title than a proper name.[65] There is no basis for Dr. Agrawala's assumption that the term *Dishṭa* in Pāṇini's grammar (IV, 4, 60) refers to the doctrine propounded by Makkhali

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Gosāla ; for it has been shown by Dr. Basham that Makkhali Gosāla had many predecessors and was not the first teacher to propound the doctrine of determinism.[66]

Dr. Agrawala's other argument that Pāṇini refers to such specifically Buddhist terms as Maskarin, Kumārī Śramaṇā, Nikāya and Nirvāṇa, is far from convincing ; for it is not yet certain that the above terms were first coined by the Buddhists and that Pāṇini uses them in the Buddhist sense. There is, on the contrary, ample evidence to show that some of the above terms are definitely pre-Buddhistic. As regards the lower limit of Pāṇini's date, Dr. Agrawala believes that on astronomical grounds Pāṇini cannot be dated later than 400 B.C., because the first position of *Śravishṭhā* in a list of ten Nakshatras in the Pāṇinian sūtra IV, 3,34, indicates that in Pāṇini's time Śravishṭhā—and not Śravaṇa—was the first Nakshatra.[67] But there are many flaws in the *Śravishṭhā*-argument. First, the arrangement of the Nakshatras in the said *sūtra* is not in keeping with the astronomical order of constellations and they seem to have been put together without any reference to their astronomical significance. Secondly, Pāṇini could not, even if he chose to, begin the above-mentioned *sūtra* with Śravaṇa, because the grammatical rule contained in the said sūtra does not concern Śravaṇa. Thirdly, the mention of a particular grouping of Nakshatras can hardly lead us to any chronological results ; for the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti (I, 267) which is definitely later than Āpastamba names *Kṛittikās* as first among the Nakshatras and thus refers to an ancient astronomical practice which was prevalent in the time of the Tait. Saṁhitā (*vide* Tilak's *Orion*, 1955 Ed., pp. 41 ff). So the date of Pāṇini is still an open question.

Though the views on Pāṇini's date differ by centuries, there is a near unanimity among scholars in fixing the date of Patañjali at about 150 B.C.[68] An approximate idea of the interval between Patañjali and Pāṇini may contribute something to the vexed question of Pāṇini's date. Kielhorn, Macdonell, and some other scholars are of the view that there was a considerable interval of time between Patañjali and Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārtikas.[69] Kielhorn has shown that a large number of *Āchāryas* on Pāṇinian grammar intervened between Kātyāyana and Patañjali (*vide* Ind. Ant. XVI, p. 106). The development of Sanskrit idiom also confirms the view that a considerable period must have elapsed between Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Therefore, a period of at least two centuries must be allowed between Kātyāyana and Patañjali ; and such an interval would place Kātyāyana at about 350 B.C. A date for Kātyāyana in

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the middle of the 4th century B.C. accords well with the tradition that he was a minister of the king Nanda. Max Müller, Bhandarkar, and some other scholars are inclined to place Kātyāyana in the 4th century B.C.[70] Dr. Agrawala who places Pāṇini in the second half of the 5th century B.C. holds that there was an interval of about 100 years between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and thus subscribes to the view that Kātyāyana may be placed in the 4th century B.C.[71]

Now let us consider the interval of time that could be allowed between Kātyāyana and Pāṇini. In this connection two facts stand out prominently. First, the Sanskrit idiom of Pāṇini's time had undergone considerable changes by the time of Kātyāyana; and secondly, the grammar of Pāṇini who was a native of the extreme north-west had become so popular throughout India during this interval that Kātyāyana, a native of the South, wrote the Vārtikas on this grammar. Besides, it is also important to note that Kātyāyana was acquainted with the works of other scholars who had already attempted to explain and amend Pāṇini's grammar.[72] The development of language between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, all-India popularity of Pāṇini's grammar, and the number of Āchāryas intervening between Pānini and Kātyāyana—all of these developments—can hardly be crammed into a period of one century, if the conditions of transport and communication in ancient India are taken into consideration. Prof. Macdonell, who had previously fixed Pāṇini's date at about 300 B.C. (*vide* H.S.L., pp. 22 and 431), later realized the significance of the long interval between Kātyāyana and Pāṇini and consequently revised his previous estimate to 450 B.C. (*vide India's Past*, Oxford, 1927, p. 138). A period of less than two centuries would be quite inadequate to account for the developments that took place during the interval between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. Therefore, if Kātyāyana is placed in the 4th century B.C., as discussed above, the date of Pāṇini can hardly be fixed later than the 6th century B.C. Taking all these points into consideration, I am inclined to fix Pāṇini's date at about 600-550 B.C.

A date for Pāṇini in the second half of the sixth century B.C. would suggest that some of the Sūtras belonging to group I may be dated as early as 800 B.C; for we have seen above that there is an interval of many generations between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, and that the latter is in all probability earlier than Pāṇini. Moreover, since the Kaus. S. has been shown to be earlier than the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa which is prior to Yāska, it is quite reasonable to assume that the Kaus. S. is separated from Pāṇini by a long interval of time. So the upper limit of the Sūtra period may be fixed not

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later than 800 B.C. As the composition of the Sūtras placed in group 4 does not fall in the Sūtra period, the present discussion has little relation to their chronology. But the Sūtras belonging to the third group were in all probability composed in the Sūtra period, and their chronology would therefore help us in fixing the lower limit of the Sūtra period. Though there is no independent proof for fixing the chronology of the Sūtras belonging to the third group, these Sūtras, as we have discussed above, seem to be separated from the earliest Sūtras by a long interval of time. An interval of less than three centuries would be inadequate to account for all the changes, which the religious customs and social conditions had undergone during the period intervening between the earlier and the later Sūtras. Such an estimate about the intervening period would give us *circa* 500 B.C. as the lower limit of the Sūtra period ; and it would follow from this estimate that most of the Sūtras were composed between *circa* 800 B.C. and 500 B.C.

The above-proposed limits of the Sūtra period may sound excessively high and improbable to those scholars who concur with Professors Macdonell and Keith in arguing that in view of the close relationship between the Avesta and the Ṛigveda, the Indo-Aryans could not have separated from the Iranians much sooner than about 1300 B.C., and that the Ṛigveda cannot be dated earlier than the 13th century B.C.[73] Scholars belonging to this school of thought attach little chronological importance to the discovery of the names of certain Vedic deities on Boghazköi inscriptions of about 1400 B.C., and dismiss these names as Iranian or proto-Iranian ; and astronomical evidence relating to the age of Vedic literature is also lightly brushed aside by these scholars on the plea that the early Indians could not have made such astronomical observations in a remote antiquity.[74] But quite a number of eminent scholars are unanimous in assigning an astronomical observation of the Vedāṅga Jyotisha to the 12th century B.C.[75] On the basis of this observation Dr. Haug is inclined to assign the composition of the bulk of the Brāhmaṇas to a date about 1400-1200 B.C., and places the beginning of Vedic literature between 2400 B.C. and 2000 B.C.[76] Dr. Winternitz, who has carefully considered all the views on the age of the Vedas, has also come to the same conclusion about the beginning of Vedic literature ; and the learned scholar has aptly remarked : "We cannot, however, explain the development of the whole of this great literature, if we assume as late a date as round about 1200 or 1500 B.C. as its starting-point. We shall probably have to date the beginning of this development about 2000

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or 2500 B.C., and the end of it between 750 and 500 B.C."[77] In the light of the foregoing discussion it is neither improbable nor fantastic to assign the composition of Sūtra literature to a period between *circa* 800 B.C. and 500 B.C. These are, however, the lowest limits of the Sūtra period, and an interval of three centuries is the minimum that could be allowed between the earliest and the latest works of Sūtra literature. It is within the range of possibility to push further back the limits of the Sūtra period and to allow a longer interval of time between the earliest and the latest Sūtras.

Notes and References

1. Max Müller, H. A. S. L., Allahabad Ed., pp. 120-125.
2. Macdonell, Bṛihaddevatā, Introd., p. xxiv ; Keith, Ait. Ar., Introd., p. 21 ; Winternitz, H.I.L., Vol. I, p. 286.
3. Macdonell, Bṛihaddevatā, Introd., pp. xxi-xxii, Sarvānukramaṇī, Introd., p. vii; Keith, Ait. Ar., Introd., p. 21.
4. Macdonell, Bṛihaddevatā, Introd., pp. xxii-xxiii ; Keith, Ait. Ar., Introd., p. 21.
5. Macdonell, Sarvānukramaṇī, Introd., p. xix.
6. Ait. Ar., English Translation, p. 297, note 14, Introd., pp. 18-20, 70 ; Oldenberg, SBE, XXIX, pp. 154 ff.
7. Keith, Ait. Ar., Introd., pp. 21 ff.
8. Asv. G.S. III, 3, 1-4 ; ibid. IV, 4, 2-8.
9. Kaush. G.S. II, 3, 19=Manu II, 246; Kaush. G.S. III, 7, 13=Manu IV, 119 ; Kaush. G.S. III, 10, 35 (i)=Manu V, 41 ; Kaush. G.S. III, 10, 35 (iii)=Manu III, 103; Kaush. G.S. III, 10, 35 (vii)=Manu III, 100.
10. Kaush. G.S., Introd., pp. xvii-xviii.
11. SBE, Vol. XXV, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
12. *Op. cit.*, p. xxxvi.
13. Asv. G.S. IV, 7, 14 ; Baudh. G.S. III, 12, 13-14 ; Kaus. S. 74, 12 ; Nirukta III, 4.
14. Hopkins, JAOS, Vol. XI, pp. 257 ff ; Bühler, SBE, Vol. XXV, p. xc.
15. Kaush. G.S.I, 6, 7; ibid. II, 3, 19; ibid. II, 6, 9 ; ibid. III, 7, 13; ibid. III, 10, 35; ibid. III, 12, 29-33.
16. Kaush. G. S. I, 6, 7=Sankh. G.,S. I, 10, 7-9; Kaush. G.S. III, 7, 13=Sankh. G.S. IV, 5, 17; Kaush. G.S. III, 10,35=Sankh. G.S. II, 16 and 17.
17. Sankh. G.S. IV, 10, 3; Asv. G.S. III, 4, 4 ; Kaush. G S. II, 5, 3.
18. Sankh. G.S.I, 11, 1-4; ibid. I, 15, 1-2; ibid. I, 21, 1-3; ibid. II, 7, 1-7 ibid. II, 10, 1-3.
19. R.L., p. 25 ; Śankh. S.S., Vol. I, preface, p. x.
20. Keith, Ait. Ar., Introd, pp. 26-36, 70; JRAS, 1907, pp. 410-413.
21. Par. G.S.I, 1, 4=Kat. S.S. II, 3,33; Par. G.S.I, 18, 1=Kat. S.S. IV, 12, 22 seq. ; Par. G.S. II, 5, 41=Kat. S.S. XXV, 1, 12-13; Par. G.S. II, 13, 5=Kat. S.S. XVII, 2, 10-12; Par. G.S. III, 11,2=Kat. S.S. VI, 3, 15; 19, 26.27.33.
22. Par. G. S. II, I, 10=Kat. S.S.V, 2, 15; Par. G.S. II, 15, 5=Kat. S.S. XVIII, 4, 23; Par. G.S. II, 15, 9=Kat. S.S. XVIII, 4,25; Par. G.S. III, 12,4 =Kat. S.S.I, 1, 16; Par. G.S. III, 12, 5=Kat. S.S. I, 1,15.

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23. Macdonell, Bṛihaddevatā, I, XXII-XXIII; Sarvānukramaṇī, p. VIII; Weber, Indische Studien, Vol. V, p. 64; Keith, Tait. Samh., Introduction, p. clxvii.

24. For Caste-distinctions we may refer to the following passages of the Par. G.S. :—

I, 4,8-10; I,8,15-17; I, 17,4; II, 2,1-3; II, 3,7-9; II, 5, 2-4; II,5,16-27.

25. Keith, Tait. Samh. Introduction, p. clxvii. *Cf.* Mahābhāshya and Kāśikā on Pāṇini VI, 1, 157.

26. Introductory verses 7-9 in Mahādeva's commentary on the Satyāshāḍha Śrautasūtra, published in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, Vol. I, pp. 1-2.

27. Garbe, Ap. S. S., Vol. III, Preface, p. xvii.

28. Winternitz, Alt. Hoch., pp. 5 seq.

29. Bühler, SBE, Vol. II, pp. xviii seq.

30. Caland, Über Das Rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana, pp. 2-11.

31. Bühler, SBE, Vol. II, pp. xl seq.

32. Ibid., pp. xlv-xlvi.

33. Garbe, Ap. S.S. Vol. III, Preface, pp. vii-xii ; Winternitz, Alt. Hoch., pp. 13-17.

34. Bühler, SBE, Vol. II, pp. xl-xlii-

35. Hillebrandt, R.L., p. 24.

36. Keith, Introduction to the Tait. Samh, p. xlv.

37. Keith, Brāhmaṇas of the R.V., Introduction, p. 49.

38. Keith, Tait. Samh., Introd., p. clxxii, note 4.

39. Keith, Ait. Ar., Introd., p. 24.

40. Bühler, SBE, Vol. II, p. xxiii-xxiv.

41. The *styles* of the Bhar. G.S. and the Ap. G.S. can be easily compared by a study of the Puṁsavana ceremony which is described in a similar way in both of them : Bhar. G.S.I, 22: 22,5; Ap. G.S. VI, 14, 9-12. The account of the Puṁsavana in the Ap. G.S. seems to be an abridgement of the same described in the Bhar. G.S. Similar is the case with regard to some other ceremonies described in them.

42. Bradke, ZDMG, XXXVI, pp. 450 seq.

43. Garbe, Ap. S.S., Vol. III, Preface, pp. xxii-xxiv.

44. Shamasastry, Introduction to the Var. G.S., p. 1.

45. मन्त्रब्राह्मणान्यधीत्य कल्पं मीमांसां च याज्ञिकोधीत्य वक्त्रं पदं स्मृतिं चैच्छिकः ॥
वा० गृ० VI, 32.

46. तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यमिति गायत्रीं ब्राह्मणाय । आ देवो यातु सविता सुरत्न इति त्रिष्टुभं क्षत्रियाय।
युञ्जते मन इति जगतीं वैश्याय । पच्छोर्धर्चेशः सर्वामन्ततः । वा० गृ० V, 26.
ऊर्ध्वकपालो ब्राह्मणस्य कमण्डलुः, परिमण्डलः क्षत्रियस्य, निचलकलो वैश्यस्य ॥
वा० गृ० V, 28

47. Caland, Translation of the Vaikh. G.S., Introduction, pp. xiii-xv.

48. Ibid., pp. xv-xvi.

49. Ibid., pp. xvi-xix.

50. Ibid., p. xix.

51. एवं संवत्सरस्यार्कवारेषु पूजां कृत्वा ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा आयुष्कामी दीर्घमायुरवाप्नुयात् ॥
आग्नि० गृ० II, 4, 11.

52. अथ ताम्बूलं प्रदाय देवमुद्वासयति ॥ आग्नि० ग० II, 4, 10.

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53. Gobh. G.S.I, 3, 14-16 ; ibid. I, 4, 8-10 ; ibid. I, 4, 27-30 ; ibid. I, 6, 1-6 (Skt. Text in Chap. II, Note 33).

54. Bloomfield, Introduction to the Kauśika Sūtra, p. xxxi.

55. Bloomfield, Atharvaveda, pp. 102 and 119 ; *cf.* JAOS, Vol. XI, pp. 375 seq. ; Caland, WZKM, 1904, pp. 191 seq.

56. *See* Keith, Tait. Samh., pp. clxx ff ; JRAS, 1910, pp. 934 ff.

57. Aufrecht, *Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, pp. 432-33 ; *cf.* Keith, Brāhmaṇas of the R.V., pp. 25 seq.

58. Gaastra, *Das Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, pp. 12 seq.

59. Pāṇini, IV, 3, 103 ; Keith, Tait. Samh. p. clxvii.

60. R.G. Bhandarkar, Bombay Gazetteer, I, ii, pp. 140 seq. ; Goldstücker, *"Pāṇini"*, pp. 225-227 ; Belvalkar, *Systems of Skt. Grammar*, p. 15 ; Pathak, A.B.O.R.I., XI, p. 83 ; Lassen, Ind. Alt. II, p. 477, Böhtlingk, *Ashṭādhyāyī*, Introduction ; Keith, H.O.S., Vol. XVIII, pp. clxviii ff ; Ait. Ar., Introd., pp. 21 ff ; H. Skold, *Papers on Pāṇini*, pp. 24 ff ; etc.

61. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 475.

62. *Op. cit.*, pp. 458, 462, 381-383 ; *cf.* Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 30, footnote 1.

63. *Op. cit.*, pp. 475 & 459.

64. Basham, *History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas*, pp. 34 & 78.

65. *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

66. *Op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.

67. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

68. Keith, *History of Skt. Lit.*, pp. 427 ff ; Goldstücker, *Pāṇini*, p. 228 ; R.G. Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant. I, 299 ; II, 59 ; Bühler, SBE, Vol. II, p. xliii, footnote ; Eggeling, SBE, Vol. XII, pp. xxxv-xxxix.

69. Macdonell, *India's Past*, p. 138 ; Kielhorn, *Kātyāyana and Patañjali* ; Goldstücker, *"Pāṇini"*, pp. 132-140.

70. Max Müller, H.A.S.L., Allahabad, 1926, p. 127 ; Bhandarkar, Bombay Gazetteer, I, ii, pp. 140 ff. ; Bühler, SBE, Vol. II, p. xliii, footnote; Eggeling, SBE, Vol. XII, pp. xxxv-xxxix ; V. Smith, *History of India*, p. 337, n. 2.

71. Pāṇini-Kālīna Bhāratavarsha, p. 470.

72. Kielhorn, Ind. Ant., XVI, p. 103.

73. Macdonell, ERE, Vol. VII, 1914, pp. 49 ff ; *Vedic Reader for Students*, Introd., p. xi ; H.S.L., p. 12 ; Keith, HOS, XVIII, Introd., p. clxvi. Vedic Index, I, p. viii.

74. Macdonell, *Vedic Reader for Students*, Introd. p. xi. Vedic Index, I, p. viii.

75. Pratt and Main, JASB, 1862, pp. 49-50 ; Max Müller, Preface to the IV Volume of RV., p. Lxxxv ; Tilak, *Orion*, p. 40 ; Haug, Preface to the Ait. .Br., Allahabad, 1922, p. xxxiii.

76. Ait. Br., Eng. Transl. (Allahabad, 1922) p. xxxvi.

77. H.I.L., Vol. I, p. 310.

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CHAPTER V

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

The Kalpasūtras make it abundantly clear that physical environments play an important part in shaping habits, customs and manners of people. The pattern of culture is largely determined by geographical conditions. Many a peculiar precept embodied in the Sūtras owes its origin to the geographical conditions of India. An adequate knowledge of the geographical background is, therefore, a *sine qua non* for the proper understanding of any culture. The geographical information contained in this Chapter will provide a proper background for the study of Indian culture embodied in the Kalpasūtras.

1. THE HOME OF THE SUTRAKARAS

Many questions concerning the origin and chronology of Sūtra literature are closely connected with the home of the Sūtrakāras. Certain customs recorded in the Sūtras owe their origin to local conditions. It is, therefore, essential to know the original home of the authors of the Sūtras. But the Sūtras make no explicit statement regarding the place of their composition, and there is no trustworthy tradition respecting the original home of the Sūtras. The location of Vedic schools in later times does not throw sufficient light on the original home of the Sūtrakāras. Nevertheless, the later tradition concerning the distribution of Vedic schools in different parts of India has been given undue importance, and the current theories about the home of the Sūtrakāras are based upon it.

A work entitled *Mahārṇava* which has been quoted by the commentator of the *Charaṇavyūha* regards the river Narmadā as the middle line of the earth and locates Vedic Śākhās to the south and north of the Narmadā. According to the Mahārṇava, the Āśvalāyanī Śākhā has its home in that region which is bounded by the rivers Tuṅgā, Krishṇā and Godāvarī and by the mountain Sahyādri and which extends up to the Āndhra country ; the Śāṅkhāyanī Śākhā is located in northern Gujarat ; the home of the Āpastambī Śākhā lies in the Andhra country in the south-east up to the mouth of the river Godāvarī ; the Hiraṇyakeśī Śākhā is located between the Sahyādri mountain and the south-western sea; the Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā has its home in the north-western region extending from the *Mayūra* mountain to

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Gujarat ; the home of the Mādhyaṁdinī Śākhā is in Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kānīna and Gujarat ; and the Kāṇva Śākhā was spread by the sage Yājñavalkya in all parts of the country.[1]

It is quite probable that when the Mahārṇava was composed different Vedic Śākhās were located in the regions mentioned in this work. But it is not safe to believe that the original seats of the Vedic schools, where our Sūtras were composed, must have been identical with those places which the author of the Mahārṇava considers to be the seats of the Vedic schools in his own times. It cannot be maintained that the Vedic schools never shifted their seats in the course of millennia. The Sūtras contain nothing which could support the statement of the Mahārṇava. None the less, very eminent scholars have attached great importance to the statement of the Mahārṇava and made it the basis of important theories on the origin and chronology of the Sūtras. Since most of such theories proceed on the assumption that Āpastamba and Baudhāyana founded their Sūtra schools in the South, we shall first discuss the location of these Sūtra schools.

THE HOME OF ĀPASTAMBA

Dr. Bühler has fully discussed the question of Āpastamba's home and arrived at the conclusion that Āpastamba was a native of the Āndhra country.[2] Most of the Indologists concur with Dr. Bühler and the question of Āpastamba's home is now regarded as almost settled. The chief arguments advanced by Dr. Bühler in support of his thesis are as follows :

(1) The Mahārṇava, as stated above, locates the home of Āpastamba in the Āndhra country.

(2) The followers of Āpastamba are now found to dwell mostly in the South, and the name of Āpastamba appears on several land grants of the South.[3]

(3) In his Dharmasūtra (II, 7, 17, 17) Āpastamba refers to a custom of the Northerners (*Udīchyas*)[4] and 'he indicates thereby that he himself does not belong to the north of India.'[5]

But it may be urged that the statement ascribed to the Mahārṇava does not say anything explicit in regard to the home of Āpastamba. All that could be inferred from the statement of this work is that the followers of Āpastamba were found to dwell in the South in the times of the author of the Mahārṇava ; and there is nothing in this statement to prove that Āpastamba founded his school in the South.

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The circumstance that a large number of Āpastamba's followers have been living in the South for many centuries does not necessarily imply that Āpastamba, who founded his school over 2500 years ago, also belonged to the same place and that the followers of Āpastamba never changed the place of their residence in the course of millennia. That the followers of Āpastamba were in earlier times found to dwell in the *North*, too, is evidenced by *Haradatta*, the well-known commentator of the Sūtras, who in his commentary on the Ap. D.S. II,7,17,25, observes: "The Northerners (*Udīchyas*) mostly do not read this Sūtra ; and it has, therefore, not been commented upon by the earlier commentators." It is apparently a reference to the northern recension of the Ap. D.S. and clearly shows that the *northern recension* of Āpastamba's Sūtra was considered to be highly important; and hence a *sūtra* missing in the northern recension was not regarded by Haradatta's predecessors as authentic and worthy of comment. The northern recension of the Āp. D.S. could have hardly gained such importance but for the belief that it was faithfully handed down by the northern followers of Āpastamba. So if the followers of Āpastamba were in earlier times found to live in the North also, no conclusion regarding the home of Āpastamba could be drawn from the fact that a large number of his followers are now found to dwell in the South.

As for the argument based on Āpastamba's reference to the custom of the *Udīchyas*, it may be noted that the force of this argument depends upon the meaning which the word Udīchya denotes in the Sūtras of Āpastamba. Dr. Bühler bases his argument on the assumption that the term Udīchya in this context denotes that part of India, which lies to the north of the river Narmadā. But there is no evidence to substantiate this assumption.

According to the Amarakośa (II, 1, 6-7), the Udīchya land lies to the north-west of the river *Śarāvatī* ; and a Kārikā quoted in the *Kāśikā-vṛitti* avers this view.[6] This definition of the the term Udīchya is, however, vitiated by the circumstance that the Śarāvatī has so far defied all attempts at undoubted identification. Mr. Wilford identifies the Śarāvatī with the Bāṇagaṅgā of Budaon District in Rohilkhand,[7] Prof. N. L. Dey identifies the Śarāvatī with the river Rāpti.[8] But these scholars have adduced no cogent arguments in support of their views. Ancient grammarians and commentators were also in doubt with regard to the correct identification of the river Śarāvatī ; and their doubts on this point are reflected in the writings of Viśveśvarasūri[9] and Gopīnātha Bhaṭṭa.[10] Dr. V. S. Agrawala is inclined to identify the Śarāvatī

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with the river Dṛishadvatī or Chitaṅg flowing through Ambala District in the Panjab.[11] But since both the Śarāvatī and the Dṛishadvatī are mentioned together in the Mahābhārata (IV, 9, 15.20), it follows that the Śarāvatī and the Dṛishadvatī are two distinct rivers. In the opinion of the present writer, the river *Śarāvatī* may be identified with the river *Śaradaṇḍā* mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki[12]; for both the names—Śarāvatī and Śaradaṇḍā—convey almost the same sense, i.e., *'a river abounding in reeds'*. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, the river Śaradaṇḍā lies somewhere in the Panjab.[13]

If the above-proposed identification of the Śarāvatī with the Śaradaṇḍā is taken into account, the *Kuru-Pañchāla* country can not be included in the Udīchya land which would, in that case, lie definitely to the north and north-west of the Kuru-Pañchāla country. That in ancient times the term Udīchya was applied to the region lying to the north and north-west of the Kuru-Pañchāla is indicated by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[14] Since Āpastamba in his Dharmasūtra (I, 2, 5, 4-6) speaks of Śvetaketu of the Sat. Br. as an *Avara* (i.e. a person of recent times),[15] it may be reasonably assumed that the Sat. Br. and the Ap. D.S. were not separated by a very long interval of time and that Āpastamba, like the author of the Sat. Br., employs the term Udīchya to denote the people of the region lying to the north and north-west of the Kuru-Pañchāla country. So it follows from the foregoing discussion that Āpastamba's reference to the custom of the Udīchyas can hardly prove that his home lay to the south of the river Narmadā. The meaning of the term Udīchya, as proposed above, may on the contrary suggest that the home of Āpastamba lay somewhere in the Kuru-Pañchāla country or in its vicinity.

The following pieces of internal evidence corroborate the view that the home of Āpastamba lay in the North :

(1) A number of words, which are of rare occurrence in Sanskrit and which are peculiar to the Sūtras of Āpastamba, are current even now in the language which is spoken in Kuru-Pañchāla and its neighbourhood. For instance, the Ap. S.S. XV, 3,12 employs the word *Ghoṭa* to denote a horse ; and the word घोड़ा is used in Hindi in the same sense. Similarly the Hindi word मेढ़ा closely corresponds to the word *Bhayeḍaka* which the Ap. S.S. XV, 19,4, uses in the sense of a wild ram. But these words, to the best of my information, are not used in the above senses in any language of Dravidian family. Moreover, there is no evidence to prove that Āpastamba borrowed any words from the languages of the South. As regards

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Prof. Garbe's conjectures that the word *Tambala* in the compound *Tambala-vīṇā*, which occurs twice in the Ap. S.S., has been borrowed from the Dravidian—probably Canarese—and that the compound *Tambala-vīṇā* means "Tamil-guitar,"[18] it may be submitted that the evidence available from Sūtra literature lends no support to Prof. Garbe's conjectures. In the Kalpasūtras the word *Tambala* is used in a different sense.

Prescribing girdles of different kinds for the Brahmachārins of different castes, the Gobh. G.S. (II, 10, 9) says, "मुञ्जकाशताम्बल्यो रशनाः"; and commenting upon this sūtra, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa remarks : "मुञ्जकाशौ प्रसिद्धौ तम्बलः शण उच्यते." In this connection the Jaim. G.S. (I, 12) lays down the rule : "मुञ्जमिश्रां तामलीं वैश्यस्य." Similarly the Ap. D.S. (I, 1,2,37) prescribes a girdle of *Tamala* for a Vaiśya and says, "सैरी तामली वेत्येके." Explaining the meaning of *Tāmalī*, Gopīnātha Bhaṭṭa observes : "ताम्बलीतामलीशब्दौ पर्यायौ"[17] ; and the commentator Haradatta on the same sūtra remarks : "तमलो मूलोद्भवसंज्ञो वृक्षस्तस्य त्वचा ग्रथिता तामली." It is thus clear that *Tambala* and *Tamala* are synonyms and that the Kalpasūtras employ the term *Tambala* to denote a kind of plant or the material derived from it. The compound *Tambala-vīṇā* therefore means a *Vīṇā* (lute) having strings made of Tambala. There is absolutely no evidence to connect the Tambala of the Ap. S.S. with the Canarese word Tambala as suggested by Prof. Garbe.

(2) Certain phonetic tendencies that characterize Hindi are discernible in the language of Āpastama. For instance, the Ap. D.S. (II, 4,8,11,) reads *Śīkshā* instead of Śikshā, and the former closely corresponds to the Hindi word *Sīkha*.

(3) In the description of the Sīmantonnayana ceremony, Āpastamba lays down that the first verse should be sung at the Sīmantonnayana to be performed among the *Sālvas ;* and the verse in question reads as follows :

यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजेति साल्वीरवादिषुः । विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तव ॥

" 'Yaugandhari alone is our King,' thus spoke the Sālva people of vast and settled dominion, dwelling near thy banks, O Yamunā !"[18]

Commenting upon the above-mentioned sūtra of the Ap. G.S., Haradatta opines that the *Sālva* country is situated near the bank of the river *Yamunā*. Dr. Winternitz also subscribes to this view and remarks : "According to our Mantra we should have to place either the Sālvas, or at least the Yugandharas as forming one division of the Sālvas, somewhere near the Yamunā."[19] Thus Āpastamba's rule regarding the Sīmantonnayana of the *Sālvas* shows that his home was not far off from the *Sālva* country situated near the Yamunā.

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(4) In his Śrautasūtra, Āpastamba speaks of numerous places lying in Kuru-Pañchāla and its neighbourhood ; the most important of them being *Pariṇah*,[20] *Naitandhava*,[21] *Plāksha-prasravaṇa*,[22] *Triplaksha*,[23] and the *Apyaya* (the place of the disappearance) of the river *Dṛishadvatī*.[24] He often mentions the Kurus and Pañchālas and lays down certain sacrifices for them.[25] Moreover, Āpastamba prescribes a performance for the Naimishīyas, *i.e.* for the inhabitants of the *Naimisha* forest.[26]

In this way Āpastamba shows his close familiarity with the people and places of the Kuru-Pañchāla country and its neighbourhood. There is, on the other hand, nothing in his Sūtras to betoken his familiarity with the people and places of the South. It follows, therefore, that the home of Āpastamba lay somewhere in *Kuru-Pañchāla* or in its neighbourhood.

THE HOME OF BAUDHĀYANA

The question of Baudhāyana's home is also equally important, and many theories concerning Sūtra literature are based on the assumption that the home of Baudhāyana lay in the South. Though the above-mentioned quotation from the *Mahārṇava* says nothing regarding the Sūtra school of Baudhāyana, Dr. Bühler is inclined to locate the home of Baudhāyana in the Āndhra country.[27] The chief arguments adduced by Dr. Bühler in support of his view are as follows :

(1) All the *Baudhāyanīya Brāhmaṇas* are found to dwell in the South since early times.

(2) All the MSS. of the Baudhāyana Sūtras have been found in the South.

(3) Baudhāyana makes repeated references to *sea-voyages* and lays down rules regarding customs duty to be levied on goods imported by sea.[28]

(4) Baudhāyana refers to sea-voyage (*Samudra-Saṁyāna*) as an act of defilement (*Patanīya-karman*) practised by the Northerners.[29]

It is important to note that Dr. Bühler himself does not regard these arguments as fully conclusive and says, "The arguments which may be brought forward to show that Baudhāyana's home lay in Southern India are not as strong as those which permit us to determine the native country of Āpastamba."[30] The strong arguments adduced by Dr. Bühler to locate the home of Āpastamba have already been discussed above. Now let us examine his arguments on the home of Baudhāyana.

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The arguments that all the followers of Baudhāyana school are now found to dwell in the South and that all the MSS. of the Baudhāyana Sūtras have been found in the South carry little weight so far as the original home of Baudhāyana is concerned. It is not improbable that the followers of Baudhāyana migrated *en bloc* to the South in later times. Such migrations are not unknown to Indian History. Anyway, no conclusion respecting the original home of Baudhāyana can be safely drawn from the state of things prevalent in later times. As for the argument that Baudhāyana regards sea-voyage as an act of defilement practised by the Northerners, it may be urged that Baudhāyana enumerates certain unapprovable practices of the Southerners as well as of the Northerners and says that these practices are regarded as customary in these particular regions and that if one does these acts outside the regions appropriate to them one commits a sin ; then Baudhāyana adds that Gautama does not subscribe to this view and considers all these practices to be sinful everywhere.[31] It is clear that Baudhāyana does not single out the Northerners only for condemnation ; and certain unapprovable practices of the Southerners, such as marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle and marriage with the daughter of father's sister, are also mentioned among those practices which are to be condemned. Furthermore, that the unapprovable practices of the Southerners and the Northerners are not in conformity with the conduct of the *Śishṭas* (cultured people) is adduced as an argument for their condemnation ; and it is said that the conduct prevalent in Āryāvarta, as defined below, should be regarded as authoritative. This shows that the terms North and South are employed by Baudhāyana in relation to *Āryāvarta* ; that the term North does not apply to the region lying to the north of the river *Narmadā*, but to the region lying to the north of *Āryāvarta;* and that the home of Baudhāyana most probably lay in *Āryāvarta* as defined by him (*cf.* n. 33).

Now we turn to the argument based on Baudhāyana's rules regarding customs duty payable on goods imported by sea. These rules do not imply that Baudhāyana belonged to a sea-shore country of the South. On the contrary, Baudhāyana's references to the sea-voyages of the Northerners indicate that the Northerners were then engaged in maritime trade. Therefore, Baudhāyana's rules regarding customs duty payable on goods imported by sea may probably refer to goods imported by the traders of Northern India. Though it is difficult to locate the sea-ports of those early times, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Northerners imported foreign goods

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in India through the sea-ports on the West coast of India ; for some Buddhist sources, which are believed to reflect the conditions of pre-Buddhist India, speak of several sea-ports on the Western coast of India, the names of *Bharukachchha* (Broach) and *Sovīra* being worth mentioning.[32]

Besides, Baudhāyana highly praises Āryāvarta and disparages the countries lying beyond it. He says that the country lying to the east of *Adarśana*, to the west of *Kālakavana*, to the south of the *Himālayas*, and to the north of *Pāriyātra* (or Pāripātra) is called Āryāvarta ; that the conduct prevalent in this region is regarded as authoritative ; and that, according to some authorities, the region between the *Gaṅgā* and the *Yamunā* is called Āryāvarta.[33] On the contrary, Baudhāyana dubs the people of the South (Dakshiṇā-patha) *Saṁkīrṇa-yonayaḥ* (people of mixed origin).[34] Moreover, in his Śrautasūtra Baudhāyana betrays his close familiarity with the places situated in Āryāvarta; for he states that in Kurukshetra there are lotus-lakes called Bisavatīs and hills (?) named Auśanasas.[35] Certain families and personages of Kuru-Pañchāla are mentioned in the Baudh. S. S. (XVIII, 26; XVIII, 38).

Further, the Baudh. S. S. (XVII, 18) mentions *Khāṇḍava-prastha*, which appears to be the name of a town situated in the Khāṇḍava forest which is spoken of in the Tait. Ar. (V, 1, 1) as one of the boundaries of Kurukshetra. It may be identified with the famous Khāṇḍava forest referred to in the Mahābhārata.

It is abundantly clear from the foregoing discussion that there seems to be little probability of Baudhāyana's home being in the South. He most probably belonged to Āryāvarta as defined by him.

THE HOME OF HIRAṆYAKEŚIN

The author of the Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛihya betrays no knowledge of the South. In a verse to be recited at the performance of the Sīmantonnayana, Hiraṇyakeśin mentions the river Gaṅgā.[36] Pāraskara and Āśvalāyana lay down the rule that the name of the river, near which the performers of the Sīmantonnayana dwell, should be included in the Gāthā to be sung on this occasion.[37] As the Hir. G.S. puts the name of the river Gaṅgā in this verse, it appears that the author of this Gṛihya dwelt somewhere near the river Gaṅgā.

2. THE PRINCIPAL CENTRE OF ARYAN CULTURE

The tenor of the Sūtras clearly points to the conclusion that Āryāvarta as defined by Baudhāyana (*see* note 33) was the principal centre of Aryan culture in the age of the Sūtras. Baudhāyana, as

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we have seen above, speaks highly of the region called Āryāvarta and declares that the conduct of the people living in this region is authoritative. Places lying in this region are frequently referred to in the Sūtras. *Vinaśana* or *Adarśana* where the river *Sarasvatī* vanishes into sands is mentioned in a number of Sūtras.[38] In connection with the Avabhṛitha ceremony the Asv. S.S. mentions a place named *Kārapachava* which is stated to be situated on the bank of the river Yamunā.[39] The Lat. S.S. informs us that *Parīṇah* is situated in Kurukshetra and that another place named *Prabhavyamarma* lies at the confluence of the Dṛishadvatī and the Sarasvatī.[40] The Baudh. S.S. says that in Kurukshetra there are lotus-lakes called Bisavatīs and hills (?) named Auśanasas (*vide* note 35). Describing the Dārshadvata Sattra, the Kat. S.S. states that in the second year the fire should be kindled at *Naitandhava* (which, according to the commentary, lay near the Sarasvatī) and in the third year at *Pariṇah* situated in Kurukshetra.[41] In those days Kurukshetra was noted for the breeding of big herds of cattle. The Kat. S.S. tells us that at the beginning of the *Sārasvata Sattras* a hundred heifers that are pregnant should be let loose together with a bull near the Sarasvatī so that their number may increase to a thousand by multiplication.[42]

From the above-mentioned facts it is clear that *Āryāvarta* as defined by Baudhāyana was the cradle of Aryan culture in the age of the Sūtras. Other parts of India were not given the same importance by the Sūtrakāras. The stigma of impurity was also attached to certain places. In this connection we may quote the following verses from the Baudh. D.S. :

> "The people of Avanti, Aṅga, Magadha, Surāshṭra, Dakshiṇāpatha, Upāvṛit, Sindhu and Sauvīra are of mixed origin."
>
> "Having visited Āraṭṭa, Kāraskara, Puṇḍra, Sauvīra, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Prānūna, one must undergo a penance by performing the Punastoma or Sarvapṛishṭha sacrifice."[43]

Similarly the Baudh. S.S. (XVIII, 13) states that an expiatory sacrifice should be performed by one who incurs impurity by visiting border-lands, namely Āraṭṭa, Gandhāra, Sauvīra, Kāraskara, and Kaliṅga.

As for the identification of the above-mentioned countries, we may refer to the considered opinion of Prof. Bühler who remarks as follows : "Avanti corresponds to Western Malwa, Aṅga to Western Bengal, Magadha to Bihar, and Surāshṭra to Southern Kathiawar. The Sauvīras, who are always associated with the Sindhians, probably dwelt in the South-West of the Panjab near Multan. The Upāvṛits

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probably are the same as the Upāvṛiṭṭas mentioned in the Mahābhārata VI, 49. But I am unable to determine their seats." The same scholar further adds, "The Āraṭṭas dwelt in the Panjab (Lassen, Ind. Alt. I, p. 973, Second Ed.), and are greatly blamed in the Mahābhārata, VIII, 44, 36 seq. The Kāraskaras are named in the same chapter of the Mahābhārata as a degraded tribe, but seem to belong to the South of India. The Kaliṅgas are the inhabitants of the eastern coast of India, between Orissa and the mouth of the Kṛishṇā river. The Puṇḍras, who are mentioned as a degraded tribe in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VII, 18, and occur frequently in the Mahābhārata ; and the Vaṅgas belong to Bengal (*See* Lassen, Ind. Alt. I, 666, Second Ed.)"[44]

There is no doubt that the authors of the Sūtras attach the highest importance to Āryāvarta and commend the conduct of the *Śishṭas* (cultured people) dwelling in this region. But why do the Sūtrakāras disparage other regions and why do they prescribe penances for visiting those regions ? The inhabitants of the other regions, one may conjecture, had their own customs to guide their conduct and were not prepared to forsake them forthwith in favour of the customs and precepts recommended by the Sūtrakāras ; in other words, the inhabitants of the regions censured in the Baudh. D.S. were beyond the pale of the cultural sway of the Sūtrakāras. In order to assert their cultural superiority the authors of the Sūtras insisted that any Aryan crossing the boundaries of pure Aryan culture must undergo certain penances to expiate for the sin incurred by mixing with the people of an alien culture. Such an attitude of cultural superiority is not uncommon among the peoples of the world. Though we may not countenance it on grounds of universal brotherhood, yet even 2,500 years after the Sūtrakāras the so-called civilized nations of the world have not been able to give up this attitude. The Sūtrakāras, too, had their own limitations.

In spite of the injunctions of the Sūtrakāras, the people of Āryāvarta continued to migrate to other parts of India. When a large number of the Aryans had settled beyond the Āryāvarta of Baudhāyana, a need was felt to push further the boundaries of Āryāvarta ; and it led to the revision of the earlier definition of Āryāvarta. This task was accomplished by the author of the Manusmṛiti who (Manu II, 22) defined *Āryāvarta* as lying between the eastern and western seas and between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas. When the definition given in the Manusmṛiti also fell short of the needs of the times, a new definition was attempted by the Vi. D.S.

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According to the Vi. D.S. (LXXXIV, 4), the country where the system of four castes does not exist is a *Mlechchha* country and *Āryāvarta* is beyond that. Thus the definitions of *Āryāvarta* reflect the expansion of Aryan culture in India.

3. PHYSICAL FEATURES

The geographical data gleaned from the Sūtras indicate that the region in which these works were composed comprises mostly plains. In addition to the Himālayas and the Pāriyātra, a few mountains are mentioned in the Sūtras. The *Gandhamādana* mountain which is, according to the Mahābhārata, situated to the east of the Meru mountain and renowned for its fragrant forests, finds mention in a wedding Mantra of the Gṛihyasūtras (*infra*, Chap. XII). A Mantra of the Hir. G.S. (I,11,5), which mentions the *Trikakud*, a three-peaked mountain on the Himalayan range, reads : "I anoint you with the collyrium coming from the Trikakud born on the Himavat." According to Zimmer (Alt. Leb., p. 29), the Trikakud is the same mountain as came to be called *Trikūṭa* in later times. The Gobh. G.S. (IV, 8, 15) prescribes the performance of a special rite on a mountain. Mountains are thus referred to in the Sūtras. But since the region of the Sūtrakāras consists mostly of plains, references to mountains are few and far-between.

The rules of the Gṛihyasūtras show that the people were mostly dwelling near the banks of rivers (*vide* notes 18, 36 and 37). The rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, and Dṛishadvatī are especially mentioned in the Sūtras. The practice of crossing a river by boat is referred to in several Sūtras.[45] The Śrautasūtras lay down a number of sacrifices connected with the rivers (*vide* notes 39-42). The rivers, which were so vital to the existence of the people, were regarded as sacred. There were such water reservoirs as never dried up.[46] The Kath. G.S. (19, 3) mentions a natural spring (*Gandharva*).

In connection with the building of a house (*infra*, Chap. VIII) the Gṛihyasūtras mention soils of different colours, namely white, red and black soils.[47]

The region of the Sūtrakāras seems to have experienced occasional earth-tremors ; for the phenomenon of earthquake is spoken of by the Sūtras in connection with the temporary suspension of Vedic studies.[48]

Though Baudhāyana, as we have seen above, lays down rules regarding customs duty payable on goods imported by sea and refers to the sea-voyages of the Northerners, the Sūtras betray no special knowledge of the sea. It shows that the Sūtrakāras

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did not dwell near the sea.

4. CLIMATE

The region of India represented in the Sūtras enjoyed the Monsoon Climate in those early days as at present. The Sūtrakāras divide the year into six seasons and assign two months to each season[49]. The *Vasanta* (spring) season comprising the months of *Chaitra* and *Vaiśākha* is considered the best season, and the performance of several sacrifices is prescribed during this season. The *Grīshma* (summer) season comprises the months of *Jyeshṭha* and *Āshāḍha*, and the Upanayana ceremony of a Kshatriya is prescribed during this season.

The *Varshā* (rainy) season, which comprises the months of *Śrāvaṇa* and *Bhādrapada*, finds an important place in the Sūtras. The Upākarman ceremony, which signifies the inauguration of the academic session of Vedic Universities, was performed during rainy season (*vide* Chap. XIV). The performance of certain Śrāddhas and sacrifices is also prescribed during rainy season. Rains accompanied with lightning, thunder and squalling winds are often referred to by the Sūtras in connection with the interruption of Vedic studies.[50] The failure of rains on certain occasions is hinted at by the Sūtras. In the Kauśika Sūtra we find charms for procuring rains.[51] Sometimes cloudy weather continued for a long time and the people were so annoyed with it that they thought of some device to get rid of it. Therefore, the Kaus. S. prescribes certain rites for ending prolonged cloudy weather and for protection against lightning.[52]

The *Śarad* (autumn) season comprises the months of *Āśvayuja* and *Kārtika*. The performance of ceremonies for the welfare of cattle is mostly prescribed during this season. The Upanayana ceremony for a Vaiśya is also prescribed during autumn. As the *Kharif* crop was harvested during autumn, *Āgrayaṇa, i.e.* the sacrifice of the first fruits of the year, was performed at this time (*infra*, Chap. XIX).

The *Hemanta* (winter) season comprising the months of *Mārgaśīrsha* and *Pausha* was very cold, and the people generally put on woollens. Many festivals were celebrated during this season which was considered to be free from diseases. The phenomenon of hoar-frost which appears during cold season is referred to in the Sūtras.[53] The academic session of the Vedic Universities generally closed at the end of winter.

The *Śiśira* season comprising the months of *Māgha* and *Phālguna* was not so cold as Hemanta. Baudhāyana and Āpastamba

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prohibit the performance of marriage during Śiśira (*vide* Chap. XI). The Gṛihyasūtras do not prescribe the performance of any important rite during this season. The Utsarga which marks the close of the academic session of Vedic Universities was performed in the month of *Māgha*, according to some Sūtras (*vide* Chap. XIV).

5. THE FLORA

The Kalpasūtras mention a large number of trees, plants, grains and grass in connection with the performance of sacrifices. Among the trees mentioned in the Sūtras, Nyagrodha (*Ficus indica*), Udumbara (*Ficus glomerata*), Khadira (*Acacia catechu*), Palāśa (*Butea frondosa*) and Bilva (*Aigle marmelos*) are by far the most frequent.[54] Vrīhi (rice) and Yava (barley) are the oft-mentioned grains of the Sūtras.[55] Among various types of grass referred to in the Sūtras, Kuśa (*Poa cynosuroides*) and Dūrvā (*Panicum dactylon*) are oft recurring.[56]

Nyagrodha was a very important tree. The use of a Nyagrodha-shoot is prescribed at the performance of the Puṁsavana ceremony.[57] A staff made of Nyagrodha-wood is prescribed for the students of the Kshatriya caste.[58] Aśvattha (*Ficus religiosa*) was also considered to be a sacred tree. According to the Gobh. G.S., Aśvattha is sacred to the sun, Plaksha (*Ficus infectoria*) to Yama, Nyagrodha to Varuṇa, and Udumbara to Prajāpati.[59] The Asv. G.S. states that the students of different castes are to use the staffs of different trees : the staff of a Palāśa tree is prescribed for a Brāhmaṇa, that of Udumbara for a Kshatriya, and that of Bilva for a Vaiśya.[60] The leaves and blossoms of Kiṁśuka (*Butea frondosa*) were used at the Śravaṇā ceremony.[61] The Sankh. G.S. lays down that the flowers of the *Madhūka* tree are to be tied to the bride at the time of marriage.[62] The Hir. G.S. states that he whose companions, pupils, or servants run away, should sacrifice a piece of *Sidhraka* wood into the fire with certain Mantras.[63] The Gobh. G.S. states that the wood of the following trees should not be used for sacrificial purposes : Vibhīdaka (*Terminalia bellerica*), Tilvaka (*Symplocos racemosa*), Bādhaka, Nīva, Nimba, Rājavṛiksha, Śālmali (*Salmalia malabarica*), Aralu (*Colosanthes indica*), Dadhittha, Kovidāra and Śleshmātaka.[64]

The other important types of flora mentioned in the Sūtras include the following :

(1) Jambu, Kāmpīla, Sraj, Vaṅgha, Śirīsha, Sraktya (*Clerodendrum phlomoides*), Varaṇa (*Crataeva Roxburghii*), Jaṅgiḍa, Kūṭaka, Garhya, Galāvala, Vetasa, Śimbala (flower of

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Śalmali), Sipunā, Syandana, Araṇi, Kāśma, Yokta, Tunyu, and Pūtadāru (Deodar).[65]

(2) Śamī, Śāmakā, Śavaṁśā, Śāmyavākā, Talāśā, Vāśā, Śiṁśapā, Apāmārga, and Ākṛitiloshṭa.[66]

(3) Balbaja, Mūtava, Nala, Śūka, Śara, and Śuṁṭha.[67]

(4) Śamī, Apāmārga, Vīraṇa, and Śirīsha.[68]

(5) Kākātanī, Machakachātanī, Kośātakī, Bṛihatī, and Kālakīlitaka.[69]

(6) Adhyāṇḍā ; Laśuna, Palāṇḍu, Kyāku, and Gṛiñjana.[70]

(7) Vṛīhi, Yava, Tila, Sarshapa, Apāmārga, and Sadāpushpī.[71]

(8) Dūrvā, Yava, Vṛīhi, Śyāmaka, and Ikshu.[72]

(9) Siṁhī ; Śaṇa and Kshumā.[73]

(10) Vīratara and Mudga ; and Karpāsa.[74]

(11) Āragvadha ; Karañja and Parārikā.[75]

(12) Erakā; Pippali and Marīcha.[76]

(13) Pāṭhā; Āmra.[77]

(14) Nala and Vetasa; and Priyaṅgu.[78]

Aquatic Plants : A white water-lily (*Kumud*), a blue lotus-flower (*Pushkara*) and *Avakā* are often mentioned in the Sūtras. The Kauśika Sūtra mentions *Kumudvatī* and *Pushkariṇī* in the description of the goddess Sītā.[79] As for Avakā, the Asv. G.S. says, "Into the pits, in which the posts of the house are to be fixed, the householder should deposit an Avakā, *i.e.*, the waterplant called *Śīpāla* ; then fire will not burn this house ; thus it is known."[80] Zimmer who identifies Avakā with *Śaivāla* makes the following interesting remarks about it : "Avakā—(Blyxa octandra) eine wasserpflanze A.V. 8,7,9 ; T.S. 4,6,1,1, mit andern wasserpflanzen wird sie erwähnt V.S. 17, 24 ; 25, 1 ; T.S. 5,4,4,3. Die Gandharva sind Avakā-Esser A.V. 4, 37, 8. Ihr späterer Name ist Śaivala, was offenbar in engster zu Śīpāla steht, womit ebenfalls eine wasserpflanze bezeichnet wird, die leicht auf der Oberfläche des Wassers schwimmt: 'Durch das Licht vertrieb er die Finsterniss aus dem Luftkreis, wie der Wind den Śīpāla aus dem Wasser', R.V.X, 68,5. Ein mit diesen Pflanzen besetztes Wasser heisst Śīpāla A.V. VI,12,3."[81] The Avakā plant was considered to be very efficacious in quenching fire. So the Kauśika Sūtra recommends Avakā as a medicine for the fire-burnt, for the curse-burnt, and for the house to be protected against fire.[82]

6. THE FAUNA

Domestic Animals : The cow has all along been a very popular animal with the Indo-Aryans, and the age of the Sūtras is no exception. The cow figures prominently in a number of ceremonies

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described in the Sūtras. The cow was of immense use to the people ; for her milk and milk-products, such as curds and ghee, formed major portion of the diet of the people. The hide of the cow was put to a number of uses. Oxen were employed to plough the field and to draw chariots and carts. The cow was thus a real boon to the people. The horse was also a common domestic animal. The Gobh. G.S. describes a ceremony which is to be performed by that person who wishes that his stock of horses and elephants may increase.[83] The Dhruvāśva ceremony of the Man. G.S. is intended for the welfare of horses. The horse and the elephant were used for the purpose of riding.[84] Similarly the camel which was then used for riding is mentioned in the Sūtras.[85] Large flocks of goats and sheep were no doubt kept by the people. The ass which was also a domestic animal was used for riding and as a beast of burden.[86] The Gṛihyasūtras as well as the Dharmasūtras lay down that the student who has violated his vow of chastity should sacrifice an ass at the crossing of roads.[87] It was called Avakīrṇiprāyaśchittam. The dog was, of course, the faithful servant of the people. The cat (*Mārjāra*) has also been mentioned in the Sūtras.[88] The Vas. D.S. (XIV, 27) states that the food touched by a cat is not regarded as impure. The mule, too, finds mention in the Sūtras. That the she-mule cannot bring forth offspring passed as a common idiom in those days.[89] The female buffalo was also reared for milk.[90]

Wild Animals : Tigers, wolves, and jackals are among the important wild beasts mentioned in our Sūtras. The Kauśika Sūtra mentions both the lion (*Siṁha*) and the tiger (*Vyāghra*).[91] The Hir. G.S. states that a certain Mantra should be recited at the sight of a Salāvṛikī (she-wolf or hyena).[92] The porcupine, too, appears to have been pretty common, because the quill of a porcupine was used to part the hair of the wife at the Sīmantonnayana ceremony (*infra*, Chap. XIII). Many kinds of deer are mentioned by the Gṛihyasūtras in the description of Upanayana. The Asv. G.S., for example, states that a student should wear the skin of a black antelope (*Eṇa*) if he is a Brāhmaṇa ; that he should use the skin of a spotted deer (*Ruru*), if he is a Kshatriya; and that he should use the skin of a goat, if he is a Vaiśya.[93] According to the Kauśika Sūtra, the Yakshas are supposed to assume, *inter alia*, the appearance of a monkey (*Markaṭa*).[94] The serpent was a much dreaded reptile. It was most probably due to the fear of this reptile that the Aryan people were compelled to perform certain sacrifices, such as the Śravaṇā, to propitiate snakes (*see* Chap. XVIII). In the daily offering known as Baliharaṇa a share was alloted, besides others, to

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snakes (*see* Chap. XVII). The Kauśika Sūtra prescribes certain charms to scare away snakes and to get rid of the fear of snakes.[95] The mouse (*Ākhu*) is mentioned by Gobhila in the description of agricultural ceremonies.[96] The chameleon (*Kṛikalāsa*) is referred to in the Kauśika Sūtra.[97]

The boar (*Varāha*) was also known to the Sūtras.[98] The *Biḍāla* (wild cat) is mentioned by Baudhāyana.[99] The rhinoceros, too, finds mention in our Sūtras. The flesh of the rhinoceros (*Khaḍga*) was considered to be especially meritorious if it was offered to the manes at the time of Śrāddha.[100] Other animals mentioned in the Sūtras include *Kuluṅga* (a kind of antelope), Gayal (*Gavaya*), Iguana (*Godhā*), mungoose, pig, hare, Śarabha (a kind of deer), and *Pūtikhasha* (which is, according to Haradatta, a Himālayan animal resembling a hare).

Birds : The *Chakravāka* was regarded by the authors of the Gṛihyasūtras as an ideal of conjugal fidelity.[101] It is interesting to note that in later times also a pair of Chakravāka birds is mentioned in Indian literature as an ideal of conjugal fidelity.[102] The *Kapota* (spotty-necked pigeon) has been mentioned by the Gṛihyas in the description of superstitions. According to the Asv. G.S., the householder should offer oblations into the fire or recite a certain hymn of the R.V., if a Kapota sits on or flies towards his house.[103] The sight of a crow was believed to be inauspicious.[104] The Baudh. D.S. prescribes the offering of a *Piṇḍa* (a ball of cooked food) to crows at the time of Śrāddha, citing the view that the manes wander in the form of crows.[105] The meat of certain birds is prescribed for the performance of the Anna-Prāśana ceremony. The Par. G.S., for instance, lays down that the child should be fed with the meat of the *Bhāradvājī* bird, if fluency of speech is desired for the child ; with the meat of the *Kapiñjala* (partridge) bird, if abundance of nourishment is desired ; with the meat of the *Kṛikashā* bird, if long life is desired ; with fish, if swiftness is desired ; and with the meat of the *Āṭi* bird, if holy lustre is desired.[106] The Dharmasūtras forbid the Aryas to eat the flesh of the following birds : cock, heron, sparrow, crow, cuckoo, curlew, osprey, pigeon, dove, Chakravāka, wagtail, vulture, crane, pea-cock, flying-fox, parrot, falcon, swan, woodpecker, Mainā, Lakshmaṇa (*Ardea sibirica*), and Ṭiṭṭibha (*Parra jacana*).[107]

Aquatic Creatures : The fish figures prominently among aquatic creatures mentioned in the Sūtras. The fish was undoubtedly used as food by people.[108] In the description of the Nāpitakarman the Baudh. G.S. says that an offering of fish should be made to cranes.[109] The Dharmasūtras speak of a variety of fishes. For

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instance, Baudh. D.S. (I, 5, 12, 8) states that fishes named Sahasra-damshṭra, Chilichima, Varmī, etc., may be eaten. The Gaut. D.S. (XVII, 36) also opines that fishes which are not mis-shaped are fit for human consumption. The Vas. D.S. (XIV, 42) says that mis-shaped and snake-headed fishes should not be eaten. The Ap. D.S. (I, 5, 17, 38-39) also lays down that the fish named Cheṭa, the snake-headed fish, and mis-shaped fishes like merman should not be eaten. The tortoise (*Kūrma*), too, finds mention in the Gṛihya and Dharma-sūtras. The Par. G.S. says that the husband should put the shell of a tortoise on his wife's lap at the time of the Puṁsavana and recite a certain Mantra, if he desires a valiant son.[110] Right from the times of the Ṛigveda the frog attracted the attention of the Aryan poets. The frog-hymn of the R.V. (VII, 103) may be mentioned in this connection. The Kauśika Sūtra speaks of certain varieties of frogs and expresses the belief that the croak of two frogs of Gomāyu class is regarded as ominous.[111] The Gaut. D.S. (XXII, 19) prescribes penances for killing a frog.

Insects : Bees and honey are very frequently referred to in the Sūtras. If bees happened to make their hive in a house, it was considered to be inauspicious.[112] The Kauśika Sūtra prescribes the performance of certain rites at the unusual appearance of blue flies (*Nīlamākshas*).[113] Further, the Kaus. S. speaks of ants (*Pipīlikās*) of different colours, *viz.* white ants, dark ants, silvery ants (*Rajata-pipīlikās*), red ants (*Rohita-pipīlikās*), brown ants (*Babhru-pipīlikās*), green ants (*Harita-pipīlikās*), and tawny ants (*Aruṇa-pipīlikās*).[114] The stinging-worm (*Vydhvara*) and the mosquito (*Maśaka*) are mentioned in a Mantra to be recited at the Śravaṇā ceremony.[115]

Notes and References

1. *Charaṇa-vyūha* (Banaras Ed., 1938), pp. 33-34.
2. SBE, vol. II, pp. xxxiii seq.
3. *Op. cit.*, pp. xxxiv-vi.
4. उदीच्यवृत्तिस्त्वासनगतानां हस्तेधूदपात्रानयनम् ॥ आप० ध० II, 7, 17, 17.
5. *Op. cit.*, p. xxxvi.
6. प्रागुदञ्चौ विभजते हंसः क्षीरोदके यथा ।
   विदुषां शब्दसिद्ध्यर्थं सा नः पातु शरावती ॥ काशिकावृत्तिः, I, I, 75.
7. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XIV, p. 409.
8. *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 181.
9. शरावती नदीविशेष उत्तरपूर्वाभिमुखीति हरदत्तादयः । नैर्ऋत्याः पश्चिमाब्धिगामिनीत्यमर-व्याख्यातारः ॥ व्याकरणसिद्धान्तसुधानिधिः I, I, 75.
10. केचित्तु ऐशानीतो नैर्ऋत्यां पश्चिमाब्धिगामिनी शरावतीति वदन्ति ॥
    व्याकरणदीपिका, I, I, 75.

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11. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 38.
12. *Rāmāyaṇa* II, 68, 13-16.
13. *Ibid.*, II, 68, 13-16.
14. उद्दालको हारुणिः। उदीच्यान्वृतो धावयाञ्चकार तस्य निष्क उपाहित आसैतद्ध स्म वै तत्पूर्वेषां वृतानान्धावयतामेकधनमुपाहितं भवत्युपवल्हाय विभ्यतान्तान्होदीच्यानाम्ब्राह्मणान् भीर्विवेद ॥१॥ कौरुपाञ्चालो वा अयम्ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मपुत्रः ॥२॥ श० ब्रा० XI, 4, 1, 1-2.
15. *Cf.* Sat. Br. XI, 2, 7, 12 ; XI, 5, 4, 18.
16. Ap. S. S., vol. III, Preface, p. viii.
17. *Saṁskāra-Ratnamālā*, p. 194.
18. Ap. G. S. VI, 14, 5 ; M. P. II, 11, 12. In this verse the word *Sālvīḥ* stands for *Sālvīḥ Prajāḥ* (the Sālva people) and does not mean *Sālva women* as interpreted by certain scholars (*cf.* M. P., Introd., p. xlvi ; *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 56 n.) ; nor does the word *Chakra* here denote a spinning-wheel (*cf.* पाणिनिकालीन भारतवर्ष, pp.71-72). *Vide* Note 36 and Chap. XIII.
19. Mantrapāṭha, Introduction, p. xlvii.
20. Ap. S. S. XXIII, 13, 13 ; *cf.* Lat. S. S, X, 19, 1 ; Sankh. S. S. XIII, 29, 29.
21. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 13, 12 ; *cf.* Sankh. S. S. XIII, 29, 28 ; Lat. S. S. X, 19, 13.
22. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 13, 4-5 ; *cf.* Sankh. S. S. XIII, 29, 20 ; Kat. S. S. XXIV, 6, 7.
23. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 13, 14 ; *cf.* Kat. S. S. XXIV, 6, 39 : Lat. S. S. X, 19, 9 ; Sankh. S. S. XIII, 29, 30.
24. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 13, 2 ; *cf.* Sankh. S. S. XIII, 29, 14.
25. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 3, 7 ; *ibid.*, XVIII, 12, 7.
26. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 11, 10 ; *cf.* Panch. Br. XXV, 6, 4 ; Kath. Samh. X, 6 ; Vāyupurāṇa I, 14.
27. SBE, vol. XIV, pp. xliii seq.
28. Baudh. D. S. 1, 7, 18, 13-14.
29. *Ibid.*, I, 1, 2, 4 ; II, 1, 2, 2.
30. SBE, vol. XIV, p. xli.
31. Baudh. D. S. I, 1, 2, 1-9.
32. R. L. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, pp. 226-27 ; B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 277-79, 299.
33. प्रागदर्शनात्प्रत्यक्कालकमनाद्दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुदक्पारियात्रमेतदार्यावर्तं तस्मिन् य आचारस्स प्रमाणम्। गङ्गायमुनयोरन्तरमित्येके ॥ वौ० ध० I, 1, 2, 10-11.

The Vas. D. S. (I, 8) contains the same definition of Āryāvarta, but reads *Ādarśāt* in place of *Adarśanāt* of Baudhāyana. The Mahābhāshya on Pāṇini, II, 4, 10, gives the same definition as the Vas. D. S. *Adarśana* is explained by commentators of the Sūtras as the place where the river *Sarasvatī* disappears into sands in the Patiala District in the Panjab. *Ādarśa* is explained by *Kaiyaṭṭa*, the commentator of the Mahābhāshya, as the name of hills. *Kālakavana* which literally means black forest is located by Dr. Bühler (SBE, vol. XIV, p. 2, f. n.) in Bihar. Prof. N. L. Dey (*op. cit.*, p. 84) identifies Kālakavana with the Rajmahal hills in Bihar. But Cunningham (*Ancient Geography of India*, pp. xli ff) identifies *Kālakavana* with a tract near *Prayāga*. The *Pāriyātra* (or Pāripātra) mountains belong to the great Vindhya range and are identified

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by Dr. Bühler (*op. cit*) with the hills in Mālvā. According to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Deccan*, sec. 3), the Pāriyātra mountains may be identified with those mountains of the Vindhya range which are the source of the rivers Chambal and Betvā. *Cf.* Manu II, 22 (*Āryāvarta*) ; II, 17-18 (*Brahmāvarta*).

34. Baudh. D. S. I, 1, 2, 14 (Skt. text in Note 43).

35. कुरुक्षेत्रे बिसवत्यो नाम पुष्करिण्यः । तासामुत्तरार्ध्या सुवर्ण-सवनी । बौ० श्रौ० XVIII, 45.

36. सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः ।
विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरे तुभ्यं गंगे ॥ हि० गृ० II, 1, 3.

37. Par. G. S. I, 15, 8 ; Asv. G. S. I, 14, 7.

38. शुक्लपक्ष-सप्तम्यां दीक्षा सरस्वतीविनशने । का० श्रौ० XXIV, 5, 30.
Cf. Baudh. D.S. I, 1, 2, 10 ; Lat. S.S. X, 15, 1 ; Sankh. S.S. XIII, 29, 1.

39. अथोत्थानानि । प्लाक्षं प्रस्रवणं प्राप्योत्थानम् । ते यमुनायां कारपचवेऽवभृथमभ्युपेयुः ॥
आ० श्रौ० उत्तरषट्क VI, 7.
Cf. Kat. S. S. XXIV, 6, 10 ; Ap. S. S. XXIII, 13, 6.

The Mahābhārata IX, 54, 12, mentions a *Tīrtha* named *Kārapavana* on the river Yamunā.

40. Lat. S. S. X, 19, 1 ; Kat. S. S. XXIV, 6, 34 ; Sankh. S. S. XIII, 29, 29.

41. दार्षद्वतमृत्विगाचार्यथोरन्यतरस्य गा रक्षेत् संवत्सरम् ॥
अपरं व्यर्णे नैतन्धवे ऽग्निमिन्धीत । कुरुक्षेत्रे परिणहिरथले ऽग्न्याधेयमन्वारम्भणीयान्तं भवति ॥
का० श्रौ० XXIV, 6, 30-32.

एत्य च दृषद्वती-तीरेणवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति यमुनां त्रिप्लक्षावहरणं प्रति ॥
का० श्रौ० XXIV, 6, 36.

42. वत्सतरीशतमृषभाधिकं गर्भिणीनामुत्सृजन्ति सहस्रपूरणाय ॥ का० श्रौ० XXIV, 5, 28 ; *cf.* Ap. S. S. XXIII, 13, 3.

43. अवन्तयो ऽग-मगधाः सुराष्ट्रा दक्षिणापथाः ।
उपावृत्सिन्धु-सौवीरा एते संकीर्ण-योनयः ॥
आरट्टान् कारस्करान् पुण्ड्रान् सौवीरान् वंगान्
कलिंगान्प्रानूनानिति च गत्वा पुनस्तोमेन यजेतसर्वपृष्ठया वा ॥ बौ० ध० I, 1, 2, 14-15.

44. SBE, vol. XIV, p. 148.

45. Ap. G. S. II, 6, 1-13 ; Sankh. G. S. I, 15, 17-18 ; Man. G. S. I, 13, 16.

46. Gobh. G. S. IV, 5, 26.

47. गौरपांसु ब्राह्मणस्य । लोहितपांसु क्षत्रियस्य । कृष्णपांसु वैश्यस्य ॥ गो० गृ० IV, 7, 5-7.

48. Par. G. S. II, 11, 2 ; Kaus. S. 141, 21 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 11, 21, 6.

49. Baudh. G. S. II, 10, 2-7 ; *cf.* Kaut. A. S. II, 20, 62-68.

50. Man. G. S. I, 4, 5 ; Kaus. S. 141, 17-20.

51. Kaus. S. 41, 1-7.

52. Kaus. S. 38, 1-10.

53. Par. G. S. II, 11, 6.

54. Sankh. S.S. XVII, 1, 3 ; Kat. S.S. XXII, 1,25 ; Ap. S.S. VIII, 17,12.

55. Baudh. S.S. XXIV, 5 ; Kat. S.S. XIX, 2, 22 ; Man. S.S. I, 7, 4, 1.

56. Sankh. S.S. IV, 3, 3 ; Man. S.S. I, 1, 1, 18 ; Kat. S.S. I, 10, 8.

57. Gobh. G.S. II, 6, 6 ; *cf.* Chap. XIII.

58. Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 17 ; *cf.* Chap. XIV.

59. Gobh. G.S. IV, 7, 22.

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60. Asv. G.S. I, 19, 13.
61. Hir. G.S. II, 16, 3 ; *cf.* Chap. XVIII.
62. मधुमतीरोषधीरिति मधूकानि बध्नाति ॥ शां० गृ० I, 12, 9.
63. Hir. G.S. I, 14, 4-5.
64. Gobh. G.S. I, 5, 16.
65. Kaus. S. 8, 15.
66. *Ibid.* 8, 16.
67. Gobh. G.S. I, 5, 19.
68. Gobh. G.S. III, 9, 4.
69. Sankh. G.S. I, 23, 1.
70. Sankh. G.S. I, 19, 1, Vas. D.S. XIV, 33.
71. Sankh. G.S. III, 1, 3.
72. Baudh. G.S. III, 10, 4.
73. Par. G.S. I, 13, 1 ; Gaut. D.S. I, 17.
74. Par. G.S. I, 15, 4 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 6, 13, 10.
75. Ap. G.S. VII, 18, 7 ; Ap. D.S. I, 5, 17, 26.
76. Ap. G.S. V, 12, 3 ; Ap. D.S. I, 7, 20, 12.
77. Ap. G.S. III, 9, 5 ; Ap. D.S. I, 7, 20, 3.
78. Man. G.S. II, 1, 13 ; Gaut. D.S. XVII, 7.
79. Kaus. S. 106, 7 ; *cf.* Baudh. S.S. XVIII, 45.
80. Asv. G.S. II, 8, 14.
81. Zimmer, Alt. Leb., p. 71.
82. अवकया शालां परितनोति । शप्यमानाय प्रयच्छति । निदग्धं प्रक्षालयति ॥ कौ० सू० 52, 7-9.
83. Gobh. G.S. IV, 5, 29.
84. Kaus. S. 17, 22 ; Par. G.S. III, 15, 1-4 ; Hir. G.S. I, 12, 1 ; Ap. G.S. VIII, 22, 16-17.
85. Par. G.S. III, 15, 5.
86. *Ibid.*, III, 15, 6.
87. *Ibid.*, III, 12 ; *cf.* Chap. XV.
88. Baudh. G.S. IV, 9, 9.
89. Par. G.S. III, 13, 5 ; *cf.* Hir. G.S.I, 15, 3.
90. Gaut. D.S. XVII, 23.
91. Kaus. S. 13, 4.
92. Hir. G.S. I, 17, 1 ; Baudh. G.S. IV, 2, 10. Vedic Index II, 447.
93. Asv. G.S. I, 19, 8.
94. Kaus. S. 95, 1.
95. *Ibid.*, 50, 17 ; *ibid.*, 32, 21-26.
96. Gobh. G.S. IV, 4, 30 ; *cf.* Gaut. D.S. XXII, 19.
97. Kaus. S. 8, 18.
98. Baudh. G.S. IV, 2, 7 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 5, 12, 6 ; Gaut. D.S. XXII, 24.
99. Baudh. G.S. IV, 8, 1.
100. Baudh. G.S. II, 11, 65 ; Ap. D.S. II, 7, 17, 1.
101. Hir. G.S. I, 24, 6 ; A.V. XIV, 2, 64.
102. *See* Kālidāsa's words in the III Act of the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala ; Alt. Leb., p. 89.
103. Asv. G.S. III, 7, 7.
104. Kaus. S. 95, 1 ; *cf.* ibid., 18, 16 ; and also Baudh. G.S. IV, 8, 1.
105. Baudh. D.S. II, 8, 14, 9-10.

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106. Par. G.S. I, 19, 7-11.
107. Baudh. D.S. I, 5, 12, 3-7 ; Gaut. D.S. XVII, 27-34 ; Vas. D.S. XIV, 48 ; Ap. D.S. I, 5, 17, 32-36.
108. Par. G.S. I, 19, 9.
109. Baudh. G.S. I, 8, 8.
110. Par. G.S. I, 14, 5 ; Ap. D.S. I, 5, 17, 37.
111. Kaus. S. 96, 1-2.
112. Ap. G.S. VIII, 23, 9 ; Kaus. S. 118, 1.
113. Kaus. S. 117, 1.
114. Kaus. S. 116, 1-3.
115. Hir. G.S. II, 16, 5.

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CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. CASTES

In the age of the Sūtras Indian society was divided into four principal castes, namely *Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya* and *Śūdra ;* and the Dharmasūtras employ the term *Varṇa* to designate these castes.[1] Though the word *Varṇa* literally means 'colour', it cannot be held that the four castes mentioned in the Sūtras were distinguished from each other by the colour of their skin. Some scholars are inclined to believe that even in the Ṛigveda the word *Varṇa* is used to denote different groups of people—especially in those passages of the R. V. (*e.g.* II, 12, 4 ; I, 179, 6 ; I, 104, 2 ; III, 34, 9 ; etc.) where the phrases '*Dāsa Varṇa*' and '*Ārya Varṇa*' occur,[2] but it is not quite improbable to put a different explanation on the said passages of the Ṛigveda. It is still a matter of serious controversy whether the word *Varṇa* in the Ṛigveda stands for a group of people. In the Brāhmaṇas the word *Varṇa* is definitely used to denote different castes, and the Śat. Br. (V, 5, 4, 9) states that Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra are the four *Varṇas*. The Nirukta (III, 8) also speaks of the four Varṇas. The first three Varṇas, *viz.* Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, and Vaiśya, were called *Āryas* in contradistinction from the *Śūdras*.[3] Moreover, the first three Varṇas who had a right to perform the Upanayana and to study the Vedas were called *Dvijas* (twice-born) also ; for the performance of the Upanayana, which entitles an Ārya to perform sacred acts laid down in the holy scriptures, is rightly regarded by the Dharmasūtras as a *second birth*.[4] The Śūdras, who had no right to perform the Upanayana, were called *Ekajātayaḥ, i.e.*, the group of people having physical birth only.[5] Thus the *Āryas* and the *Śūdras* were the two main divisions of Indian society. There is not an inkling of proof in the Sūtras to show that the first three Varṇas called *Dvijas* had any differences in regard to the colour of their skin. All of them belonged to the same racial stock and had the same colour. However, the Gṛihyasūtras refer to the differences of colours in regard to the garments donned by the Brahmachārins of different castes (*infra*, Chap. XIV). Similarly the Gṛihyasūtras prescribe soils of different colours for plots of land which the first three Varṇas should choose to build their houses

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(*infra*, Chap. VIII). There is nothing to show that the colours of dresses and soils prescribed in the Gṛihyasūtras had any relation whatever to the colour of the skin of these castes.

However, the colour of the skin of a Śūdra is referred to in the Sūtras. The Dharmasūtras of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba contain a verse which declares : "The sin that a Brāhmaṇa commits by serving the dark colour (*i.e.* a *Śūdra*) for a day and a night can be expiated by taking meals once every fourth meal-time and by performing ablutions thrice a day over a period of three years."[6] The Vas. D. S. XVIII, 18 (*vide* Nirukta XII, 13) also speaks of the dark colour of a Śūdra woman. It is thus clear that the *Śūdras* differed from the *Dvijas* in regard to the colour of their skin.

The Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas belonged to the same cultural and racial community, whereas the Śūdras formed a distinct group. *Śūdra* was, in fact, a generic term applicable to all those castes, the members of which were not entitled to perform the Upanayana and to study the Vedas. The Śūdra caste comprised a number of distinct sub-castes. The Sūtras mention the names of more than a dozen sub-castes which were all included in the Śūdra caste. The most important of these sub-castes are the following :

Ayogava, Ugra, Karaṇa, Kukkuṭa, Kshatṛi, Chāṇḍāla (*v. l.*, Chaṇḍāla), Daushyanta, Dhīvara, Nishāda, Pāraśava, Pulkasa (*v. l.*, Paulkasa), Bhṛijyakaṇṭha (*v. l.*, Bhṛijjakaṇṭha), Māhishya, Māgadha, Mūrdhāvasikta, Yavana, Vaidehaka, Vaiṇa, Vṛishala, and Śvapāka.[7]

According to the Dharmasūtras, all such sub-castes among the Śūdras owe their origin to inter-caste marriages.[8] For instance, a *Nishāda* is declared to be the offspring of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Śūdrā mother.[9] The Gaut. D. S. states that the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a Śūdrā mother is called *Yavana*.[10] Similar explanations have been advanced by Gautama and Baudhāyana to account for the existence of various sub-castes among the Śūdras. The authors of the Smṛitis have also accepted and elaborated this hypothesis.

It is, however, absolutely gratuitous to assume that all the sub-castes comprised in the Śūdra caste owe their origin to inter-caste marriages. One can hardly believe that the people born of inter-caste marriages were so numerous that they constituted big and important tribes which followed their own customs and manners. For instance, the Nishādas who were declared to be born of inter-caste union were an important tribe of ancient India ; and

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the settlements of the Nishādas are often referred to in Vedic literature.[11] The Man. S.S. (V, 1, 9, 29) prescribes a Śrauta sacrifice for a *Nishādapati*. The Lat. S.S. (VIII, 2, 8) mentions a village of Nishādas, and the Kat. S. S. (I, 1, 12) refers to a *Nishāda-Sthapati*. During the performance of the Viśvajit sacrifice the sacrificer had to sojourn with Nishādas.[12] The Rāmāyaṇa (II, 50, 33 ff) refers to a kingdom of the Nishādas with Śṛiṅgaverapura as its capital. The Mahābhārata also speaks of a kingdom of the Nishādas in the region of the lower Sarasvatī and the western Vindhyas. Similarly the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (XIV, 10) mentions a Nishāda-kingdom in the south-east of Madhyadeśa. The Nishādas were evidently a peace-loving people of non-Aryan stock. Little weight could therefore be attached to the hypothesis that the Nishāda was the progeny of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Śūdrā mother. Similarly Dhīvaras, Vaiṇas, Pulkasas, etc., were probably all distinct tribes of non-Aryan origin and were included in the Śūdra caste. Originally the word Śūdra, as suggested by Zimmer, was perhaps the name of an important non-Aryan tribe of India.[13] Due to expansion of meaning the word *Śūdra* later came to be applied to all the non-Aryan tribes of India.

It is thus obvious that the class-distinction between the Dvijas (*Āryas*) and the non-Dvijas (*Śūdras*) was based essentially on ethnical grounds. The causes leading to caste-differentiation between the members of the Indo-Aryan community might be traced to the differences of occupations. It is an admitted fact that the persons who follow the same occupation are naturally more intimate with each other than with those who follow a different occupation ; and thus they form a kind of compact group in society. Such functional groups are no doubt found to exist in all times and climes. But when occupations become hereditary due to certain circumstances and continue to remain so for generations together, functional groups based on such occupations assume the form of separate classes in society. The formation of different classes among the Indo-Aryans might have proceeded on similar lines. In the age of the Ṛigveda when occupations were most probably not hereditary, there were only functional groups in Indo-Aryan society. There were then such groups of poets and priests, of warriors and administrators, and of agriculturists and traders. In course of time, occupations in Indo-Aryan society tended to become hereditary and consequently functional groups began to petrify into hereditary classes. Eventually this process led to the ramification of Indo-Aryan society into three separate castes, namely

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Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya or Rājanya, and Vaiśya. The division of Indo-Aryan society into the above-mentioned castes had already materialized by the time of the Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda. This caste-system made further progress in the age of the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras. The growing rigidity of caste-system is indicated by the fact that the *Rathakāra* who had a right to perform the Upanayana in the earlier Sūtra period was deprived of this right in the later Sūtra period.[14]

That the Rathakāra belonged to the Aryan stock and was originally a *Dvija* is amply borne out by the Brāhmaṇas, Śrauta-sūtras and Gṛihyasūtras. Like the members of the three higher castes, a Rathakāra is also allowed to perform the Śrauta sacrifices. The Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras lay down that a Rathakāra should consecrate the sacred fires in the rainy season.[15] The Baudh. G.S. and the Bhar. G.S. prescribe the performance of Upanayana for a Rathakāra in the rainy season (*infra*, Chap. XIV). It is an admitted fact that the performance of Upanayana makes him a *Dvija*. But this injunction of the Gṛihyasūtras appeared quite unpalatable to the later authorities on Dharma, who subscribed to the view that the Rathakāra is not a Dvija but the offspring of a Vaiśya father and a Śūdrā mother. The commentator Viśvarūpa, therefore, remarks: "As for the rule of another Smṛiti allowing Upanayana to the Rathakāra, it should be noted that the rule in question is based upon a misunderstanding arising from the Rathakāra's right to consecrate the sacred fires."[16]

Though the later authorities on Dharma questioned the right of the Rathakāra to perform Upanayana, they dared not utter a word against his right to consecrate the sacred fires; for the injunction of the Brāhmaṇas is quite explicit and unequivocal on this point. But they were not prepared to class the Rathakāra with the Dvijas and held that, though the Rathakāra had a right to consecrate the sacred fires due to an explicit injunction of the Śruti, he was inferior in status to the members of the three higher castes.[17] The Rathakāra could not retrieve his lost position. As time rolled on, the authorities on Dharma became more caste-conscious and laid greater emphasis on distinctions of caste.

2. CASTES AND OCCUPATIONS

As a number of important occupations had become the monopoly of certain castes before the beginning of the Sūtra period, the members of all the castes were not free to adopt any occupations of their choice; and in most cases they had to follow those occupations

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which were hereditary in their families. For instance, teaching and priesthood were the hereditary occupations of the Brāhmaṇas.[18] The Kshatriyas took up military service and the administration of territory as hereditary occupations.[19] Trade, agriculture, cattle-breeding, and lending money at interest were the hereditary occupations of the Vaiśyas.[20] Handicrafts and menial service were generally taken up by the Śūdras.[21] The Gaut. D.S. (X, 5) provides that agriculture and trade are also lawful for a Brāhmaṇa, if he has only to supervise the work ; and in the following sūtra of this work lending money at interest is also allowed to a Brāhmaṇa. But the Baudh. D.S. and the Vas. D.S. censure that Brāhmaṇa who practises usury ; and according to Gautama also, a usurer should not be invited to a Śrāddha feast.[22] Though the Dharmasūtras laid down strict rules regarding the occupations to be followed by different castes, it was not always possible to live up to them. The authors of the Dharmasūtras realized this fact and provided that the Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas might follow other occupations also in times of distress. The Gaut. D.S. allows Brāhmaṇas in distress to earn their livelihood through other occupations, such as military service, trade and agriculture, and adds that if a Brāhmaṇa is faced with starvation he may do the work of even a Śūdra but should not mix with the Śūdras and should avoid forbidden food.[23] Similarly a Kshatriya is allowed to earn his livelihood by adopting the normal occupation of a Vaiśya in times of distress. According to the commentator Haradatta, one of the interpretations of the Gaut. D.S. VII, 4 is that all the (three higher) castes may earn their livelihood through priesthood, teaching, and acceptance of gifts in times of distress, though these modes of earning livelihood are allowed to the Brāhmaṇas only in normal times. The non-Brāhmaṇas acting as teachers are also alluded to in the Dharmasūtras.[24]

That the rules of the Dharmasūtras regarding the occupations of different castes were not obeyed strictly by all members of society is clear from the Sūtras themselves which lay down that the Brāhmaṇas, who earn their livelihood by singing, dancing, trade, usury, archery, handicrafts, etc., should not be invited to a Śrāddha feast.[25] As all the members of a caste can never have the same talent and inclinations, it is futile to expect them to follow the same occupations. Though social customs and circumstances generally compelled the people to follow the occupations of their castes, sometimes they found it almost impossible to adopt the occupation of their caste and lived by doing the work of their own choice.

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3. THE RIGHT OF VEDIC STUDIES AND SACRIFICES

All the Dvijas were entitled to study the Vedas and to perform sacrifices. There was no special discrimination against any caste of the Dvijas in the matter of sacrifices. But the Śūdras were prohibited, on pain of death, to study the Vedas.[26] Further, the Dharmasūtras condemn those Brāhmaṇas who perform sacrifices for the Śūdras. Gautama lays down that even father who sacrifices for Śūdras should be abandoned.[27] The recitation of Vedic Mantras was prohibited at sacrifices belonging to the Śūdras. Pāraskara allows a Dvija to marry a Śūdra girl on condition that Vedic Mantras should not be recited at the performance of such a marriage.[28] The Śūdras were, however, allowed to perform the *Pākayajñas, i.e.* domestic sacrifices.[29] Moreover, the Śūdras were allowed to perform Śrāddha for the manes.[30] The Śūdrā wife of a Dvija was also granted the right to offer oblations to snakes without the recitation of the Mantras[31]. The Bhāradvāja Śrautasūtra refers to the view held by some authorities that even a Śūdra can consecrate the three sacred fires, though this view is not countenanced by others.[32] Nevertheless, it shows that in the age of the Sūtras there were at least some teachers who felt that the Śūdras should also be granted the right to consecrate the three sacred fires.

4. CASTE-DISTINCTIONS IN RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL MATTERS

The Sūtras draw a line of demarcation between the members of the three higher castes in regard to the performance of several sacrifices. The points of differentiation between the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras in legal matters will be discussed below in Chapter X. We shall here sum up the main points of differentiation between the Dvijas in social and religious matters.

In the description of the Nāmakaraṇa ceremony the Par. G.S. lays down that the name of a Brāhmaṇa should end in *Śarman*, that of a Kshatriya in *Varman*, and that of a Vaiśya in *Gupta*.[33] The Chūḍākarman is to be performed in the second or third year of his age for a Brāhmaṇa child, in the fifth year for a Kshatriya child, and in the seventh year for a Vaiśya child.[34] The Upanayana should be performed in the eighth year of his age for a Brāhmaṇa boy, in the eleventh year for a Kshatriya boy, and in the twelfth year for a Vaiśya boy (*infra*, Chap. XIV). Differentiation in the

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matter of Upanayana penetrates to very minute details of the ritual. It is laid down that the Upanayana should be performed in the spring season in the case of a Brāhmaṇa boy, in summer in the case of a Kshatriya boy, in autumn in the case of a Vaiśya boy, and in the rainy season in the case of a Rathakāra boy (*infra*, Chap. XIV). Similarly the Gṛihyasūtras further differentiate between the Brahmachārins of different castes and prescribe for them garments of different colours, girdles of different materials, and staffs of different trees and heights (*infra*, Chap. XIV).

The Gṛihyas further lay down that the *Sāvitrī* (Ṛik addressed to the god Savitṛi), which the teacher recites to the Brahmachārin before the commencement of Vedic studies, must be in the *Gāyatrī* metre for a Brāhmaṇa, in the *Trishṭubh* metre for a Kshatriya, and in the *Jagatī* metre for a Vaiśya (*infra*, Chap. XIV). However, Pāraskara allows the option that the Sāvitrī in *Gāyatrī* metre may be taught to the Brahmachārins of all the three castes.[35] In this connection the Kaus. S. raises an interesting controversy and makes the following remarks : "Some say that the Sāvitrī should not be taught to a Kshatriya. But how will you initiate him, if you do not teach him the Sāvitrī ? The Sāvitrī must be taught to him."[36] At the time of begging alms, it is stated, Brahmachārins of different castes should address the mistress of the house in different ways (*infra*, Chap. XIV). At the performance of the Samāvartana rites a Brāhmaṇa should salve his face first, a Kshatriya his arms first, and a Vaiśya his belly first.[37] It is, however, important to note that the caste-distinctions are not recognized by all the Gṛihyasūtras and that they are further mitigated by the option that the Brahmachārins of all the three castes may wear the same type of dress and may be taught the Sāvitrī in Gāyatrī metre. More of such caste-distinctions are found in the later Sūtras (*infra*, Chap. XIV).

The distinctions of caste are recognized by the Sūtras in respect of marriage and etiquette. A Brāhmaṇa is allowed to choose his wife from any of the four castes ; a Kshatriya may choose his wife from the Kshatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra castes ; the choice of a Vaiśya is restricted to the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes ; and a Śūdra must choose his wife from his own caste.[38]

In the matter of gifts also the distinctions of caste are upheld in the Sūtras. It is laid down that the gift to be given away at the end of nuptials should be a cow in the case of a Brāhmaṇa bridegroom, a village in the case of a Rājanya bridegroom, and a horse in the case of a Vaiśya bridegroom.[39]

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The form of question relating to the welfare of a guest varied from caste to caste. A Brāhmaṇa guest was asked about his spiritual well-being (*Kuśala*), a Kshatriya guest about his physical fitness (*Anāmaya*), a Vaiśya guest about the prosperity of his wealth (*Anashṭa*), and a Śūdra guest about his health (*Ārogya*).[40]

According to the Gṛihyasūtras, the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas should select plots of different types for the purposes of residential buildings (*infra*, Chap. VIII).

5. THE BASIS OF DIFFERENTIATION IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS

Some of the caste-distinctions mentioned in the Sūtras are recognized in the Brāhmaṇas which assign reasons for prescribing different metres, trees, foods, etc., for members of different castes at the performance of Vedic sacrifices. Since the objects to be achieved by a Brāhmaṇa, a Kshatriya and a Vaiśya are, according to the Brāhmaṇas, holy lustre (*Brahma-varchasa*), physical strength (*Ojas* or *Vīryam*), and cattle wealth (*Paśavaḥ*) respectively,[41] the metres prescribed for these castes are *Gāyatrī*, *Trishṭubh* and *Jagatī* respectively which are declared in the Brāhmaṇas to be conducive to holy lustre, physical strength and cattle wealth respectively and which are connected with *Agni*, *Indra* and *Viśvedevas* respectively, who are regarded as the presiding deities of holy lustre, physical strength and cattle wealth respectively.[42] In this way differentiation in ritual was based on the belief that things and ceremonies in sacrifices should be arranged in such a manner that a Brāhmaṇa might acquire maximum of holy lustre, a Kshatriya maximum of physical strength, and a Vaiśya maximum of cattle wealth. Staffs of Palāśa, Nyagrodha, and Udumbara trees are prescribed in certain Gṛihyasūtras (*vide* Chap. XIV) for Brahmachārins of the Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, and Vaiśya castes respectively on the basis of similar beliefs concerning these trees.[43]

The metres of the Sāvitrī verses to be recited at the performance of Upanayana were also allotted according to the beliefs that the *Gāyatrī* metre which grants holy lustre should be chosen by a Brāhmaṇa ; that the *Trishṭubh* metre which grants physical strength should be employed by a Kshatriya ; and that the *Jagatī* metre which grants cattle wealth should be used by a Vaiśya. The number of syllables contained in each *pāda* of Gāyatrī, Trishṭubh and Jagatī metres forms the basis of differentiation in regard to the ages of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas at the time of their Upanayana. So it is laid down in the Sūtras that the Upanayana

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of a Brāhmaṇa should be performed in the eighth year of his age, that of a Kshatriya in the eleventh year, and that of a Vaiśya in the twelfth year (*vide*, Chap. XIV). The main basis of differentiation was forgotten in later times, and association of castes and metres was interpreted as follows: "God created the Brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī, the Rājanya with Trishṭubh, and the Vaiśya with Jagatī, but He created the Śūdra without any metre. Therefore, the Śūdra is unworthy of Saṁskāras."[44] But the Sankh. S.S. (XIV, 33, 19) declares that the Śūdras have *Anushṭubh* as their metre. In the beginning caste-differentiation in ritual was based on certain fundamental qualities connected with different castes, but in later times the basic ideas were all forgotten and the distinctions of castes became rigid and irrational.

6. COMMENSAL AND CONNUBIAL RELATIONS

So far as the three higher castes, *i.e.* the Dvijas, were concerned, there were no restrictions on their intermixing at marriage or meal. At the time of the Śrāddha feast Brāhmaṇas ate food prepared in the house of any Dvija. Gautama provides that a Brāhmaṇa may eat food given by those Dvijas who are praised for the faithful performance of their duties.[45] Āpastamba says, "According to some authorities, food offered by members of any caste, who follow the laws prescribed for them, except that offered by a Śūdra, may be eaten. However, the food of a Śūdra, who lives under one's protection for the sake of spiritual merit, may also be eaten."[46] As for connubial relations between different castes, Pāraskara and Baudhāyana lay down that a Brāhmaṇa may marry a girl belonging to any of the four castes; that a Kshatriya may marry a girl belonging to any of the three castes, namely Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra; and that a Vaiśya may marry a girl of Vaiśya or Śūdra caste; though the Vas. D.S. disallows the Dvijas to marry a girl of Śūdra caste (*see* n. 38). Preference was, however, given to a bride of the same caste. The Gṛihyasūtras, therefore, emphasize the point that one should marry a virgin belonging to one's own caste (*infra*, Chap. XI). The Dharmasūtras also adopt an attitude of discouraging inter-caste marriages, and hence they give bad names to the progeny born of inter-caste marriages (*vide* n. 8).

7. STATUS AND PRIVILEGES OF DIFFERENT CASTES

Brāhmaṇa: The Brāhmaṇa caste occupied the highest position in the Aryan society and the Brāhmaṇas were, therefore, held in high

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esteem. The Par. G.S. lays down the rule that a person going in a chariot should get down from it when he approaches Brāhmaṇas.[47] According to the injunctions of the Dharmasūtras, Brāhmaṇas were not to be subjected to corporal punishment (*infra*, Chap. X). Brāhmaṇas were invited to all sacrificial feasts. The Kh. G.S. states that from every food the householder should offer something to the fire and give due share to a Brāhmaṇa.[48] In fine, the Brāhmaṇas were highly respected by all sections of society. It was, however, the learned section of the Brāhmaṇas, which commanded such a high respect in society. Baudhāyana makes the following remarks in respect of those Brāhmaṇas who are unlearned and who do not discharge the duties prescribed for their caste: "Those Brāhmaṇas who live as cowherds, traders, artisans, actors, messengers and usurers must be treated as Śūdras."[49] Baudhāyana further says, "There is in fact no 'transgression of Brāhmaṇa' in the case of that Brāhmaṇa who is stupid and possesses no knowledge of the Veda, because no one offers oblations in ashes and gives up a burning fire."[50]

Kshatriya : The Kshatriyas also held an important position in society. In many cases the Kshatriyas are bracketed with the Brāhmaṇas. So Gautama says, "It has been declared in the Veda that the Brāhmaṇas united with the Kshatriyas uphold gods, manes, and men."[51] The Kshatriyas, being a ruling class, were naturally respected in society.

Vaiśya : The Vaiśyas came after the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas in point of their social position. It is known from the Sūtras that the Vaiśyas could also be appointed to administrative posts (*infra*, Chap. IX). A Vaiśya was considered to be a symbol of prosperity. The Gṛihyasūtras lay down that at the time of establishing the sacred domestic fire (*Gṛihyāgni*) the fire should be brought from the house of a Vaiśya rich in cattle.[52]

8. THE CONDITION OF THE SUDRAS

The position of the Śūdras was undoubtedly the lowest in the social scale, and they suffered from a number of disabilities. They had no right to study the Vedas and to perform sacrifices. It is laid down in the Sūtras that the study of the Veda should not be continued in the vicinity of a Śūdra.[53] A Snātaka is exhorted not to accompany Vṛishalas.[54] In legal matters also the Śūdras were discriminated against. Śūdras were subjected to a heavy penalty for an offence for which a Brāhmaṇa passed unpunished. Gautama, for instance, lays down that a Śūdra who

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intentionally reviles twice-born men by criminal abuse, or criminally assaults them with blows, shall be deprived of the limb with which he offends, while a Brāhmaṇa who abuses a Śūdra shall suffer no punishment.[55] Certain sections of the Śūdras, such as the Chāṇḍālas, lived outside the villages of the Āryas, for the Kaus. S. prohibits the study of the Veda in a village where the Chāṇḍālas live with the Āryas. A sūtra of Pāṇini also indicates that some of the Śūdras were considered to be so impure that a utensil defiled by them was regarded as unpurifiable.[56]

We have so far seen one side of the picture, that is, the disabilities which the Śūdras suffered from. Now let us turn to the treatment which the Śūdras received in general as members of Indian polity.

Not a Class of Slaves

It is undeniably true that the duty of the Śūdras, according to the Dharmasūtras, consisted in rendering service to the three higher castes and that many Śūdras worked as servants in Aryan households. This state of things, however, does not necessarily imply that the Śūdras were merely a class of slaves and that they were treated like goods and chattels. From the evidence adduced below it is perfectly clear that the Śūdras were regarded as members of an independent class of society ; that they could own property ; and that their life, honour and property were protected by the law of the land.

Right to own Property

Like the members of the three higher castes, the Śūdras, too, had a right to acquire and own property. So Gautama says that in the case of a Vaiśya or a Śūdra gain by labour is an additional mode of acquiring property.[57] The other modes of acquiring property, *viz.* inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure and finding, were not denied to the Śūdras either.[58] It did not remain as a mere injunction, but it must have been put into actual practice ; for the Dharmasūtras speak of wealthy Śūdras whose money could be taken by a Dvija to defray the expenses of the wedding of his daughter and to perform a rite enjoined upon by the sacred law.[59] Baudhāyana's statement that it is a *Patanīya* (a degrading sin) to take service with a Śūdra shows that some of the Śūdras were rich enough to employ Dvijas as servants.[60]

Protection of Life and Property

The life, honour, and property of the Śūdras were protected by

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the law of the land. Any person who murdered a Śūdra was punished by the king according to the law in force.[61] Laws, dealing with theft and damage to crops etc., were as much applicable to the property of a Śūdra as to that of a Dvija (*infra*, Chap. X). If a member of the three higher castes committed adultery with a woman of the Śūdra caste, he was banished according to Āpastamba.[62] It is laid down by Gautama that the Ārya under whom a Śūdra serves must support that Śūdra even at that time when the latter is unable to work.[63]

Not a Class of Untouchables

It can be safely stated without any fear of contradiction that the Śūdras, as a whole, did not form a class of untouchables in the age of the Sūtras. The touch of a Śūdra was free from the pollution which came to be attached to it in later times. The Śūdras were then employed not only as domestic servants but also as cooks. Āpastamba lays down that Śūdras may be employed to prepare food under the superintendence of Āryas.[64] When the Argha-reception was given to a Snātaka on his return home, his feet were washed by a Śūdra servant.[65] Śūdra servants were treated like members of the Aryan family which they served. In the description of the funeral rites Āśvalāyana states that when the wife of the deceased lies by his side, her brother-in-law as the representative of her husband, or a pupil of her husband, or an old servant should make her rise from the funeral-pyre, reciting a Mantra ; and that the performer of the rites should, however, recite the Mantra when the Śūdra (servant) makes her rise from the funeral-pyre.[66]

The Place of Sudras in Society and Religion

In the age of the Sūtras the Śūdras were regarded as useful members of Indian polity, and they were not shunned as *Pariahs*. Like other members of Indian society, a Śūdra was also treated with courtesy and hospitality. It is laid down in the Dharmasūtras that when a Śūdra goes as a guest to an Aryan householder the latter should receive the former with due courtesy and enquire about his well-being (*vide* n. 40).

According to Baudhāyana, a Śūdra guest who visits an Aryan household should be honoured with food.[67] Like other members of society, a Śūdra was also greeted courteously. Therefore, Gautama lays down the following injunction : "In like manner, any other aged fellow-citizen and even a Śūdra of eighty years or more must be saluted by one who is young enough to look like a son of the older person."[68] The Śūdras formed an integral part of society and

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people aspired to gain goodwill and popularity among the Śūdras in the same way as among other sections of society. It is clear from the following Mantra which a Snātaka was asked to recite at the time of Smāvartana : "Make me popular with the gods ; make me popular with Brahman *i. e.*, with the Brāhmaṇas ; make me popular with the Vaiśyas and Śūdras ; and make me popular with the kings *i. e.*, with the Kshatriyas. Svāhā !"[69]

In the matter of religion the Śūdras were permitted to perform domestic sacrifices and Śrāddhas (*vide* notes 29-30). There were at least some teachers who held that the Śūdras should also be granted the right to consecrate the three sacred fires (*vide* n. 32). The performance of many sacrifices described in the Śrauta-sūtras requires the participation of Śūdras. For instance, a Śūdra's participation in *Odanasava* is a *sine qua non* for the performance of this sacrifice; and the participating Śūdra is here required to perform a rite with the recitation of a Mantra.[70]. A *Sūta*, who is regarded as the progeny of a Kshatriya father and a Brāhmaṇa mother and who is treated on a par with the Śūdras in the Dharma-sūtras and Smṛitis, is allowed in the Baudh. S. S. XVIII, 4, to perform a Śrauta sacrifice called *Sūtasava*. There is a mimic fight between an Ārya and a Śūdra in the *Mahāvrata* sacrifice (*vide* Chap. VIII). That the Nishādas and their chief were associated with certain sacrifices has been noted above (p. 116).

Thus the Śūdras contributed their share to the social and religious life of the Indians of the Sūtra period and were treated as members of Indian polity. Though the Śūdras were discriminated against in social and religious matters, the treatment meted out to them was neither inimical nor inhuman.

9. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Indian society was divided into two ethnical groups, *viz.* the Āryas and the Śūdras; and each group was subdivided into a number of castes. Many distinctions of caste were observed in social and religious matters. The Śūdras suffered from many disabilities in social and legal matters, and they were denied the status of equality with the Āryas. The study of the Vedas was one thing which the Āryas always endeavoured to keep back from the Śūdras. This sort of discrimination against the Śūdras was, one may assume, motivated by the fear that the sacred Mantras of the Vedas which were so highly prized by the Āryas would be extremely spoiled, if the Śūdras whose speech habits were different from those of the Āryas were allowed to pronounce Vedic Mantras.

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Although Indian society was split into numerous castes, the feeling of communal hostility was conspicuously absent. The people of all castes were living in peace and amity. The caste-system had not yet become so rigid as to preclude the possibility of inter-caste marriages. There were no restrictions on inter-dining among the Āryas, and the Śūdras were not considered as a class of untouchables ; nor were the Śūdras treated as slaves. Though many Śūdras had to take service with the Āryas to earn livelihood, there were no born slaves. Most of the Śūdras worked as craftsmen and labourers. Some Śūdras were wealthy enough to engage the service of some indigent Āryas. The Śūdras were regarded as useful members of society and were invited to participate in certain sacrifices. Relations between the Āryas and the Śūdras were perfectly cordial.

As time rolled on, the caste-systam grew more rigid and the gulf of caste-differences became more wide. Inter-caste marriages allowed by the earlier authorities were condemned and prohibited by the later Sūtrakāras. The authors of the Smṛitis were equally vehement in their opposition to inter-caste marriages ; and marriage with the Śūdras was singled out for severe condemnation. The later Sūtras and Smṛitis seem to adopt an uncharitable attitude towards the Śūdras. For instance, the Vas. D.S. (XVIII, 11) declares the Śūdras to be as impure as a cemetery ; and Manu (X, 129) lays down that a Śūdra should not amass riches, even if he is capable of doing so, for a Śūdra oppresses the Brāhmaṇas after acquiring wealth. Manu's injunction against the Śūdras testifies to the growing power of the latter. Accession to the power of the Śūdras who were considered to be an inferior caste aroused the envy of the superior castes and led to the further widening of caste-differences. The distinctions of caste were introduced in every sphere of social life, and even funeral processions had to follow different routes in accordance with the caste of the dead. According to Manu (V, 92), the funeral procession of a Śūdra should be taken out through the southern gate of the city, that of a Vaiśya through the western gate, that of a Kshatriya through the northern gate, and that of a Brāhmaṇa through the eastern gate. It is difficult to ascertain whether such a rule was actually observed by the people in ancient India.

It is an unpalatable fact that the Indian caste-system grew more complex and rigid with the passage of time. The number of castes increased enormously and the distinctions of caste assumed undue importance. Since caste in ancient India was regarded as springing from the accident of birth, no power on earth could change

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the caste of a person in his lifetime. Caste-consciousness always divided and weakened the nation. But the citadel of caste-hierarchy had become so impregnable in the course of centuries that no movement for the reform of social abuses could conquer it. Buddhism and Jainism could not eradicate the evils of caste-system and were later reduced to a sort of castes.

All attempts to reform the caste-system have been rendered effete by endogamy which forms the chief plank of this institution. As soon as endogamy yields to inter-caste marriages, the fangs of this hoary caste-system will fall off.

Notes and References

1. Baudh. D. S. I, 8, 16, 1 ; Ap. D. S. I, 1, 1, 4 ; Vas. D. S. II, 1 ; Gaut. D. S. XI, 9, 31.

2. Vedic Index, vol. II, pp. 247 ff.

3. Gaut. D. S. VI, 11 ; X, 60 ; XII, 2 ; IX, 65 ; XXII, 4. Ap. D.S.I, I, 3, 40-41 ; II, 2, 3, 1 ; II, 2, 3, 4.

4. तद्द्वितीयं जन्म ॥ गौ० ध० I, 10.
स हि विद्यातस्तं जनयति ॥ तच्छ्रेष्ठं जन्म ॥
शरीरमेव मातापितरौ जनयतः ॥ आप० ध० I, 1, 1, 16-18.
त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयो ब्राह्मण-क्षत्रिय-वैश्याः ।
तेषां मातुरग्रे विजननं द्वितीयं मौञ्जिबन्धने ।
अत्रास्य माता सावित्री पिता त्वाचार्य उच्यते ॥
वेदप्रदानात् पितेत्याचार्यमाचक्षते ॥ वा० ध० II, 2,-4.
Cf. Gaut. D. S. X, 1 ; Manu II, 169-72.

5. शूद्रश्चतुर्थो वर्णः । एकजातिः ॥ गौ० ध० X, 49-50.

6. यदेकरात्रेण करोति पापं वृष्णं वर्ण ब्राह्मणस्सेवमानः ।
चतुर्थकाल उदकाभ्यवायी त्रिभिर्वर्षैस्तदपहन्ति पापम् ॥
बौ० ध० II, 1, 2, 3 ; आ० ध० I, 9, 27, 11.

7. Gaut. D. S. IV, 16-21 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 9, 17, 2-14 ; Manu X, 6-18 ; Yaj I, 91-95.

8. Gaut. D. S. IV, 16-21 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 9, 16, 2-15 ; *cf.* Manu, X, 7-19.

9. ब्राह्मणात् क्षत्रियायां ब्राह्मणो वैश्यायामम्बष्ठः शूद्रायां निषादः ॥ बौ० ध० I, 9, 17, 2.

10. पारशव-यवन-करण-शूद्रान् शूद्रेत्येके ॥ गौ० ध० IV, 21.

11. Kat. S. S. XXII, 1, 6 ; Kaush. Br. XXV, 15 ; Ait. Br. XXXVII, 7 ; Panch. Br. XVI, 6, 8 ; Tait. Samh. IV, 5, 4, 2 ; Kath. Samh. XVII, 13.

12. Kaush. Br. XXV, 15 ; Lat. S. S. VIII, 2, 8 ; Kat. S. S. XXII, 1, 26; Ap. S. S. XVII, 26, 18 ; Panch. Br. XVI, 6, 6 ; etc.

13. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 216 ; *cf.* Weber, Ind. Stud. XVIII, 85, 255 ; Ludwig Der Rigveda, III, 212 ; Vedic Index II, 391 ff.

14. *Supra*, Chap. IV, p. 85 ; Chap. XIV below.

15. Kat. S. S. IV, 7, 7 ; I, 1, 9 ; IV, 9, 3 ; Baudh. S.S. XXIV, 16 ; Ap. S. S. V, 3, 18 ; *cf.* Sat. Br, XIII, 4, 2, 17 ; Tait. Br. I, 1, 4, 8 ; III, 4, 2, 1.

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16. यत्तु स्मृत्यन्तरे रथकारस्योपनयनस्मरणं तदाधानाधिकृतत्वाद् भ्रान्तेरित्यवसेयम् ॥
Viśvarūpa on the Yaj. I, 10.

17. Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā VI, 1, 44-50.

18. Gaut. D. S. X, 1-2 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 2 ; Vas. D. S. II, 14.

19. Gaut. D. S. X, 7-8 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 3 ; Vas. D. S. II, 17.

20. Gaut. D. S. X, 48 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 4 ; Vas. D. S. II, 19.

21. Gaut. D. S. X, 56-59 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 5 ; Vas. D. S. II, 20.

22. Baudh. D. S. I, 5, 10, 24-25 ; Vas. D. S. II, 40-42.

23. Gaut. D. S. VII, 6-25 ; *cf.* Baudh. D. S. II, 2, 4, 16-21 ; Vas. D.S. II, 22-35.

24. Gaut. D. S. VII, 1 ; Ap. D. S. II, 2, 4, 25-28 ; Baudh. D.S.I, 2, 3, 42.

25. Gaut. D. S. XV, 15-16 ; Ap. D. S. II, 7, 17, 21.

26. Gaut. D. S. XII, 4.

27. Gaut. D. S. XX, 1.

28. सर्वेषां शूद्रामप्येके मन्त्रवर्जम् ॥ पा० गृ० I, 4, 11.

29. पाकयज्ञैरेवयं यजेतेत्येके ॥ गौ० ध० X, 64.

30. श्राद्धकर्म ॥ गौ० ध० X, 53.

31. तूष्णीमपि शूद्रा प्रक्षालितपाणिः ॥ मा० गृ० II, 16, 6. *Cf.* Chap. XVIII.

32. विद्यते चतुर्थस्य वर्णस्याग्न्याधेयमित्येके न विद्यत इत्यपरम् ॥ भारद्वाजश्रौतसूत्र V, 2, 8. (as published in the *Journal of Vedic Studies*, Lahore, Vol. I, September, 1934).

33. शर्म ब्राह्मणस्य वर्म क्षत्रियस्य गुप्तेति वैश्यस्य ॥ पा० गृ० I, 17, 4.

34. Sankh. G. S. I, 28, 1-4.

35. सर्वेषां वा गायत्रीम् ॥ पा० गृ० II, 3, 10.

36. तदाहुर्न क्षत्रियं सावित्रीं वाचयेदिति । कथं नु तमुपनयीत यन्न वाचयेत् । वाचयेदेव वाचयेदेव ॥ कौ० सू० 17, 32-34.

37. Asv. G. S. III, 8, 11.

38. Par. G. S. I, 4, 8-11 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 8, 16, 2-5 ; Vas. D. S. I, 24-25. But the Vas. D. S. I, 26-27 forbids the Āryas to marry a girl of the Śūdra caste.

39. Par. G. S. I, 8, 15-17 ; Sankh. G. S. I, 14, 13-15.

40. Gaut. D. S. V, 42 ; Ap. D. S. I, 4, 14, 26-29 ; Manu II, 127.

41. Sat. Br. XIII, 2, 6, 10 ; Panch. Br. VI, 3, 5 ; Tait. Br. III, 8, 13, 1 Ait. Br. VIII, 6 ; Panch. Br. XVIII, 4, 6.

42. Ait. Br. I, 5, 28 ; Sat. Br. I, 3, 5, 5 ; Panch. Br. XV, 1, 9 ; Kaush. Br. VII, 2 ; Panch. Br. XXI, 10, 9 ; Sat. Br. III, 4, 1, 13 ; Sat. Br. III, 4, 1, 19 ; Kaush. Br. X, 5 ; Tait. Br. II, 7, 3, 3.

43. Kaush. Br. X, 1 ; Ait. Br. II, 1 ; Ait. Br. VII, 31 ; VIII, 16.

44. Vas. D.S. IV, 3.

45. प्रशस्तानां स्वकर्मसु द्विजातीनां ब्राह्मणो भुंजीत ॥ गौ० ध० XVII, 1.

46. सर्ववर्णानां स्वधर्मे वर्तमानानां भोक्तव्यं शूद्र-वर्जमित्येके । तस्यापि धर्मोपनतस्य ॥
आ० ध० I, 6, 18, 13-14.

47. Par. G. S. III, 14, 8.

48. Kh. G. S. I, 5, 38.

49. Baudh. D. S. I, 5, 10, 25. The Banaras edition of this Sūtra contains the reading *Kuśīlakān* which is evidently wrong.

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50. ब्राह्मणातिक्रमो नास्ति मूर्खे मन्त्रविवर्जिते ।
ज्वलन्तमग्निमुत्सृज्य न हि भस्मनि हूयते ॥ वौ० ध० I, 5, 10, 28.

51. ब्रह्म क्षत्रेण संपृक्तं देवपितृमनुष्यान् धारयतीति विज्ञायते ॥ गौ० ध० XI, 29,

52. Gobh. G. S. I, 1, 15 ; Par. G. S. I, 2, 3 ; *cf.* Asv. S. S., Uttarashaṭka II, 1.

53. Gaut. D. S. XVI, 19 ; Sankh. G. S. IV, 7, 20 ; Kaus. S. 141, 38-39.

54. Gobh. G. S. III, 5, 34.

55. Gaut. D. S. XII, 1. 10.

56. शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् ॥ Pāṇini II, 4, 10. See the Mahābhāshya and Kāśikā on this Sūtra.

57. निर्दिष्टं वैश्यशूद्रयोः ॥ गौ० ध० X, 41.

58. स्वामी रिक्थ-क्रय-संविभाग-परिग्रहाधिगमेषु ॥ गौ० ध० X, 38.

59. द्रव्यादानं विवाहसिद्ध्यर्थम् । धर्मतन्त्रसंगे च । शूद्रात् ॥ गौ० ध० XVIII, 25-27.

60. Baudh. D. S. II, 1, 2, 2.

61. Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 19, 2.

62. Ap. D. S. II, 10, 27, 8.

63. यं चार्थमाश्रयीत भर्तव्यस्तेन क्षीणोऽपि ॥ गौ० ध० X, 60.

64. आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः स्युः ॥ आप० ध० II, 2, 3, 4.

65. Asv. G. S. I, 24, 10 ; Hir. G. S. I, 12, 19 ; Jaim. G. S. I, 19 : 18, 15.

66. Asv. G. S. IV, 2, 18-19 ; *cf.* Chap. XVI.

67. Baudh. D. S. II, 3, 5, 11 ; *cf.* Manu II, 112.

68. तथाऽन्यः पूर्वः पौरोऽशीतिकावरः शूद्रोऽप्यपत्यसमेन ॥ गौ० ध० VI, 10 ; *cf.* Manu II, 137.

69. प्रियं मा कुरु देवेषु प्रियं मा ब्रह्मणि कुरु ।
प्रियं विश्येषु शूद्रेषु प्रियं मा कुरु राजसु । स्वाहा ॥ हि० गृ० I, 10, 6.

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CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC LIFE

1. OCCUPATIONS

Long before the beginning of the Sūtra period the Indian people had attained a high degree of culture, and the scope of their economic activities had extended beyond agriculture and cattle-rearing. The Indians of the Brāhmaṇa period knew numerous arts, crafts, and sciences. The Sūtra period witnessed further progress in all departments of human knowledge, and the expansion of cultural and economic activities led to the establishment of new occupations. The advance of technical skill in all branches of arts, crafts, and sciences rendered it almost impossible for an average man to acquire equal proficiency in every branch of an art, craft, or science. Therefore, specialization in a particular branch of human knowledge became the pressing necessity of the day, and each branch of arts, crafts and sciences assumed the position of an independent occupation. For instance, smithery which was a single occupation in earlier times branched off into many occupations in later times. Thus there was a substantial rise in the number of occupations. Only important occupations of the Sūtra period will be discussed in the following pages, but it may be pointed out here that the number of occupations mentioned in the Sūtras exceeds fifty.

It is important to note that the occupations were associated with castes. According to the Dharmasūtras, teaching and priesthood were reserved for the Brāhmaṇas ; administration and military service were allotted to the Kshatriyas ; agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, and commerce were assigned to the Vaiśyas ; and the Śūdras were allowed to practise fishing, hunting, handicrafts, menial service, etc., (*supra*, p. 118). Moreover, the members of the higher castes were allowed the option to follow in times of distress the occupations allotted to the lower castes. But the members of the lower castes were not allowed to adopt the occupations reserved for the higher castes, and this prohibition was particularly rigorous in the case of teaching and priesthood. Few people from the lower castes were known to act as priests or Vedic teachers. However, the restrictions of caste were not equally effective in the case of other occupations, and no other occupation ever remained the monopoly of a

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single caste to such an extent. So far as administrative appointments were concerned, the members of the three higher castes were declared eligible by Āpastamba (*infra*, Chap. IX) ; and even a Nishāda who was regarded as a Śūdra could hold the post of a *Sthapati*, according to the Kat. S.S. (I, 1, 12). Agriculture and cattle-rearing were so common that all those who failed to earn their livelihood by teaching, priesthood, trade, and military service, resorted to them. The Śūdras could also adopt agriculture and cattle-rearing. Though handicrafts, dancing, dramatic performances, and menial service were allotted to the Śūdras, some members of the higher castes also adopted these occupations ; and those Brāhmaṇas who followed such occupations were debarred from being invited to funeral feasts. Normally the people adopted the occupations of their forefathers and did not dare to incur social wrath by deviating from family-traditions. Caste-wise allocation of occupations was an established fact in the Sūtra period. It hampered the free choice of occupations and did not allow full scope to the talents of all, but it had its bright side, too. People acquired special skill and took keen interest in the work which they began to learn from their very childhood. Caste-wise allocation of occupations was accepted as a divine decree by the common run of men, and it was not regarded as a social injustice. All sections of society made their due contribution to the welfare of society. Husbandmen produced abundant food grains to feed the whole nation ; herdsmen reared plenty of livestocks to provide milk, meat, hides, fleece, and means of transport ; handicraftsmen manufactured necessary articles and implements ; traders arranged for the exchange of necessary commodities ; administrators maintained peace and order ; artistes entertained the people ; and teachers and priests perpetuated cultural heritage and sublimed the thoughts and feelings of the people.

2. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture was the most popular occupation of the Sūtra period. Though agriculture was regarded as the normal occupation of the Vaiśyas, the members of the other castes were also allowed to practise it. In fact the bulk of Indian population then depended upon agriculture. The Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras attach great importance to agriculture and describe a number of ceremonies connected with agricultural operations, such as the ploughing of the field, the harvesting of crops, the partaking of the first fruits of crops, and the storing of food grains into a barn (*infra*, Chap. XIX).

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Land-system

The Sūtras make it abundantly clear that the ownership of land vested in private individuals who had every right to gift, sell, or lease it. The Asv. G.S. (II, 7, 2) lays down that house should be built on an indisputable plot of land. Asv. S.S. and the Man. S.S. prescribe that a piece of fertile land (*Urvarā*) should be given away as sacrificial fee.[1] The Gṛihyasūtras often distinguish between fertile land (*Urvarā*) and sterile land (*Īriṇa*);[2] the former is highly praised, while the latter is declared to be inauspicious.[3] The Sūtras refer to the existence of separate fields (*Kshetras*) which were carefully measured off (*vide* n. 47) and sometimes enclosed (*vide* n. 13).

In regard to the leasing of land Āpastamba lays down the following rule: "If a person who has taken land on lease for cultivation does not exert himself and hence the land bears no crop, he shall be made to pay, in case he is rich, to the owner of the land a sum of money equivalent to the value of the crop that could have ordinarily grown on that land."[4] From this statement of Āpastamba it follows that the system of leasing land for a specified share of the produce was in vogue in the Sūtra period; and the Dharmasūtra of Baudhāyana also avers this view (*vide* n. 47). Farmers were generally required to pay one-sixth of the agricultural produce as land-revenue to the king.

Irrigation

The cultivation of the soil was undoubtedly dependent on rains to a great extent. The Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras frequently refer to rains and describe the ritual of procuring rains. However, cultivation was not entirely dependent on rains. The system of artificial irrigation was also prevalent in the Sūtra period. Frequent references to rivers indicate that the people were mostly living in the vicinity of rivers. The Kauśika Sūtra describes the ritual to be performed at the time of directing the course of a river; and in fact this seems to suggest the opening ceremony of letting water into a canal.[5] The irrigation of land through canals was not a new invention to the Indians in the Sūtra period. The word *Kulyā* which means a 'canal' is known to the Ṛigveda as well as to the Yajurveda.[6] The Atharvaveda (III, 13) gives the description of cutting a canal from a river and designates the former as a calf and the latter as a cow. The Baudh. D.S. (II, 3, 5, 5-6) refers to public wells and dams (*Setus*) built by philanthropists.

The System of Cultivation

The system of cultivating the soil was more or less similar to

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the one obtaining in India at present. Generally two bullocks were yoked to the wooden plough (*Sīra* or *Lāṅgala*) to make furrows in the soil, but on ceremonial occasions like big sacrifices more than two bullocks were also yoked to the plough. At the conclusion of *Śunāsīrīya* sacrifice described in the Śrautasūtras a plough with a team of six or twelve oxen was given away as sacrificial fee.[7] The ploughshare (*phāla*) was made of iron. The ritual to be performed at the time of sowing the crop is fully described in the *Gṛihyasūtras*.[8] When the crop was ripe, it was reaped and gathered on the threshing-floor (*Khala*) where grain was separated from chaff.[9]

Crops

The crops of the following kinds of grain were generally cultivated in those days : barley (*Yava*), rice (*Vrīhi*), sesamum (*Tila*), panic seed (*Priyaṅgu*), millet (*Śyāmāka*), wheat (*Godhūma*), mustard (*Sarshapa*), and certain varieties of beans, such as *Māsha*, *Mudga* and *Kulattha*.[10] That the cultivation of barley and wheat was quite common is known from the Sankh. S.S. (XIV, 40, 6-9 ; XIV, 41, 6-8) which prescribes the fields of barley and wheat crops as altar, the threshing-floor of these crops as high altar, and a bundle of their straws as ring (*Chashāla*) at the top of the sacrificial post during the performance of Sādyaḥkra sacrifice. The cultivation of sugarcane was also popular, for the Baudh. G.S. (III, 10, 4) speaks of a food preparation which was cooked with the juice of sugarcane. Important fibre-plants that were cultivated in those days included cotton (*Karpāsa*), hemp (*Śaṇa*), and common flax (*Kshumā*).[11] Crops were generally raised twice a year. Rice, millet, sesamum, Mudga, Māsha, cotton, and common flax were the important *Kharif* crops which were generally harvested in autumn. The *Rabi* crops included wheat, barley, and mustard which were sown in autumn and harvested in spring.[12]

Protection of Crops

In order to protect crops from cattle and wild animals farmers used to close their fields with fences. The Gaut. D.S. states that if damage is done to crops in an unenclosed field near a road, both the herdsman and the owner of the field should be held responsible for the damage.[13] In those times also mice, birds, and locusts were, as they are today, the major enemies of crops. The Kauśika Sūtra prescribes certain ceremonies and remedies for the protection of crops from destructive creatures.[14]

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3. LIVESTOCK-BREEDING

Livestock-breeding was an important occupation of the Sūtra period. The people kept big herds of cows, horses, goats and sheep. Cattle were driven out to pastures in the morning and driven back to their enclosures in the evening. We are told by the Dharma-sūtras that some persons tended the cattle of others for wages. The Ap. D.S. (II, 11, 28,6), for example, lays down the following rule in this connection : "If a herdsman who has taken cattle under his care allows them to perish or loses them through his negligence, he shall replace them or pay their value to the owner". Herds of cows were so big that they were given away in hundreds and thousands as sacrificial fees. According to the Kat. S.S. (XV, 4, 43), a lac of cows were given away as sacrificial fees at the *Rājasūya*.

The Sūtras describe a number of ceremonies connected with cattle welfare (*infra*, Chap. XIX). The *Śūlagava* sacrifice was performed every year. The ceremony known as *Vṛishotsarga* was performed at that time when a bull was let loose for the purposes of breeding. According to another ceremony described in the Gṛihyas, special marks were made on the ears of cows. The Kauśika Sūtra mentions many other ceremonies for the welfare of cattle. It contains a ritual to be performed for restoring affection between a cow and her calf.[15] At another place the same Sūtra describes rituals for the protection of cows and for the prosperity of young calves.[16] According to the same Sūtra, cows which suffer from a disease should be given saline water to drink.[17] Further, the Kaus. S. (41, 21-26) prescribes the performance of certain rituals for bestowing good qualities on horses. The Man. G.S. (II, 6) describes a ritual which was performed annually for the welfare of horses (*infra*, Chap. XIX). A statement in the Kat. S.S. suggests that *elephants* were reared mostly in the *eastern* part of India, *horses* in the *western* part, and *mules* in the *northern* part of India.[18]

4. HANDICRAFTS

Several handicrafts, such as pottery, carpentry, metal-work, glass-work, jewellery, weaving and leather-work, were common in the Sūtra period, and all of them were practised on cottage-industry basis. Handicraftsmen formed into a guild and framed rules for the conduct of its members. The rules framed by such a guild were recognized by the king also (*infra*, Chap. X). To work for the king one day in a month without wages was the usual form of tax which handicraftsmen were required to pay to the State.

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Pottery

The potter manufactured earthenware used for domestic and sacrificial purposes. Pitchers, cooking-pots, and plates were generally needed for every household. Certain types of earthenware were required for the performance of Śrauta and Gṛihya sacrifices. According to the Baudh. S.S. (XV, 14), potters were invited and instructed by the king to manufacture bricks, big cooking-vessels, and small cooking-vessels which were needed for the performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.

Carpentry

The carpenter was an indispensable artisan for society, for it was the carpenter who made ploughs, carts, household furniture, and chariots. The industry of chariot-making became so important that *chariot-makers* were considered to form a separate class and distinguished from *carpenters*. The Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras lay down specific rules for the sacrifices to be performed by chariot-makers (*supra*, Chap. VI). In the description of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice the Baudh. S.S. (XV, 13-14) mentions chariot-makers as distinct from carpenters and lays down that *carpenters* are instructed to make sacrificial posts, wooden vessels, carts, mats, sacrificial staffs, etc., and that *chariot-makers* are instructed to manufacture chariots only. A large number of people were engaged in carpentry.

Metal-work

Blacksmiths and *goldsmiths* are separately mentioned in the Baudh. S. S. (XV, 13). Goldsmiths generally made ornaments of gold and silver. Numerous ornaments of gold and silver are spoken of in the Sūtras (*infra*, Chap. VIII). Blacksmiths manufactured articles of iron, copper and bell-metal. Ploughshares, spades, sickles, needles, knives, utensils, and razors were some of the important articles manufactured by blacksmiths. The Gobh. G. S. mentions a vessel made of bell-metal, and the Asv. G. S. mentions vessels made of copper, metal, stone and clay.[19] The Baudh. D. S. (I, 5, 8, 28) states that the articles made of copper, silver and gold should be purified with acids. The Gobh. G. S. (IV, 8, 13) informs us that he who desires to do away with his enemy may sacrifice pegs made of iron. In the description of tonsure rite the Gṛihya-sūtras often mention a razor made of copper.[20] The manufacture of weapons, such as swords, spears, axes, bows, arrows, and coats of mail also required the services of blacksmiths.

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Glass-work

The industry of manufacturing mirrors must have been in a flourishing state. The use of a mirror is frequently prescribed in the Sūtras. A mirror was presented to the bride at the time of marriage; a mirror was used at the performance of tonsure and Sīmantonnayana; and mirrors were given away as sacrificial fees at certain sacrifices. Ornaments of glass are also mentioned in the Śrautasūtras.

Weaving

Cotton, wool, hemp and flax were generally used for weaving cloth. Clothes of Kuśa were not quite common and their use was confined to sacrificial occasions only. The mention of numerous varieties of clothes in the Sūtras shows that textile industry was fully developed. Though the entire process of weaving is not described in the Sūtras, it may be assumed that the weaving of cloth must have been preceded by preliminary processes of ginning, cleaning, pressing, carding and spinning. Pāraskara's reference to a *full spindle* shows that yarn was spun with a *Charkhā*. The following verse which should, according to Pāraskara, be recited at the time of marriage when the bride puts on the upper garment, describes the process of weaving cloth: "The goddesses, who spun and wove, who stretched the warp, and who crossed the woof, may clothe you for old age. Blessed with long life you put on this garment."[22] The association of goddesses with textile art indicates that it was considered sacred and that women took keen interest in it. The Gṛihyasūtras state that the Brahmachārin at the time of Upanayana should put on such a garment as has been woven recently for this very purpose (*infra*, Chap. XIV). According to the Kat. S. S. (XV, 5, 9), yarn was soaked thrice in water for weaving a special kind of cloth called *Tārpya*, but another view (*ibid.* XV, 5, 8. 10) is that the cloth anointed with ghee or the cloth made of flax is called *Tārpya* (*infra*, Chap. VIII). The manufacture of heavy blankets was very common.

Leather-work

Those workers who manufactured articles of leather are mentioned in the Baudh. S. S. XV, 14. Leather industry was in a fairly developed stage. The hides of cattle, deer, and other animals were tanned and used for various purposes. According to the Par. G. S. (II, 5, 17-19), the upper garment of a Brāhmaṇa student should be

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made of the skin of an antelope ; that of a Kshatriya student should be made of the skin of a spotted deer ; and that of a Vaiśya student should be made of a goat's skin or a cow's skin. Special sanctity was attached to a *red bull's* skin which was frequently used at the performance of domestic rituals.[23] Similarly the skin of a *black antelope* was considered sacred and used at the performance of Śrauta sacrifices. Leather was used for the manufacture of various domestic articles. For instance, shoes were made of leather. The sacrificer was enjoined upon to put on the shoes of *boar-skin* during the performance of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice.[24] In order to store large quantities of liquids like ghee and oil leather bags (*Dṛitis*) of big size were manufactured. Bow-strings, shields, reins, and straps for the protection of an archer's arm were also made of leather.

Stone-work, Needle-work, Rope-making, and Basket-making

Though the Sūtras yield little information about workers in stone, they often refer to mortar and pestle, millstone, and vessels of stone. The Baudh. D. S. (II, 1, 2, 17) forbids a Brāhmaṇa to trade in stone and thus shows that some people were engaged in the trade of stone implements. The Kat. S. S. (XV, 5, 11) which speaks of a *Tārpya* garment embroidered with figures of sacrificial implements points to the popularity of needle-work in the Sūtra period. The use of sewn garments and the mention of various types of needles in the Śrautasūtras also affirm the existence of needle-work in those days. Rope-making and basket-making are alluded to in the Sūtras a few times.

5. PRIESTHOOD, TEACHING AND OTHER OCCUPATIONS

Priesthood

The priests earned their livelihood by performing sacrifices for others. They received their remuneration in the form of sacrificial fees which were conventionally fixed for each sacrifice. The Sūtras never fail to prescribe the amount of *Dakshiṇā* (sacrificial fee) to be given to the priests at the conclusion of sacrifices. Only Brāhmaṇas could act as priests at the sacrifices performed by the members of the three higher castes. A Brāhmaṇa who acted as a priest at a sacrifice performed by a Śūdra was excommunicated by other members of his profession.

Teaching

A number of people were engaged in teaching. According to

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the Sūtras, a teacher neither stipulated any fees for teaching nor received any fixed salary from the Government. He contented himself with whatever was presented to him by his pupils. Students worked for him and gave him the alms which they collected from society every day. Such teachers as taught for a fixed amount of fees were not held in esteem in those days. *See* Chap. XV for further details respecting *teachers*.

Service

Some people were employed by the Government for the purposes of defence and administration (*infra*, Chap. IX). It is, however, not clearly known from the Sūtras whether they received their pay in cash, or in kind, or in the form of land-grants.

Miscellaneous Occupations

According to the Dharmasūtras certain low-caste people earned their livelihood by fishing, hunting, fowling, dancing, and singing. But the Śrautasūtras inform us that certain Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas also worked as *singers* and *lute-players* (*infra*, Chap. VIII). *Barbers* and *washermen* are often referred to in the Sūtras.[25] The services of a barber were required at the performance of several sacrifices. He shaved hair and pared off nails. The Gṛihyasūtras speak of such people as worked as domestic servants. The Ap. D.S. (II, 11, 28, 6) mentions those who tended herds of cattle for fixed wages. Though the Sūtras refer to a *physician*,[26] they supply no details respecting medical profession. The people of other occupations mentioned in the Sūtras include *astrologers*, *messengers*, *dyers*, *distillers*, *mendicants*, *butchers*, and *boatmen*.

6. TRADE AND COMMERCE

Trade was no doubt an important occupation of the Sūtra period. Members of all the three higher castes are allowed by the Dharmasūtras to practise trade. Cereals, livestock, cloth, wool, liquors, herbs, metals, hides, salt, wood, agricultural implements, ropes, utensils, condiments, jewellery, perfumes, pepper, and arms were the main articles of trade. The sale of cooked food is also referred to in the Sūtras.[27] However, the Brāhmaṇas were prohibited to trade in human beings, heifers, bulls, horses, milch cows, perfumes, prepared food, sesamum, skins, milk, medicines, honey, flesh, grass, water, poison, animals for slaughter, substances from which spirituous liquor may be extracted, arms, roots, fruits, and flowers.[28] The Sūtras prescribe the performance

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of certain rites for those who desire to gain success in trade.[29] Though commodities were purchased for money, trade by exchange of commodities was also prevalent. Haggling over the price of *Soma* is referred to in the Kat. S.S. (VII, 8, 1-12).

Economic activities of the Indians were not limited to the sale, purchase, and exchange of local commodities. It is known from the Sūtras that the Indians undertook long journeys to promote trade and commerce. The Kauśika Sūtra (42, 1-5), prescribes a rite for that person who desires that his business trip may be successful. The Baudh. D.S. (I, 1, 2, 4) refers to *sea-voyages* undertaken by the *Northerners*. Further, Baudhāyana's rules regarding customs duty payable on articles imported by sea prove the existence of *maritime trade* in those times.[30] But the Sūtras furnish no details about the items of export and import.

7. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

The growth of trade and commerce depends a great deal on the means of transport. In the days of the Sūtras certain animals, such as horses, camels, elephants, mules, asses and bulls, and wheeled vehicles drawn by horses or bulls, were the chief means of transport on land ; and boats were used for transport on water.

A journey in those days was attended with many dangers and difficulties. The Gṛihyasūtras describe certain rites which were then performed by the people to secure safety during a dangerous journey.[31]

Chariot was the most popular vehicle of those days. Chariots of many types were manufactured. The Kat. S.S. (XXII, 10, 31) speaks of a chariot coated with bronze on both sides. A chariot drawn by she-mules is prescribed as sacrificial fee in the Śrautasūtras. The Kat. S.S. (XIV, 3, 11) mentions a chariot drawn by four horses. The Śulvasūtra of Āpastamba (VI, 5) mentions the dimensions of a chariot. It was generally drawn by two bullocks or horses. The Par. G.S. (III, 14) devotes a whole chapter to the ceremony of mounting a chariot (*Rathārohaṇa*), and it is laid down in this Sūtra that a woman or a Vedic student should not act as a charioteer. The Gobh. G.S. speaks of a chariot drawn by bullocks.[32] Though cows were yoked by some people to draw vehicles, this practice was not countenanced by the Sūtrakāras.[33] A cart drawn by bullocks was used for the purposes of carrying load from one place to another.[34] A big cart (*Mahānasa*) was used for carrying heavy loads.[35] Elephants, camels, horses, and asses were used for riding.[36]

It is known from the Sūtras that a causeway (*Saṁkrama*),

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was made across a river or inundated land.[37] Rivers were generally crossed by means of boats. The Par. G.S. prescribes the verses which ought to be recited at the time of boarding a boat.[38] The Gṛihyasūtras lay down the rule that certain Mantras should be recited at that time when bride crosses a river by boat.[39] A student who observes the *Śakvarī Vrata* is prohibited to board a boat.[40] Sea-voyages referred to in the Sūtras were undoubtedly completed with the help of boats. The Kaus. S. prescribes the performance of rites for securing safety in boats and ships during sea-voyages.[41]

There were no regular facilities for the public to send their communication from one place to another. A special messenger had to be sent to convey a message to a distant place. Āpastamba speaks of professional messengers who were employed by the State.[42]

8. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Weights and measures were in vogue in the days of the Sūtras. The Kaus. S. enumerates the following measures of length : *Dishṭi, Kudishṭi, Vitasti, Nimushṭi, Aratni, Pada, Prakrama, Prādeśa* and *Dhanush*.[43] The Gobh. G.S. also mentions *Prakrama* as a measure of length.[44] Similarly the Asv. G.S. (I, 3,1) mentions *Ishu* (arrow) as a measure of length. *Vyāma* and *Vitasti* are also mentioned in the Asv. G.S. as measures of length.[45] The use of *Aṅguli, Vyāma* and *Aratni* is found in the Kat. S.S. as well.[46] Baudhāyana, who mentions *Nivartana* as a measure of land, says that a householder should cultivate six Nivartanas of land.[47] The Śulvasūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana also mention most of these measures.

According to the Śulvasūtra of Baudhāyana (XXX, 1), the table of measures may be set out as follows :

14 Aṇus (particles)=1 Aṅgula ;
10 Aṅgulas=1 Kshudrapada ; 12 Aṅgulas=1 Prādeśa ;
15 Aṅgulas=1 Pada ;
2 Padas=1 Prakrama ; 2 Prādeśas=1 Aratni ;
5 Aratnis=1 Vyāma or Purusha.

The method of measuring land is fully described in this Sūtra. The Arthaśāstra also gives a very exact description of various measures of length. The following account of them is given according to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (II, 20, 1 seq.) :

1 Vitasti=12 Aṅgulas (as one Aṅgula is equal to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, I Vitasti=9 inches) ;

1 Dhanurmushṭi=8 Aṅgulas (*i.e.* 6 inches), but the Kaus. S. mentions Nimushṭi and not Dhanurmushṭi ;

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I Aratni=2 Vitastis (*i.e.* 18 inches).

The Arthaśāstra mentions *Dhanush* as a measure of length equal to 1/1000th part of a *Krośa*, *i.e.* 96 Aṅgulas. The Dhanush of our Sūtras might be the same measure. According to Kauṭilya, a Vyāma is equal to 84 Aṅgulas (*i. e.* 63 inches) and is used in measuring ropes and depth of dug ground.[48] The Asv. G.S. prescribes Vyāma for measuring the dimensions of a ground where a deceased person is to be cremated (*vide* n. 45).

The Nivartana mentioned in the Baudh. D.S. is described in the Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.[49] Prof. Bühler makes the following observation in regard to Nivartana : "A Nivartana is a measure of 4000 square Hastas, the ancient equivalent of the modern Bīghā."[50] The Ap. D.S. (II, 10, 26, 6-7) mentions *Yojana* and *Krośa* as measures of distance. A Krośa is generally regarded as equivalent to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and a Yojana is considered equal to 4 Krośas.

There must have been, of course, several measures of weight. A double handful (*Añjali*), a handful (*Prasṛita*), and bowls (*Pātras*) were used to measure grain, according to the Sankh. S.S. (XVI, 1, 2). *Śarāva* is also mentioned as a measure of weight. The Gobh. G.S. (IV, 6, 12) mentions a weight known as *Kāṁsa* which, according to Oldenberg, is equal to one *Droṇa*.[51] According to the Arthaśāstra (II, 19, 33), one Droṇa is equal to $187\frac{1}{2}$ *Palas*. From the statements of the Dharmasūtras it is plain that weights and measures were checked by State authorities. The Vas. D.S. explicitly lays down that the measures and weights to be used for essential commodities of daily use must be guarded against falsification.[52] Gautama states that a person using false weights and measures should not be invited to a Śrāddha feast.[53] The Arthaśāstra (II, 19, 1) recommends the appointment of a superintendent of weights and measures, who was called *Pautavādhyaksha*.

9. COINAGE

The use of coins was fairly common in the age of our Sūtras. The Sūtras mention a number of coins which are known to Pāṇini as well as to the Buddhist Jātakas.

Nishka is mentioned in the Sūtras as an ornament as well as a coin. As an ornament Nishka was worn round the neck.[54] The Śrautasūtras refer to the gift of slave maidens who wore Nishkas round their neck.[55] Many scholars are, therefore, inclined to hold that Nishka was a golden necklace.[56] However, the circulation of Nishka as a coin is inferred from the fact that Nishka is often referred to in large numbers. Āpastamba says that one thousand

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golden Nishkas should be given as sacrificial fees *(Dakshiṇā)* to the four chief priests at the Aśvamedha sacrifice.[57] Pāṇini, too, mentions Nishka in hundreds and thousands.[58] Further, the reference to Nishka in Pāṇini's work comes immediately after the mention of Kārshāpaṇa which, as we shall see below, is generally accepted as a coin.[59] The Buddhist Jātakas definitely recognize Nishkas (*Nikkhas*) as golden coins.[60] The Sūtras make it quite clear that Nishka was current as a coin in the age of the Sūtras.[61] At the same time it was used as an ornament as well.

Besides golden Nishka, the *Nishka* of silver is also mentioned in the Ap. S.S. (XXII, 5, 5) as well as in the Kat. S.S. (XXII, 4, 18). Another important coin mentioned in the Śrautasūtras is *Śatamāna*. The Śrautasūtras often speak of the *Śatamānas* of *gold* and *silver*. According to the commentators of the Sūtras, a *Śatamāna* weighs 100 Raktikās. In later times Śātamāna was a coin of silver, as Manu (VIII, 137) clearly points out. It appears that *Māna* stood for the basic weight of gold which was usually one Raktikā. The Ap. S.S. (V, 21, 9) prescribes two *Triṁśanmānas* and one *Chatvāriṁśanmāna* as sacrificial fees and remarks in the following sūtra that the sacrificer should give by measuring with that weight which is used for measuring gold. The Man. S.S. (I, 5, 6, 2-4) prescribes *Triṁśanmāna* and *Saptatimāna* of gold as sacrificial fees. Similarly the Kat. S.S. (XXII, 9, 1) prescribes twelve Mānas of gold as sacrificial fee ; and the Baudh. S.S. (XVIII, 37) refers to a large number of *Chaturviṁśatimānas* which were probably golden coins containing 24 Raktikās each. The Baudh. S.S. (XIII, 23) mentions 'a hundred golden *Kṛishṇalas*' ; and the Ap. S.S. (XIX, 21, 2) mentions a hundred golden Kṛishṇalas measured by *Kākiṇī* or *Māsha*. Kṛishṇala is generally regarded as equivalent to Raktikā.

Other coins mentioned in our Sūtras include *Kārshāpaṇa* and *Māsha*.[62] Manu regards one Kārshāpaṇa (*copper paṇa*) as equivalent to 80 Kṛishṇalas (Raktikās) and gives the description of some other coins, such as *Pala*, *Kṛishṇala*, and *Raupya-Māshaka*.[63] As for the relationship between Kārshāpaṇa and Māsha, both Haradatta and Maskari, the commentators of the Gaut. D.S., quote a Śloka ascribed to Uśanas, which reads as follows : "A Māsha should be known as the 20th part of a Kārshāpaṇa, and a Kākiṇī is the fourth part of a Māsha."[64] A copper coin named Kṛishṇala is also mentioned in the Gaut. D.S. XII, 15. Prof. Bühler opines that *Kṛishṇala* is another name for Raktikā, used also by Yājñavalkya I, 362, and that it equals 0·122 grammes of the metrical system.[65] Pāṇini (V, 1, 29)

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refers to Kārshāpaṇa in the plural number. The Buddhist Jātakas mention the coins named *Kahāpaṇa* and *Māsaka* which probably correspond to Kārshāpaṇa and Māshaka respectively.[66]

10. BANKING

There was then no banking system in the modern sense of the term. However, the system of lending money at interest was undoubtedly an established institution in the days of the Sūtras. The Dharmasūtras lay down rules with regard to the rate of interest and payment of debts.

According to the Gaut. D.S., the usual rate of interest is $1\frac{1}{4}\%$ per mensem or 15% per annum.[67] Gautama mentions other forms of interest, namely, compound interest (*Chakra-Vṛiddhi*), periodical interest (*Kāla-Vṛiddhi*), stipulated interest (*Kārita-Vṛiddhi*), corporal interest (*Kāyika-Vṛiddhi*), daily interest (*Śikhā-Vṛiddhi*), and the interest in the form of use of a mortgaged property (*Adhibhoga-Vṛiddhi*).[68] Haradatta, the commentator of the Gaut. D.S., explains these forms of interest as follows : "When the interest is added to the principal and thus interest is charged on the interest, that is called *compound interest*. When a loan is taken on the condition that after so much time so much amount of interest is to be paid, that is called *periodical interest*. Where the lender and the borrower, having regard to the country, the time, the object, and the condition of the borrower, agree between themselves upon a certain rate of interest, small or large, that is called *stipulated* interest. The interest which is payable in the form of physical labour is called *corporal interest*. Thus Bṛihaspati says, 'Interest connected with work is corporal interest.' But Vyāsa explains it thus : 'Corporal interest is that which arises from the work or use of a pledged female quadruped to be milked, or of a male quadruped to carry burdens.' Kātyāyana explains thus the daily interest (Śikhā-Vṛiddhi) : 'That which is taken daily is called daily interest ; it always grows like a Śikhā (top-lock) ; *e.g.*, for a Prastha of grain lent a handful of grain is taken daily'."

Gautama lays down that a loan secured on a pledge (*Ādhi*) bears no interest, if the creditor makes use of the pledge.[69] Similarly a debt bears no interest, when the debtor who desires to repay the debt is forcibly prevented from making the payment.[70] It is also stated in the Gaut. D.S. that if a debt remains outstanding for a long time, the principal may be doubled and no interest should be charged beyond that.[71]

It seems that creditors meted out a very harsh treatment to debtors, for the Gobh. G.S. (IV, 4, 25) prescribes certain rites

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which ought to be performed by a debtor who desires to get rid of his debts. Perhaps it was due to the hard-hearted behaviour of usurers as a class that usury is condemned in the Dharmasūtras.[72] It is also laid down that a Brāhmaṇa who earns his living by usury should not be invited to a Śrāddha feast.[73] It is known from the Gaut. D.S. (XI, 23) that usurers formed themselves into a guild to frame laws for the members of their vocation.

People could deposit their valuables with certain trusted persons in case of danger. An open deposit (*Nidhi*) and a sealed deposit (*Anvādhi*) are mentioned in the Gaut. D.S. (XII, 39).

11. GENERAL REMARKS

The greater part of Indian population then lived in villages and occupied themselves with agriculture, cattle-breeding, and handicrafts. The economy of the country was essentially rural in character. Every village was more or less self-sufficient to meet most of its needs. Food grains, milk, meat, hides, wool, cotton, necessary implements, utensils, and other articles of daily necessity were produced in the village itself. Administrative and cultural needs of the village were also met locally to a great extent. Surplus products of the village were exported to other places. Gold, golden ornaments, and rare commodities were imported in exchange. A village was a well-knit economic unit in the Sūtra period.

The problem of unemployment was almost unknown to the authors of the Sūtras. The reason is not far to seek. The country was thinly populated and vast tracts of fertile land were lying uninhabited with enough water from rivers and rains. So there was ample scope for agricultural and pastoral activities. Moreover, the people had no aversion to manual work, and the system of education engendered love for manual work in the mind of students and did not create a separate class of sophisticated people. Cottage industries and cultural activities also provided means of living to a large number of people.

Though it is almost impossible to estimate accurately the total quantity of wealth produced in the country at that time, the general picture of economic conditions emerging from a thorough study of the Sūtras conveys an idea of opulence and prosperity. The Sūtras frequently mention sizable quantities of food grains, big herds of cattle, and a large number of ornaments, horses, chariots, and coins. The Śrautasūtras prescribe a gift of 1700 cows at the *Vājapeya*, that of 63,000 cows at the *Gosava*, and that of 1,00,000 cows at the *Rājasūya*. As these injunctions do

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not, on the whole, belong to the realm of fancy, these figures cannot be dismissed as false and fantastic. Moreover, these gifts pertain to those sacrifices which were performed by the rich only. Such statements of the Śrautasūtras, therefore, prove the abundance of cattle wealth. The Gṛihyasūtras which prescribe the gift of a calf, cow, or bull at the performance of ordinary domestic sacrifices confirm the view that the Indians of the Sūtra period were rich in cattle. Similarly large quantities of food grains are prescribed as sacrificial fees. Golden coins and articles of gold are often referred to in the Sūtras. The Kat. S.S. (XX, 5, 12-16) states that even horses were decked with golden ornaments. It appears that there was plenty of food, clothes, and shelter in the age of the Sūtras. The idea of scarcity is conspicuously absent in the Sūtras. The elaboration of all types of sacrifices in the Sūtra period testifies to the prevalence of economic prosperity and peaceful conditions in the country. It is obvious that the people could afford to attend to the niceties and minutiae of elaborate rituals in an age of peace and prosperity.

Though the people were on the whole prosperous and led a life of peace and contentment, all members of society did not possess equal amount of wealth. There were poor people who worked on wages for others, and there were rich people who had enough and to spare. The excess of wealth which then mostly consisted of cattle and food grains also posed a problem to the rich ; for there was no acute demand for these things in other parts of the country where they could be sold at a lucrative price. Moreover, the means of transport were also not so good as they are today. It was, therefore, no easy task to transport food grains and cattle wealth to distant places. Furthermore, the rich people saw no special advantage in hoarding huge amounts of gold which could be easily stolen by thieves or confiscated by the king. Since food, housing, clothing, education, entertainment, and means of transport were easily available to all sections of society and since there could be no extraordinary distinction between the rich and the poor in regard to the qualities of these things, the difference between the living standards of the rich and the poor consisted mainly in quantities and not in basic qualities of the things they had. For instance, a rich man could own five hundred cows and fifty horses, whereas a poor man could have only five cows and a horse. So the rich people saw no point in amassing wealth beyond a certain limit and distributed excessive wealth by way of sacrificial fees. The spirit of spending wealth on sacrifices is discernible in the

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Brih. Up. (I, 4, 17) also which says, "Now also a lonely person desires 'let there be wealth for me so that I may perform sacrifices.'"

The rich people gladly spent their wealth on the performance of sacrifices, for the expenditure of excessive wealth on sacrifices promised heavenly reward after death and raised their status in society. Thus Śrauta sacrifices which involved huge expenditure tended to maintain a sort of economic equilibrium in society. The performance of big sacrifices led to the distribution of excessive wealth among the poor and ennobled the thoughts of the rich. The excess of wealth coupled with a lot of idle time could corrupt the whole social fabric. The performance of elaborate and intricate sacrifices directed excessive wealth and idle time of the Indians in healthy channels.

Notes and References

1. Asv. S.S. III, 14; Man. S.S. III, 1, 1, 23. *Cf.* Sankh. S.S. XIV, 41, 6; XIV, 40, 6.
2. Kaus. S. 24, 2; Gobh. G.S. II, 1, 4; Man. G.S.I, 7, 9.
3. Asv. G.S.I, 5, 6; Gobh. G.S. II, 1, 4.
4. Ap. D.S. II, 11, 28, 1.
5. Kaus. S. 40, 1-10.
6. R.V. III, 45, 3; ibid. X, 43, 7; *cf.* Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 173; Muir, O.S.T., V, pp. 465-66.
7. Kat. S.S. V, 11, 12; Man. S.S. I, 7, 7, 5.
8. Kaus. S. 24, 1-2; Kath. G.S. 71, 8.
9. Gobh. G.S. IV, 4, 29; Kath. G.S. 71, 10.
10. Kaus. S. 8, 20; Ap. S.S. XVI, 19, 13-14; Baudh. S.S. XXIV, 5.
11. Gaut. D.S.I, 19-20; Baudh. D.S.I, 6, 13, 10; Kath. G.S. 4, 8; ibid. 5, 9; Asv. S.S. Uttarashaṭka III, 4; Ap. D.S.I, 1, 2, 40.
12. Man. G.S. II, 3, 10, 12; Man. S.S. I, 6, 4, 1-5.
13. पथि क्षेत्रेऽनावृते पालक्षेत्रिक्रयोः ॥ गौ० ध० XII, 18.
14. Kaus. S. 51, 16-22.
15. Kaus. S. 41, 18-20.
16. Kaus. S. 51, 1-16.
17. अम्बयो यन्ति शंभुमयोभुभ्यां ब्रह्म जज्ञानमा गाव एका च म इति गा लवणं पाययत्युप-तापिनीः । प्रजनन-कामाः । प्रपामवरुणद्धि ॥ कौ० सू० 19, 1-3. *Cf.* Kath. G. S. 58, 3.
18. यथाद्रव्ये जनपदे यजेत तेषां यथोत्साहं दद्यात् ॥
आजानेयानपरजने ॥ प्राच्येषु हस्तिनः ॥
अश्वतरी-रथानुदीच्येषु ॥ का० श्रौ० XXII, 2, 22-25.
19. Gobh. G.S.I, 7, 2; Asv. G.S. IV, 3, 18; *ibid.*, IV, 7, 8.
20. Man. G.S.I, 21, 7; Asv. G.S.I, 17, 9; Par. G.S. II, 1, 11; Gobh. G.S. II, 9, 17.
21. Par. G.S.I, 15, 4.
22. Par. G.S.I, 4, 13; *cf.* A.V. XIV, 1, 45.

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23. Par. G.S.I, 8, 10 ; Asv. G.S.I, 8, 9.
24. Kat. S.S. XV, 6, 24 ; Baudh. S.S. XII, 12.
25. Kat. S.S. IV, 5, 27 mentions a *washerman* ; *cf.* VII, 2, 16. See the *Chūḍākaraṇa* ceremony for the mention of a barber.
26. Ap. D.S.I, 6, 18, 21 ; Baudh. D.S. II, 1, 2, 5.
27. Asv. G.S. IV, 4, 15 ; Vas. D.S. IV, 15 ; Gaut. D.S. VII, 19.
28. Ap. D.S.I, 7, 20, 12 ; Gaut. D.S. VII, 8-15.
29. Hir. G.S.I, 14, 8-9 ; Ap. G.S. VIII, 23, 5 ; Kaus. S. 50, 12.
30. Baudh. D.S.I, 7, 18, 13-14.
31. Kaus. S. 50, 1 ; *cf.* Asv. G.S. III, 10, 9-11.
32. Gobh. G.S. III, 4, 30.
33. Gobh. G.S. III, 1, 22 ; Kh. G.S. II, 5, 14.
34. Man. G.S.I, 10, 7 ; Kat. S.S. III, 6, 18 ; Baudh. S.S. XI, 1.
35. Asv. S.S., Uttarashaṭka III, 9.
36. Par. G.S. III, 15, 1-6 ; Hir. G.S.I, 12, 1-4 ; Asv. S.S. Uttarashaṭka, III, 9 ; Baudh. S.S. XI, 6.
37. Sankh. G.S. IV, 7, 41 ; *cf.* Baudh. D.S. II, 3, 5, 6.
38. Par. G.S. III, 15, 8-10 ; *cf*, Baudh. S.S. XVIII, 40.
39. Man. G.S.I, 13, 16.
40. Gobh. G.S. III, 2, 20.
41. महीमू ष्विति तरणान्यालम्भयति । दूरान्नावं संपातवतीं नौमणिं बध्नाति ॥ कौ० सू० 52, 10-11.
42. राज्ञां प्रैषकरः ॥ आप० ध० I, 6, 18, 28. *cf.* Gaut. D.S. XV, 17.
43. Kaus. S. 85, 1-3. The Asv. S.S. VI, 10 mentions *Pāda*. *Prādeśa* occurs in the Asv. S.S.I, 7 ; Sankh. S.S. XVII, 2, 7.
44. Gobh. G.S. III, 7, 6.
45. Asv. G.S. IV, 1, 9-10.
46. Kat. S.S.V, 3, 12 ; II, 5, 1 ; XVI, 8, 16.
47. यथो एतत् पणिणवर्तनीति । षडेव निवर्तनानि निरुपहतानि करोति स्वामिने भागमुत्सृजत्यनुज्ञातं वा गृह्णाति···॥ बौ० ध० III, 2, 2, 1-2.
48. चतुरशीत्यंगुलो व्यामो रज्जुमानं खातपौरुषं च ॥ कौ० अर्थ० शा० II, 20, 18.
49. *Ibid.*, II, 20, 24.
50. SBE, vol. XIV, p. 288 footnote.
51. SBE, vol. XXX, p. 119 footnote. The Kh. G.S. IV, 2, 1 gives the variant *Kaṁsa*. According to the Kaut. A.S. II, 20, 15, *Kaṁsa* is a measure of length equal to 32 Aṅgulas.
52. गार्हस्थ्यांगानां च मानोन्माने रक्षिते स्याताम् ॥ वा० ध० XIX, 13.
53. Gaut. D.S. XV, 17.
54. Bhar. G.S. II, 7 : 39, 2 ; Sankh. G.S. III, 1, 7 ; Sankh. S.S. XVI, 1, 6.
55. Asv. S.S. Uttarashaṭka III, 9 ; Kat. S.S. XIV, 2, 30.
56. Zimmer, Alt. Leb., pp. 259 & 263 ; *cf.* Vedic Index, I, 197, 454-55 ; II, 504.
57. Ap. S.S. XX, 2, 6 ; *cf.* Lat. S.S. IX, 9, 20 ; Baudh. S.S. XV, 2.
58. Pāṇini, V, 1, 119.
59. Pāṇini, V, 1, 29-30 ; *cf.* Manu VIII, 137.
60. R.L. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 234 ; D.R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 47-50.
61. Lat. S.S. IX, 9, 20 ; Ap. S.S. XVIII, 3, 4. *Cf*, Vedic Index I, 455.

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62. Gaut. D.S. XII, 19 ; XII, 6-8 ; Vas. D.S. XIX, 21.

63. पलं सुवर्णाश्चत्वारः पलानि धरणं दश ।
द्वे कृष्णले समधृते विज्ञेयो रौप्यमाषकः ॥
ते षोडश स्याद्धरणं पुराणश्चैव राजतः ।
कार्षापणस्तु विज्ञेयस्ताम्रिकः कार्षिकः पणः ॥ Manu VIII, 135-36.

64. पंच माषा गवि ॥ गौ० ध० XII, 19. Haradatta explains *Māsha* as follows :
उशनसा मापो दर्शितः—
मापो विंशतिभागस्तु ज्ञेयः कार्षापणस्य हि ।
काकिणी तु चतुर्थांशो मापस्यैव प्रकीर्तितः ॥ कृष्णलः replaces काकिणी in another reading.

65. SBE, vol. II, p. 240 footnote ; *cf.* Manu VIII, 134-135.

66. R. L. Mehta, *op. cit*, pp. 234-35 ; Manu VIII, 135, mentions *Raupya-Māshaka*.

67. कुसीदवृद्धिर्धर्म्या विंशतिः पंचमाषिकी मासम् ॥ गौ० ध० XII, 26.
cf. Manu VIII, 140 ; Yaj. II, 37 ; Colebrooke I, Digest 25 ; Bühler, SBE, vol. II, p. 241-42, f.n. Baudh. D.S.I, 5, 10, 23 ; Vas. D.S. II, 50.

68. चक्रकालवृद्धिः । कारिताकायिकाशिखाधिभोगाश्च ॥ गौ० ध० XII, 31-32.

69. भुक्ताधिर्न वर्धते ॥ गौ० ध० XII, 29.

70. दित्सतो ऽवरुद्धस्य च ॥ गौ० ध० XII, 30.

71. चिरस्थाने द्वैगुण्यं प्रयोगस्य ॥ गौ० ध० XII, 28.

72. Baudh. D.S.I, 5, 10, 24-25 ; Vas. D.S. II, 41-42 ; Manu VIII, 102.

73. Gaut. D.S. XV, 17 ; *cf.* Manu III, 153.

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CHAPTER VIII

EVERYDAY LIFE

1. CITIES AND VILLAGES

From time immemorial the people of India have been living in towns and villages, and the age of the Sūtras is no exception. The Sūtras often speak of towns and villages and distinguish between a town (*Nagara*) and a village (*Grāma*). The Man. S.S. (IV, 6, 4) mentions *Grāma*, *Nagara*, and *Janapada*. The Ap. D.S. (II, 10, 26, 6-7) lays down the injunction that the persons appointed by the king should guard towns from thieves in every direction up to a distance of one Yojana and villages up to a distance of one Krośa. The Kaus. S. (141, 39) and the Vas. D.S. (XIII, 11) disallow the study of the Veda in towns. Disparaging urban life, Baudhāyana remarks that even a virtuous person of subdued senses cannot attain salvation by residing in a town, for his whole body is soiled and eyes and mouth filled with the dust of the town.[1] It shows that the towns were quite noisy and dusty due to enormous traffic of persons, animals and vehicles. Perhaps the authors of the Sūtras did not like the hustle and bustle of urban life. The Ap. D.S. (I, 11, 32, 21) forbids a Snātaka (graduate) to visit towns frequently.

On the contrary, the Sūtrakāras seem to show a special predilection for the quiet life of villages ; and the tenor of the Sūtras points to the conclusion that the authors of these Sūtras lived more in villages than in towns. The thought of village life comes to their mind, as it were, quite unconsciously. We get the impression that the Sūtrakāras are generally laying down the rules of the ritual for the guidance of those who live in villages. Āśvalāyana, for example, declares that the Śūlagava sacrifice should be performed at a place which cannot be seen from the village.[2] In connection with the same sacrifice Pāraskara says that anything of the animal sacrificed at the Śūlagava should not be taken to the village.[3] Instances of this kind can be easily multiplied. Thus it is clear that the authors of the Sūtras exhibit their close familiarity with the rural life of the country.

Fortifications : Baudhāyana's reference to a city-gate (*Puradvār*) indicates the existence of fortifications round cities, entrance

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to and exit from a city being regulated by well-built gates. Baudhāyana forbids a Snātaka to pass between the *Indrakīla* (or *Prakīlaka*) and the *Parigha* of a city-gate.[4] As regards the meaning of Prakīlaka, Prof. Bühler remarks: "Govinda explains Prakīlaka by a piece of wood fastened at the town-gate. Etymologically it would mean 'a strong bolt'. Possibly the rule may be equivalent to Āpastamba (Dharma) I, 11, 31, 21 and mean that a Snātaka is not to creep through a small door which is found in all Indian town-gates, and left open after the gates have been shut."[5]

Bühler's conjecture on this point appears to be untenable, for the gate of a capital-city described in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra is also said to have an Indrakīla and Parighas, which signify an iron bolt and cross-bars respectively.[6] A Snātaka is advised not to pass across these things. 'A small door,' as suggested by Prof. Bühler, is here out of the question.[7]

The practice of constructing walls round a city dates from the days of the Ṛigveda, because stone-walled cities are alluded to in the Ṛigveda.[8] Kauṭilya's description of a fortified capital is quite well known.[9] The main gate and by-paths of a village are also mentioned in the Sūtras. The Gobh. G.S., for example, states that a Snātaka should not enter a village by a by-path (*Kāsṛiti*).[10]

City and Royal Palace

Āpastamba enjoins upon a king to have a city and a palace built and adds that the palace should be built in the heart of the city and that in front of the palace should be built a hall (*Āvasatha*) called guest-house (lit. 'the hall of invitation' *Āmantraṇam*). Āpastamba says that to the south of the city an assembly hall (*Sabhā*) with its doors on the southern and northern sides should be built so that one can see from it what passes inside and outside.[11]

2. HOUSES

The Gṛihyasūtras contain elaborate rules for the construction of a house. The house consisted of a number of rooms. The house generally comprised a bedroom (*Śayanīya*), a store-room, a kitchen (*Bhakta-Śaraṇa*), a hall or drawing-room (*Sabhā*) and compound. The Asv. G.S. gives the following directions regarding the location of different rooms: "The place, where waters flowing together from all sides to its centre flow on the northern side of the bedroom towards the east without making any noise, possesses all auspicious qualities. The kitchen should be built on the spot from which

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waters flow off, because such a kitchen is rich in food. (Nārāyaṇa, the commentator, explains that the bedroom should be built in the eastern part of the plot and that the kitchen should be built to the north of the bedroom in the eastern part of the house.) The drawing-room (Sabhā) should be built on the spot which is sloping down to the south ; then there will be no gambling in it. But in such a drawing-room young people become fraudulent and quarrelsome and they die a premature death. The drawing-room should, therefore, be built on the spot to which waters flow from all directions ; this brings luck and is free from gambling."[12]

The Gṛihyasūtras furnish vivid details with regard to the construction of a house. A brief account of such details is given below.

Selection of Plot

The plot of land, where a householder intends to build his house, should be an indisputable property ; and it must be non-salinous soil with herbs and trees on it.[13] According to Gobhila, the plot should be even and should have plants on it, which have no milky juice or thorns and which are not acrid ; and the plot should have the form of a brick or of a round island and should have natural holes in all directions.[14] The Ap. G.S. (VII, 17, 1) lays down that the plot should be sloping to the south-west.

Some Gṛihyas prescribe plots of different qualities for persons of different castes. The Asv. G.S. states that the ground should be of white colour for a Brāhmaṇa, of red colour for a Kshatriya, and of yellow colour for a Vaiśya.[15] However, the Gobh. G.S. (IV, 7, 7) differs in the case of a Vaiśya and says that the ground for a Vaiśya should be of black colour. Gobhila (IV, 7, 9-11) further adds the following injunctions : "The ground on which Darbha grass grows should be chosen by one who is desirous of holy lustre (*Brahmavarchasa*) ; the ground which is covered with big grass should be chosen by one who is desirous of strength ; and the ground which is covered with tender grass should be chosen by one who is desirous of cattle." As we have seen above in Chap. VI, desires for holy lustre, strength and cattle are undoubtedly associated with the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas respectively ; so the above injunctions of Gobhila apply to the persons of the three higher castes.

The Asv. G.S. (II, 8, 1-3) suggests other methods for the examination of the ground and says, "A knee-deep pit should be dug on the ground and filled again with the same earth which was taken

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out of it. If the earth reaches out of the pit, the ground is excellent. If the pit is filled to the level, the ground is of middling quality. If the pit is not filled completely with that earth, the ground is to be rejected." A third method for the examination of the ground is also explained by Āśvalāyana (*ibid.*, II, 8, 4-5) thus : "After sunset the pit should be filled with water and left so till the next morning. If water remains in the pit till the next morning, the ground is excellent. If the pit is found to be moist, the ground is of middling quality. If the pit is found to be dry, the ground is to be rejected."

Surroundings of the House

As for the surroundings of the house, Gobhila advises the householder to avoid an *Aśvattha* tree on the eastern side, a *Plaksha* tree on the southern side, a *Nyagrodha* tree on the western side, and an *Udumbara* tree on the northern side of the house. Then the Gobh. G.S. (IV, 7, 20-23) justifies this belief by giving the following reasons : An Aśvattha tree causes danger of fire to the house, a Plaksha tree brings premature death to the inmates of the house, a Nyagrodha tree brings oppression to the house through hostile arms, and an Udumbara tree brings eye-disease to the inmates ; no danger will, however, befall the house, if the said trees stand in directions other than those prohibited for each.

Direction of the Door

A good deal of superstition was then prevalent with regard to the direction of the door. In this connection the Gobh. G.S. (IV, 7, 14-17) says, "One who is desirous of fame and strength should build the house with its door to the east. One who is desirous of children and cattle should build the house with its door to the north. One who is desirous of all these things should build the house with its door to the south. But one should never build a house with its door to the west." It is thus obvious that south was considered to be the best direction for the door of a house. The Kath. G.S. (11, 1) states that the door of a house should face the east or the south. The Ap. D.S. (II, 10, 25, 2) lays down the rule that the gates of the town and the palace should face the south.

Time for Construction

The Par. G. S. (III, 4, 2) says that the house should be built on an auspicious day. According to the Hir. G. S., the house should be built during the northerly course of the sun, in the fortnight of the increasing moon under the constellation *Rohiṇī* and under the

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three constellations designated as *Uttara, i.e., Uttara-phalgunī, Uttarāshāḍhā,* and *Uttara-proshṭhapadāḥ.*[16]

Preparation of the Plot

In order to construct the house the plot of land should be prepared by digging out plants, such as Apāmārga, Tilvaka, Parivyādha, and also those plants which have thorns and milky juice.[17] Then he should draw a thousand furrows on the ground and have it measured off in a square form or in an oblong form.[18] Then the householder sprinkles water on the ground with a *Śamī* branch or with an *Udumbara* branch, going thrice round the ground with the recitation of the *Śāntātīya* hymn (R. V. VII, 35), keeping his right side turned towards the ground.[19] The Sankh. G. S. states that the householder should thrice draw a line round the plot with an Udumbara branch and should offer a sacrifice in its centre on an elevated spot.[20]

Foundation-laying Ceremony

When the ground has been prepared, pits should be dug for the posts to be erected on the ground.[21] Water-gruel (*Udamantha*) is poured into the pits, and an Udumbara branch besmeared with ghee is erected into each of them.[22] In this connection the Asv. G. S. (II, 8, 14) quotes a saying that fire will never break out in the house if *Avakā* plant is put into the pits in which posts are to stand. Avakā is put into the pit of the middle post. The Asv. G. S. (II, 8, 15) further states that the householder should spread on Avakā Kuśa grass pointed towards the east and the north and should sprinkle it with water mixed with rice and barley. The Par. G. S. (III, 4, 3) recommends the pouring of an oblation into the pit. According to the Man. G. S. (II, 11, 7), a piece of gold should be deposited in the pit. The Sankh. G. S. states that an anointed stone should be buried under the pinnacle (*stūpa*).[23]

After the posts have been erected, the roof is built on them.[24] Certain Mantras are recited at the time of erecting the posts. When the house has been built, the householder touches the posts and recites certain Mantras.[25]

Installation of a Water-pot

When the house has been built, a new water-pot is placed in the house on a bunch of fresh Kuśa grass pointed eastward.[26] The Asv. G. S. states that the water-pot should be installed on four stones on which Dūrvā grass has been spread, and that the house-

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holder should then pour water into it.[27] The Par. G. S. (III, 5, 1-4) lays down the following procedure for it: "In the north-eastern part of the house the householder digs a pit like the one for a sacrificial post, spreads Kuśa grass in it, and pours fried rice, fruits of the soap-berry tree (*Arishṭaka*) and other auspicious things in it. Then he installs the water-pot in that pit and pours water into it."

Sacrifice to Vāstoshpati

Before the householder enters the newly-built house, he performs certain ceremonies to propitiate the presiding deity of the house. The Asv. G. S. (II, 9, 6-8) says that the householder puts a piece of gold into water mixed with rice and barley and sprinkles the house with this water, going thrice round the house with his right side turned towards it, and with the recitation of the *Śāntālīya* hymn. Then in the centre of the house a sacrifice of cooked food (*Sthālīpāka*) is offered to *Vāstoshpati*, the lord of the house.[28] After this Brāhmaṇas should be regaled with food and caused to say, "Auspicious is the house! Auspicious is the house!"[29] The Hir. G. S. (I, 27, 10) lays down that under the constellation *Anurādhā* at night the householder should put wood on the fire in an inner room of the house and perform the sacrifice to *Vāstoshpati*. According to Gobhila, either a black cow or a white goat should be sacrificed together with the oblations of milk-pudding in the centre of the house, or only milk-pudding may be sacrificed.[30] The Par. G. S. states that after offering the sacrifice to *Vāstoshpati* the householder should partake of the sacrificial food and put into a brazen vessel different things which he has brought together, *viz.* Udumbara leaves with holes, green turf, cow-dung, curds, honey, ghee, Kuśa grass, and barley; and that then he should sprinkle seats and beds (*Upasthānāni*) with this mixture.[31] Pāraskara (III, 4, 10-17) adds that after this the householder touches the walls of the house at all junctures (*Sandhis*), goes out of the house, and worships all the quarters of the sky. The Kaus. S. (43, 13) prescribes an offering of milk-pudding to Vāstoshpati.

According to some Gṛihyas, the sacrifice to Vāstoshpati should be performed every year or every season.[32]

Gṛiha-Praveśa (*First entry into the new house*)

Accompanied by his wife and eldest son, the householder enters the newly-built house for the first time, reciting the Mantra: "Indra's house is blessed, wealthy and safe; I enter

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it with my wife, offspring, cattle, prosperity of wealth, and all that is mine."[33]

Furniture

Several articles of furniture find mention in the Sūtras. A couch (*Talpa* or *Śayana*) was used to sleep on. The householder is enjoined upon to ascend a couch at the conclusion of Śravaṇā sacrifice (*infra*, Chap. XVIII). A chair called *Āsandī* is of frequent occurrence in the Sūtras. It had four legs and was interwoven with cords of Muñja grass. Describing an *Āsandī* of Udumbara wood, the Baudh. S.S. (X, 12) and the Sankh. S.S. (XVII, 2, 6-9) lay down that its legs should be one span high, that the lengthwise and cross-pieces of this chair should be one cubit long, and that it should be interwoven with cords of Muñja grass. The Vas. D.S. (XII, 36) forbids a Snātaka to take his meals on a chair. The Par. G.S. (I, 15, 4) mentions a chair called *Bhadrapīṭha* which is interpreted by the commentators as a soft seat. The Kat. S.S. (XIII, 3, 1) and the Sankh. S.S. (XVII, 4, 7) state that the priests at the Mahāvrata rite should sit on *Bṛisīs* (probably 'cushions of grass') which should be one span high. A Hotṛi priest should sit, according to the Asv. S.S. (IX, 3) and the Sankh. S.S. (XV, 27), on a golden cushion (*Hiraṇya-Kaśipu*), *i.e.*, on a cushion inlaid with gold, at the time of reciting the story of Śunaḥśepa in the Rājasūya sacrifice. Along with a cushion a pillow (*Upabarhaṇa*) is also mentioned in the Sūtras. The skins of a red bull and a black antelope were used as seats on certain sacrificial occasions. Besides, plaited seats of various kinds of grass were also in vogue.

3. DRESS

The Indians of the Sūtra period wore many kinds of clothes made of cotton, wool, flax, hemp, animal skin, silk, Kuśa grass, and bark. Woollen, linen and cotton clothes were most common, while the use of garments made of Kuśa grass was almost exclusively confined to sacrificial occasions. Linen clothes (*Kshaume*) were considered to be most suitable on sacrificial occasions.[34] The Baudh. D.S. (I, 6, 13, 10) states that linen clothes should be worn at the Agnyādhāna but cotton or woollen clothes may also be used if linen clothes are not available. The Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras prescribe clothes of hemp, flax, wool, cotton, and animal skin for the Brahmachārins of different castes (*infra*, Chap. XIV). The Vas. D.S. (II, 24) mentions, *inter alia*, a silken garment (*Kauśeya*). The Śrautasūtras speak of a garment known as *Tārpya* which is of doubtful identity. According to the Baudh. S.S. (XXV, 34), *Tārpya* is either a

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cloth saturated with Ājya or one made of the material derived from *Tṛipā* trees. Commenting on the Baudh. S.S. XI, 10, Bhavasvāmin explains that *Tārpya* either denotes a cloth saturated with Ājya or a silken garment. The Baudh. D.S. (I, 6, 13, 12) mentions together Tārpya and bark garments ; and the commentator Govindasvāmin opines that a garment made of the bark of *Tṛipā* trees is called Tārpya. Giving a threefold explanation of Tārpya, the Kat. S.S. (XV, 5, 7-10) suggests that it denotes a linen garment, or one thrice saturated with ghee, or a *Tṛipāṇa* which is interpreted by the commentator of the Sūtra as a cloth made of such yarn as was thrice soaked in water before weaving. Eggeling and some other scholars are inclined to hold that Tārpya probably denotes a silken undergarment,[35] but Caland translates Tārpya as a 'cloth of Tṛipā bark'.[36] The skins of several animals, such as kine, deer, and goats, were turned into garments, and such garments were especially worn by students (*infra*, Chap. XIV).

As regards the number of garments worn by the people, it may be noted that the Sūtras very often mention in dual number the garments worn at sacrifices.[37] It shows therefore that the dress of the people generally consisted of two main garments—an upper garment (*Uttarīya*) and an undergarment (*Antarīya* or *Antarvāsas*).[38] The Gobh. G.S. (III, 5, 25) forbids a Snātaka to be clad in a single garment. The Vas. D.S. (XII, 14) prescribes among other things an undergarment and an upper garment for a Snātaka, and the Baudh. D.S. (I, 3, 5, 2-6) exhorts a Snātaka to wear an undergarment, an upper garment, a turban, and a pair of shoes. The Gṛihyasūtras prescribe a turban (*Ushṇīsha*) for a Snātaka, and the Śrautasūtras prescribe one for a king at the Rājasūya.[39] The Ap. S.S. (XVIII, 14, 2-3) enjoins upon a king to wear a white turban at the Rājasūya. Our Sūtras do not mention *Ushṇīsha* in connection with women, even though the wearing of Ushṇīsha by women is alluded to in earlier literature.[40] However, the Sūtras mention *Kumba-Kurīra* in regard to the head-dress of women. The Baudh. S.S. (XV, 15) states that at the time of the Rājasūya goldsmiths should be ordered to make as many golden *Kumba-Kurīras* as there are queens in the royal harem ; and the Baudh S. S. (VI, 4) says that the Pratiprasthātṛi priest should hand over *Kumba* and *Kurīra* to the wife of the sacrificer. That the Kumba-Kurīra had close connection with the head-dress of women is evidenced by the Baudh. S.S. (VI, 5) which lays down the rule that the sacrificer's wife is to put on Kumba-Kurīra at that time when the sacrificer wears a turban. According to the Ap. S.S. (X, 9, 7), Kumba-Kurīra is a

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hair-net ; and the Kat. S.S. (VII, 4, 7) which employs the term *Jāla* (net) in a similar context seems to lend some support to Āpastamba's view. The Kat. S.S. (XIV, 5, 3) prescribes a *Chaṇḍātaka* of Kuśa grass, an undergarment resembling a loin-cloth, for the wife of the sacrificer at the Vājapeya. *Adhīvāsa* (or Adhivāsa), an upper garment like a mantle, was worn on certain sacrificial occasions. According to the Kat. S.S. (XV, 5, 7-13), the king at the Rājasūya first wears Tārpya, secondly a garment called Pāṇḍva, then Adhīvāsa, and finally Ushṇīsha. The Baudh. D.S. (I, 6, 13, 14) speaks of an upper garment called *Prāvaraṇa* which was probably put on as a scarf. Frequent references in the Sūtras to needles and sewing make it clear beyond doubt that the people wore sewn garments (*supra*, Chap. VII).

Blankets made of wool and other materials were quite common. The Ap. D.S. (I, 1, 3, 8) prescribes a woollen blanket (*Kambala*) for students of all the three higher castes. The Baudh. D.S. (I, 5, 8, 34) mentions blankets called *Kutapās* which were made of the hair of a mountain goat. In connection with the immolation of the horse at the Aśvamedha the Ap. S. S. (XX, 17, 9) mentions *Śyāmūla* which is translated by Prof. Caland as a woollen garment. But in the Ap. S. S. V, 29, 3, we come across the word *Syāmūla* which appears to be a variant of Śyāmūla ; Prof. Caland's rendering of Syāmūla is a woollen shirt. The commentators generally interpret Śyāmūla and Syāmūla as a sort of garment.

Another word of similar import is *Śāmūla* which occurs in the Kat. S.S. (IX, 4, 7), Baudh. S.S. (XVIII, 48) and the Kaus. S. (69, 3). Professors Macdonell and Keith believe that *Śāmūla* seems to have much the same sense as *Śāmulya* (R. V. X, 85, 29), 'a woollen shirt.'[41] Explaining the compound expression *Śāmulājinam* (Śāmula and Ajina), the Baudh. S.S. (XXVI, 32) suggests that *Śāmula* signifies a blanket made of such material as contains a mixture of *Śāmulaka*. Śāmula, Śāmūla, Śyāmūla and Syāmūla all of them appear to be variants of one and the same word and probably denote a blanket of some sort.

Dyed Clothes

There is no doubt that dyed clothes were then worn by the people. The Sūtras mention garments that were dyed in red, yellow, saffron, and black colours. It is, however, important to note that colours were not used indiscriminately. Special significance was attached to each colour. So students of different castes were distinguished by the colour of their dress (*infra*, Chap. XIV). The garment of a Brāhmaṇa student was reddish yellow (*Kāshāya*) ; that

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of a Kshatriya student was red like madder (*Mānjishṭha*) ; and that of a Vaiśya student was yellow (*Hāridra*). A student who observes the *Mahānāmnī Vrata* is enjoined upon by Gobhila (III, 2, 10) to wear garments of black colour. A Snātaka is forbidden to wear dyed garments.[42] Priests engaged in the performance of magical rites were required to put on red garments.[43]

4. ORNAMENTS AND ADORNMENTS

Ornaments

Both men and women used to wear ornaments of gold and other metals. It was considered auspicious to wear ornaments on festive occasions. In the description of Sīmantonnayana ceremony Śāṅkhāyana says, "Let the sacrificer cause his wife to sing merrily wearing, if she likes, many golden ornaments".[44] In the Brāhma form of marriage the father was to give away his daughter, having decked her with ornaments (*infra*, Chap. XI). In the description of the Pratyavarohaṇa the Baudh. G.S. (II, 10, 2-8) states that the ornaments of the season should be worn at the beginning of each season.

The ornaments worn by men are mentioned by the Gṛihya-sūtras generally in the description of Samāvartana ceremony. At the conclusion of studentship a Snātaka used to wear ear-rings (Karṇa-veshṭakau), jewels (Maṇis), and other golden ornaments.[45] According to Āpastamba, a Snātaka wears a golden jewel round his neck and ties a pellet (*Maṇi*) of *Badara* wood to his left arm.[46] The Hir. G.S. states that a Snātaka should wear round his neck a perforated pellet of sandalwood or of Badara wood, overlaid with gold at its aperture.[47] The Ap. S.S. (XX, 15, 9) mentions a thousand golden jewels, a thousand silver jewels, and a thousand pearls (*Sāmudrā Maṇayaḥ*) in the description of Aśvamedha. The Gṛihya and Śrautasūtras speak of ear-rings (*Pravartau*) which were worn by a Snātaka at Samāvartana and by a sacrificer at certain Śrauta sacrifices.[48] Golden necklaces were also worn by the people. *Nishka* (*supra*, p. 142) which was worn round the neck was quite popular with men as well as women.[49] Nishka was generally made of gold, but a Nishka of silver was also worn by some people. It is said in the Kat. S.S. (XXII, 18) that the *Vrātya* who acts as Gṛihapati (householder) at the Vrātyastoma rite should wear a silver Nishka. According to the Kat. S.S. (XVI, 5, 1), a round-shaped ornament called *Rukma*, dotted with twenty-one studs, sewn in a strap of antelope-skin, and strung on a hempen cord of three strands, was worn round the neck on the breast. It was usually a

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golden ornament. But the Ap. S.S. (XX, 2, 5) and the Baudh. S.S. (X, 57) mention both a golden Rukma and a silver Rukma. The other Sūtras simply refer to Rukma and give no details.[50] A *Sraj* (chain) of gold was also worn by the people. The Kat. S.S. (XIV, 1, 23) lays down the rule that all the priests, the sacrificer, and his wife should wear golden chains before the extraction of Soma-juice at the Vājapeya. The Gobh. G.S. (III, 5, 16) states that a graduate should not wear a scentless wreath, but may wear a golden chain.

Flowers and Garlands

Flowers as well as garlands of flowers were, of course, highly prized by the people. At the *Śravaṇā* ceremony flowers and garlands were offered to snakes (*infra*, Chap. XVIII). At the time of marriage *Madhūka* flowers were tied to the neck of the bride.[51] A Snātaka put on garlands of flowers at the Samāvartana ceremony. When a Snātaka put on a garland, he was to recite the following verses : (1) "Beautiful one, elevate thyself for beauty, beautifying my face. Beautify my face and make my fortune increase" ; (2) "The garland which Jamadagni brought for Śraddhā to please her (*lit.* 'for love'), that I wear with fortune and splendour."[52] The Par. G.S. (II, 6, 23-24) states that a Snātaka at the Samāvartana should take flowers with the Mantra : "Flowers which Jamadagni brought for Śraddhā, Medhā, Kāma and Indriya, those I take with glory and fortune " ; and that then he should tie the flowers to his head with the following Mantra : "I tie on to me flowers bound up with that high wide glory which Indra has created for the Apsarases ; may glory reside in me." That the people had a great liking for flowers and garlands is evident from the above-mentioned verses and injunctions.

Other accessories of beauty : Other accessories of beauty included mirror, collyrium (*Añjana*), and fragrant unguents. At the time of wedding the bridegroom presented a mirror, a collyrium case (*Añjana-kośa*), clothes, a porcupine quill, and flowers to the bride (*infra*, Chap. XII). On auspicious occasions, such as marriage and Samāvartana, eyes were anointed with collyrium (*Añjana*).[53] The *Traikakuda Añjana* (the collyrium made of materials brought from the *Trikakud* mountain) was specially noted for its high quality. That the Traikakuda Añjana denotes the Añjana brought from the Trikakud mountain is clear from the following verse which was recited at the time of anointing Añjana : "I anoint you with the Añjana coming from the Trikakud, born on the Himavat."[54]

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According to Zimmer, the Trikakud is the same mountain as came to be called *Trikūṭa* in later times.[55] The Traikakuda Añjana was popular among the Indo-Aryans from very early times. This Añjana is found praised in the Atharvaveda, IV, 9. But the Traikakuda Añjana seems to have become scarce in the age of the Sūtras, for the Kat. S.S. (VII, 2, 32) and the Hir. G.S. (*vide* n. 54) state that any other Añjana may be used in the absence of the Traikakuda Añjana. The scarcity of the Traikakuda Añjana is hinted at in the following passage of the Śat. Br. also : "Should he be unable to obtain the Traikakuda Añjana, any other Añjana may be used ; for one and the same is, of course, the significance of Añjana."[56]

Fragrant substances of various kinds were used to enhance the beauty of the body. At the Samāvartana ceremony the friends or relations of a Brahmachārin used to bring fragrant substances or ground sandalwood which he applied to his body[57] ; and he washed himself with scented water boiled with herbs of all kinds.[58] Certain unguents (*Anulepanas*) were also applied to the body for beauty. In addition to other things of adornment, *viz.* a comb, collyrium and flowers, an unguent was offered to snakes at the Śravaṇā ceremony.[59] The Ap. G.S. (VII, 18, 11) states that a fragrant substance known as *Sthagara* should also be offered to snakes at this ceremony.

An umbrella (*Chhatra*) and a staff (*Daṇḍa*) were considered to be necessary paraphernalia of a gentleman. A Snātaka is, therefore, enjoined upon to have these things at the time of Samāvartana, because he was to conduct himself like a perfect gentleman after this ceremony. In the description of this very ceremony, the Gṛihyasūtras lay down that a Snātaka should put on shoes (*infra*, Chap. XIV).

5. HAIR-FASHIONS

Several ways of wearing hair are mentioned in the Sūtras. Perhaps hair-fashions varied according to the traditions and customs of different families. In the description of the Chūḍākaraṇa ceremony the Asv. G.S. states that the hair of the boy should be arranged according to the custom of his family.[60] Gobhila, too, holds the view that the arrangement of hair depends upon the custom of Gotra and family.[61] Citing concrete examples of different hair-fashions prevalent in different families, the Kath. G.S. observes : "The descendants of Vasishṭha wear their hair in a plait on the right side of their head. The descendants of Atri and Kaśyapa keep their hair in

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braids on both sides. The descendants of Bhṛigu keep their head clean shaved; those of Aṅgiras wear five top-knots; and some keep a row of hair (*Vāji*). Others wear a top-knot (*Śikhā*), considering it auspicious, or follow the custom of their own family."[62] Similarly in the age of the Ṛigveda the people of different families wore their hair in different fashions. It is known from the Ṛigveda that the descendants of Vasishṭha wore their hair in a braid on the right side of their head, and that the Tṛitsus kept their hair in braids.[63] Similarly the Brahmachārins in the age of the Sūtras observed different hair-fashions and kept braided hair or a top-knot or a shaven head.[64]

Śikhā (Top-knot)

In spite of accepted variations in hair-fashions, *Śikhā* (top-knot) had already begun to assume importance in the age of the Sūtras. The Kat. S.S. states that on the occasion of performing a sacrifice hair and beard excluding Śikhā should be shaved.[65] The view of the Kath. G.S., which regards Śikhā as auspicious, has been mentioned above. In the description of the Godāna ceremony the Hir. G.S. says, "The boy's hair including Śikhā should be shaved. According to some, the Śikhā should be left unshaved."[66] Āpastamba who makes very interesting remarks in this connection says, "Now a Brāhmaṇa declares, 'Verily, an empty, uncovered pot is he whose hair is shaved off entirely; the top-knot is his covering.' But at sacrificial sessions the top-knot must be shaved off, because it is so enjoined in the Veda."[67] According to the Asv. G.S. (IV, 2, 9), the relations of the dead person should have their Śikhā untied when they follow the funeral procession.

Shaving

Needless to state that the art of shaving was in a fairly developed stage in the age of the Sūtras. The shaving of head is prescribed at the Chūḍākaraṇa ceremony and that of beard at the Godāna ceremony. The Śrautasūtras prescribe the shaving of head and beard during the performance of Śrauta sacrifices.[68] The Ap. D.S. (I, 3, 10, 6) lays down the injunction that on the death of a relation the persons who are younger than the deceased should get their head and beard shaved. The Sankh. G.S. (IV, 7, 42) states that the study of the Veda should be stopped on the occasion of shaving until a bath is taken. The Gaut. D.S. (IX, 9) states that a Snātaka should not allow his beard to grow without any reason. A copper razor (*Lauhāyasa Kshura*) was used for shaving and cutting hair.

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Hair-fashions of Women

Now let us turn to the hair-fashions of women. Āśvalāyana states that on the occasion of wedding the bridegroom should untie the bride's two locks of hair, if they are made, that is, if two tufts of wool are bound round her hair on both sides.[69] It shows that some girls used to keep two locks of hair—one on the right side and the other on the left side of their head. It is, however, not possible to ascertain whether this fashion was widely popular or limited to a certain section of society. The Sīmantonnayana ceremony is concerned with the parting of hair of a married woman. In the third, fourth, sixth, or seventh month of her first pregnancy the husband was to part his wife's hair upwards beginning from the middle, with a porcupine-quill having three white spots (*infra*, Chap. XIII).

Comb

Besides, a porcupine-quill (*Śalalī*) was used to comb the hair of a child at the Chūḍākaraṇa ceremony, and it was presented by the bridegroom to the bride at the time of marriage. But it was not regularly used as a comb,[70] for a comb is often separately mentioned in the Sūtras under the term *Kaṅkata*.[71] Moreover, a comb of a hundred teeth was already known to the Atharvaveda (XIV, 2, 68). A porcupine-quill seems to have been used for combing the hair on certain auspicious occasions only, since it was believed that a porcupine-quill possessed some magical powers to ward off evil spirits.[72]

6. FOOD

Food grains, vegetables, meat, milk and milk-products, such as ghee and curds, formed the staple diet of the people. Food grains mostly included rice, barley, wheat, millet, sesame, and pulses. Salt and sugar were, of course, used to impart special flavour to dishes. The use of honey was very popular. The Kaus. S. mentions *Lohita-lavaṇa* (red salt) which, according to Dārila, means *Saindhava-lavaṇa, i.e.* rock-salt.[73] The eating of salt is prohibited in the Śrauta-sūtras on certain sacrificial occasions (*see* n. 89). The Ap. D.S. (I, 7, 20, 12) refers to both red pepper (*Pippalī*) and black pepper (*Marīcha*) which were used as condiments. *Śarkarā* (candied sugar) was also consumed. Onion, leek, mushroom, garlic and red garlic (*Karañja*) are placed by the Dharmasūtras in the category of forbidden food. Mangoes seem to have been pretty common ; for the Ap. D.S. (I,7,20,3)

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remarks that, just as a mango tree planted for fruits gives shade and fragrance as accessory advantages, so Dharma observed for the sake of virtue yields worldly benefits as accessories.

Utensils

Metallic utensils, earthenware, wooden vessels and stone vessels find frequent mention in the Sūtras. Metallic utensils of common use were made of bell-metal, copper and iron. Though the Śrauta-sūtras speak of golden and silver utensils, their use was confined to certain Śrauta sacrifices performed by the rich. The common man generally depended upon earthenware, wooden vessels, stone vessels, and utensils of bell-metal. The Kat. S.S. (II, 3, 5) refers to vessels made of bell-metal, wood, and clay. The Baudh. D.S. (I, 6, 14, 1-9) lays down rules regarding the purification of earthenware, metallic utensils, and stone vessels. Earthenware included cooking-pots, pitchers and plates of various shapes and sizes. Certain types of cooking-pots and plates were made of metal. Leather-bags were mostly used to store ghee, oils, honey and grains, as is shown by the Baudh. S.S. (XV, 16).

Preparation of Food

Food grains were prepared into a variety of dishes. Corn was first ground into flour and then cakes known as *Apūpas* were made of it.[74] The bigger cakes called *Puroḍāśas* were prepared mainly on sacrificial occasions.[75] The Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (70, 1) mentions *Tailāpūpas*, *i.e.* cakes prepared with oil, which were offered to the deities at the Phālgunī sacrifice. Among the Ashṭakās the *Apūpāshṭakā* festival was celebrated by making an offering of Apūpas (*infra*, Chap. XVIII). On this occasion eight Apūpas were cooked to match the size of the Traiyambaka-Apūpas and were baked without being turned over in dishes.[76]

Rice was first husked with mortar and pestle, and then it was cooked in a brazen or earthen vessel.[77] *Sthālīpāka* was a special term to denote a dish of rice or barley cooked with milk or water ; a part of it was sacrificed and the remainder eaten on ceremonial occasions, especially on the new-moon and full-moon days.[78] It derived its name from *Sthālī* (common cooking-pot) which mainly pointed to the quantity of food cooked. Rice cooked with water only was called *Odana*, and rice cooked with milk was called *Pāyasa* or *Kshīraudana*. *Yavāgū* was a sort of gruel prepared from rice (or barley), while the word *Yāvaka* was used for food prepared from barley.[79] *Āmikshā*, a mess of clotted curds, is prescribed by the Śrautasūtras as the diet of a Vaiśya sacrificer. A dish of rice cooked

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with sesame seeds was called *Kṛisara*.[80] The word *Lāja* was used (mostly in plural) for fried grains, especially for fried rice. When barley corn was fried and ground into powder, it was called *Saktu* (groats). The Baudh. G.S. (III, 1, 11) states that Brāhmaṇas should be feasted with Apūpas, Dhānas (parched grains), Odana and Saktus at the Upākarman ceremony. A mixture of ghee and coagulated milk was known as *Prishātaka*. It was offered to Indra at the Āśvayujī sacrifice.[81] Some of these preparations of rice and barley were eaten with ghee. It is laid down, for example, that the child should be fed with Odana and ghee at the Anna-prāśana ceremony (*infra*, Chap. XIII). The Gobh. G.S. (II, 7, 9-11) states that the wife should eat *Kṛisara* mixed with ghee at the Sīmantonnayana ceremony. Cooked rice was eaten with curds also. On reaching home after the marriage the husband and wife ate together rice and curds (*infra*, Chap. XII). The Baudh. G.S. (III, 10, 4) lays down that the flour of rice, barley, or Śyāmāka should be cooked with ghee or with the juice of sugarcane, and that this preparation and certain other things should be offered to snakes.

The Ap. D.S. (I, 5, 17, 19) mentions, *inter alia*, *Phāṇita* (probably juice of sugarcane) and *Karambha* which is a kind of porridge made of unhusked, slightly parched and kneaded barley grains. Groats (*Saktu*) seem to have been very common, for the Śrautasūtras refer to groats of dates (*Kharjūra*), Capparis Aphylla (*Karīra*), and jujube including its varieties, namely, *Badara*, *Karkandhu* and *Kuvala* (v.l. *Kvala*).[82] Food preparations called *Modaka*, *Svastika* and *Nandyāvarta* are spoken of in the Man. G.S. (II, 6, 4). Modaka probably denotes small round sweetmeat but the other two terms admit of many interpretations.

Meat-eating

Meat was undoubtedly consumed in India in the age of the Sūtras. Wild animals, cattle, fish, and birds were used for the supply of meat. It was roasted on spits and cooked in utensils.[83] On certain occasions the dish of meat was indispensable, according to the injunctions of the Sūtras. When a guest was honoured with the *Madhuparka*, meat was necessarily cooked for him (*infra*, Chap. XXI). The Sūtras declare that no *Madhuparka* could be performed without meat.[84] Similarly meat was usually cooked on the occasion of a Śrāddha feast and Ashṭakās.[85] The meat of a rhinoceros is particularly recommended at a Śrāddha feast (*see* n. 85). In this connection the Vas. D.S. makes very interesting remarks. It

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declares that if an ascetic, who has been invited to a Śrāddha feast or a feast relating to gods, refuses to take meat, he has to rot in hell for as many years as there are hairs on the body of the sacrificed animal.[86] It is thus clear that in the age of the Sūtras the people felt little compunction in eating meat.

It should, however, be conceded that meat-eating was considered to be a luxury ; and its use was prohibited in certain cases. A Brahmachārin was, for example, forbidden to eat meat.[87] Similarly meat-eating was prohibited during the observance of certain vows, such as Śakvarī.[88] The Kauśika Sūtra states that a person who is going to observe fast on the new-moon day should eat something excepting honey, salt, meat and beans (Māsha).[89] Further, the Asv. G.S. prohibits an offering of meat in the case of the daily fire-sacrifice.[90]

The Śrautasūtras also prohibit meat-eating on many sacrificial occasions and class it with sexual intercourse and falsehood.[91] Though the Dharmasūtras do not impose a total ban on meat-eating, they contain a fairly long list of the animals, the flesh of which is prohibited for all Āryas.[92]

7. DRINK

Milk was undoubtedly a common drink of the Sūtra age when the country abounded in milch cows of good quality. The Sūtras contain numerous references to the people's habit of drinking milk. According to the Baudh. D.S. (IV, 5, 22), buttermilk (*Takra*) mixed with water was also drunk on certain occasions. *Mantha*, which was prepared by stirring round parched barley-meal (*Saktu*) in milk, curds, water, or melted butter, seems to have been a popular drink of those days. The Ap. S.S. (XIX, 13, 12) states that if the sacrificer cannot afford to give away cows as sacrificial fees, he should give a drink of Mantha or a mess of rice to Brāhmaṇas ; and the same Sūtra (XXII, 26, 1) prescribes *Ājyamantha* (Mantha prepared in melted butter) for a Brāhmaṇa, *Payomantha* (Mantha prepared in milk) for a Rājanya, *Dadhimantha* (Mantha prepared in curds) for a Vaiśya, and *Udamantha* (Mantha prepared in water) for a Śūdra.

Soma-juice which was an important drink of the Aryas in the earlier times had little relation to the everyday life of the people in the Sūtra period. The Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras are almost silent about Soma, while the Śrautasūtras, which describe many sacrifices connected with the drinking of Soma, frequently prescribe the substitutes of Soma. The Sankh. S.S. (XIII, 6, 3), for instance, states that if Soma is not available *Pūtīka* plants (*Guilandina Bonduc* or *Basella Cordifolia*), *Arjunas* with white flowers, or *Kuśa* grass may

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be pressed out. The Man. S.S. (III, 6, 4) says that if the sacrificer cannot obtain Soma he should press out Pūtīka plants ; and that if Pūtīkas are not available he should substitute red-tufted Arjunas for the Soma of the Himavat mountain and brown-tufted Arjunas for the Soma of the Mūjavat mountain. Similarly the Ap. S.S. (XIV, 24, 12-13) mentions Pūtīkas, Ādāra and Phālguna plants with white tufts, and Kuśa grass as some of the substitutes of Soma and declares that in the last resort even rice and barley plants may be taken as substitutes of Soma. It follows from these statements that real Soma had become most scarce in the age of the Sūtras and that the juice of its substitutes was drunk on sacrificial occasions only in obedience to the injunctions of the holy scriptures.

The Śrautasūtras speak of a beverage called *Māsara*. According to the Kat. S.S. (XIX, 1, 18-20), germinated rice (*Śashpa*), germinated barley (*Tokman*), fried grains (*Lājāḥ*), and certain roots, herbs, spices, etc., known under the generic name *Nagnahu*, which mainly serve as yeast, are all powdered ; two gruels or mashes of rice and millet (Śyāmāka) are boiled separately in a large quantity of water ; the liquor of each mash is poured into a separate vessel and mixed with a part of the powder mentioned above ; such a mixture is called *Māsara*. *Vide* SBE, vol. XLIV, pp. 223-24, footnote. The Ap. S.S. XIX, 5, 7-9 puts forward the view that if the powder of germinated rice, parched barley, and millet is mixed with curds or with two parts of buttermilk and one part of water, the mixture is called Māsara ; however, in the Ap. S.S. XIX, 4, 8 *Balkasa* (scum ?) is termed as Māsara.

According to the Śrautasūtras, Māsara was used in the preparation of Surā which was a common liquor of the Sūtra period. Though the Man. G.S. (II, 14, 28) mentions three kinds of liquor, viz. *Madhu*, *Maireya* and *Surā*, the other Sūtras generally speak of the last one. The Sankh. G.S. (I, 11, 5) states that four or eight women who perform a dance at the Indrāṇī-karman in marriage should be entertained with Surā and food. According to the Par. G.S. (III, 3, 11), an offering of Surā was made to female ancestors at the time of Śrāddha. At a rite described in the Kaus. S. Surā was given away to habitual drinkers.[93] The Śrautasūtras describe the process of preparing Surā at the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice. It was generally prepared by fermentation from germinated rice, germinated barley, parched grains, and certain plants and herbs serving as yeast.[94]

At the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice described in the Śrautasūtras Surā was offered to deities. In regard to the origin of this sacrifice

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Dr. Keith refers to Prof. Hillebrandt's opinion as follows : "The purpose of the rite has been conjectured by Hillebrandt (*Vedische Mythologie*, I, 250 *seq.*) to be the taking over from an unbrahmanical and therefore, though Aryan, barbarous race of the Surā-drinking, and the modelling of it on the analogy of a four-day Soma sacrifice, and he thinks that Surā was once a drink akin to Madhu (*cf.* R.V.I, 116, 7 with I, 117, 6 ; A.V.VI, 69, 1) and connected with the Aśvins."[95]

The Dharmasūtras condemn Surā-drinking in unequivocal terms and prohibit it.[96] According to Baudhāyana, it is a *Mahāpātaka*, degrading sin, to drink Surā.[97] The Dharmasūtras prescribe very severe punishment for a Brāhmaṇa who drinks Surā. It is laid down that a Brāhmaṇa who drinks Surā should be branded on his forehead with the sign of a Surā-pot and banished from the country.[98]

8. AMUSEMENT AND ENTERTAINMENT

Various forms of amusement and entertainment are alluded to in the Sūtras. Dicing, music, dance, dramatic performances, chariot-races, fairs, and listening to tales and historical narratives were some of the popular pastimes of the people.

Dicing

Numerous references to dicing in Vedic literature point to the popularity of this game. The Śrautasūtras prescribe the game of dice at the performance of Agnyādheya and Rājasūya sacrifices. The game was played with dice which were thrown on a dice-board (*Adhidevana*). The number of dice used in the game appears to have been pretty large ; for the Ap. S.S. (XVIII, 19, 1) prescribes 'more than a hundred' or 'more than a thousand' dice of gold at the Rājasūya, and the Man. S.S. (I, 5, 5, 7) speaks of a hundred and four dice at the Agnyādhāna. Dice were generally made of *Vibhītaka* nuts, but dice of gold, silver and ivory were also used on certain occasions, as pointed out by the Baudh. S.S. (XXII, 19). The Baudh. S.S. (II, 9-10) mentions forty-nine dice and indicates that the securing of an even number of dice was regarded as a lucky throw in this game. According to the Ap. S.S. (V, 20, 1) and the Kat. S. S. (XV, 7, 18), a winning throw was called *Kṛita* ; and *Kali* was an unfavourable throw, as stated in the Kat. S. S. (XV, 7, 19). Commenting on the Ap. S.S. (V, 20, 1), Rudradatta explains the throws (*Ayāḥ*) as follows : "When all dice in a throw are divisible by four, it is termed as *Kṛita* ; when three dice are left over after division by four, it is *Tretā* ; when two dice remain over, it is

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Dvāpara; and when the remainder is a single die, the throw is called *Kali*."

As regards the place of dicing, Āpastamba states that the king should have an assembly hall (*Sabhā*) built, where a dice-board (*Adhidevana*) and an even number of dice should be made available, and where pious and truthful Āryas may be allowed to play.[99] It indicates the existence of public places like *Sabhā* where people could assemble and play dice. Gambling appears to have been quite common in those days. The authors of the Gṛihyas suggest ways and means of avoiding gambling. Āśvalāyana says that if a Sabhā is built on a place sloping down to the south there will be no gambling in it (*see* n. 12). The same Sūtra (I, 5, 6) expresses the opinion that a girl who chooses the lump of earth taken from a gambling-place should not be accepted in marriage, because she will be addicted to gambling. This rule of Āśvalāyana shows that gambling was so popular that even women indulged in it.

The Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Baudhāyana express themselves against dicing. The Gaut. D. S. (XV, 17) excludes a dicer (*Kitava*) from the list of invitees to a Śrāddha feast, and the Baudh. D. S. (II, 1, 2, 8) declares dicing to be the first cause of impurity.

Music and Mahāvrata Festival

Vocal as well as instrumental music was no doubt very popular in the age of the Sūtras. Most of the festive occasions were enlivened by sweet voices of singers and melodious notes of musical instruments. Many kinds of musical instruments were played on at the Mahāvrata festival which was full of fun and frolic and which provided ample entertainment to all sections of society. The salient features of this popular festival, as contained in the Sūtras, are briefly set out below.[100]

Mahāvrata : The chanting of certain *Sāmans* forms an important part of the Mahāvrata. During its performance the *Udgātṛi* priest sits on an easy chair, the *Hotṛi* is seated on a swing, the *Adhvaryu* takes his seat on a plank, and others are provided with seats of grass. The priests chant the prescribed *Sāmans*, and the wives of those who participate in the *Sattra* sing some of the *Sāmans* after them. When the Udgātṛi (Sankh. S. S.) or a Brāhmaṇa plays on a harp (*Vāṇa* or *Bāṇa*) of a hundred strings, the wives of the participants play on many musical instruments (mentioned below) in tune with him, lutanists (Ap. S. S.) blow shells (*Śaṅkhas*), reed pipes (*Nāḍīs*), and wooden flutes (*Tūṇavas*), and all sorts of joyous sounds are produced. There is a funny and

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frivolous dialogue between a student and a hetaera. Drums (*Dundubhis*) placed in different corners of the sacrificial place are beaten with drumsticks, and an earth-drum (*Bhūmi-dundubhi*) which consists of an oxhide stretched over a hole in the ground is sounded with the tail of the same hide. An *Ārya* and a *Śūdra* present a sham fight for a round piece of white leather, and the former emerges victorious in this combat. In a comic dialogue between a Brāhmaṇa and a Śūdra, the performers of the Sattra are praised by the former and censured by the latter. Armoured *Kshatriyas* equipped with bows and arrows, driving in chariots round the sacrificial ground, shoot arrows at a skin stretched between two posts, with such a skill that the arrows just stick in the skin and do not pierce it through. A number of maid-servants, carrying jars full of water on their heads, go thrice round the *Mārjālīya* shed, dancing, beating the ground with their right feet, and singing songs (*Gāthās*).

As regards musical instruments played by the wives of the participants, the Man. S.S. states that they play on all kinds of lutes beginning from the one called *Kāṇḍaviṇā* which is made of reeds ; and the Kat. S.S. (XIII, 3, 21) mentions *Godhāvīṇākās* (small lutes covered with the skin of a *Godhā*) and *Kāṇḍavīṇās*. The Baudh. S.S. (XVI, 21) speaks of *Āghāṭīs* (cymbals), *Piñchholās* (flutes ?), and *Karkarīkās* (lutes). The Sankh. S.S. (XVII, 3) describes a lute (*Vīṇā*) of a hundred strings and says that the wives should provide themselves with *Ghāṭakarkarīs*, *Avaghaṭarikās*, *Kāṇḍavīṇās*, and *Pichchhorās* (flutes) ; and it adds that a Pichchhorā is sounded by blowing and that a Kāṇḍavīṇā which is also called *Ghāṭarī* is played with a plectrum (*Vādana*). The Ap. S.S. (XXI, 17, 16) prescribes *Apāghāṭalikās*, *Tambalavīṇās*, Kāṇḍavīṇās, and *Pichchholās ;* and the Hir. S.S. (XVI, 6, 21) mentions *Apāghāṭalikās*, *Tālukavīṇās*, *Kāṇḍavīṇās*, *Pichchholās*, Alābu, and *Kapiśīrshṇīs*. According to the Drah. S.S. (XI, 2, 6-8), Apāghāṭalikā stands for two types of musical instruments, namely Kāṇḍavīṇā and Pichchhorā. As to the meaning of *Tambalavīṇā*, Prof. Caland accepts Prof. Garbe's view that it denotes a Tamil-guitar, but we have already (*supra*, p. 97) discussed this view and come to the conclusion that the term Tambalavīṇā signifies a lute which has strings made of *Tambala*. Pichchholā appears to be a variant of Pichchhorā. The remaining terms are of doubtful signification, though all of them are used to denote musical instruments of some kind.

The Gṛihyasūtras also refer to songs and musical instruments. The Kath. G.S. (17, 2) states that during pre-wedding rites the

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bride plays on a reed pipe (*Nāḍī*), a wooden flute (*Tūṇava*), a *Paṇava* (a kind of cymbal), a drum called *Mṛidaṅga*, and all other musical instruments to the accompaniment of songs. At the Sīmantonnayana ceremony the wife of the sacrificer sings a song, and two lute-players play on lutes (*infra*, Chap. XIII). The Par. G.S. (I, 7, 2) enjoins upon the bridegroom to sing a song (*Gāthā*) at the time of wedding. According to the Man. G.S. (I, 10, 7), a harp (*Bāṇa*) should be played when the bride is ceremonially sprinkled under the yoke of a chariot or a cart, and the same Sūtra (I, 9, 29) lays down that four unwidowed women should play on a musical instrument named *Nandī* at a pre-wedding rite.

Dance and Dramatic Performances

Dances were, of course, quite popular. The Kath. G.S. (22, 1) and the Sankh. G.S. (I, 11, 5) prescribe the performance of a dance at a pre-wedding ceremony performed on behalf of the bride. It appears that some people earned their livelihood by singing and dancing, for the Gaut. D.S. (XV, 17) lays down the injunction that those who live by playing on musical instruments, singing and dancing, should not be invited to a Śrāddh afeast. The Baudh. D.S. (II, 1, 2, 5) refers to such persons as earned their livelihood by making performances on the stage and by imparting instruction in dramaturgy. The Ap. D.S. (II, 10, 25, 14) advises a king to exercise full control over arms, dancing, singing and music in his kingdom. The Sūtras forbid a student to perform and to attend dancing, singing and music.

Races and Festive Gatherings

Chariot-race was a common recreation of the people in the Sūtra age. The Śrautasūtras mention chariot-races which were held during the performance of the Vājapeya sacrifice.[101] Race among men was also a sort of recreation. In the description of the Upākarman, the Hir. G.S. (II, 20, 11) says that they stir up waves in water and run a race in the eastern or northern direction until they lose their breath. People assembled at festive gatherings called *Samājas* or *Samavāyas* which offered ample opportunities for amusement, but the authors of the Sūtras had no high opinion of such gatherings. The Ap. D.S. (I, 1, 3, 12) forbids a student to attend *Samājas*, and both the Ap. D.S. (I, 11, 32, 19-20) and the Vas. D.S. (XII, 40) impose this restriction on a graduate.

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Stories and Historical Narratives

The people were entertained with stories and historical narratives on certain occasions. The Śrautasūtras tell us that stories were recited during the performance of Aśvamedha and Rājasūya sacrifices.[102] The Bhar. G.S. (II, 21) states that a certain Gāthā is narrated when a graduate wears a jewel at the Samāvartana ceremony. The members of a bereaved family, who kept awake till late at night during the period of mourning, listened to *Gāthās*, *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*.[103]

Notes and References

1. पुररेणुकुण्ठितशरीरस्तत्परिपूर्ण-नेत्र-वदनश्च । नगरे वसन् सुनियतात्मा सिद्धिमवाप्स्यतीति न तदस्ति ॥ बौ० ध० II, 3, 6, 33.
2. असंदर्शने ग्रामात् ॥ आ० गृ० IV, 9, 12.
3. नैतस्य पशोर्ग्रामं हरन्ति ॥ पा० गृ० III, 8, 14.
4. पुरद्वारीन्द्रकीलपरिघावन्तरेण नाऽतीयात् ॥ बौ० ध० II, 3, 6, 13.
   Cf. Chh. Up. II, 24, 6. 10. 15.
5. SBE, vol. XIV, p. 242 footnote.
6. द्वौ द्वौ परिघौ ॥ अरत्निरिन्द्रकीलः ॥ कौ० अ० शा० II, 3, 33-34.
7. It appears that the doors, as they met together, left an opening between them, though they were not allowed to keep away from each other by means of the bolt and the bar. Perhaps it was considered dangerous to life to attempt to find a way across the opening of the gate. A graduate whose life was precious was advised that he should not attempt to enter the city in such a dangerous way.
8. R. V. IV, 30, 20 ; VII, 15, 14 ; VII, 95, 1 ; I, 166, 8.
9. Kaut. A. S. II, 3.
10. न कासृत्या ग्रामं प्रविशेत् ॥ गो० गृ० III, 5, 35. *Cf.* Ap. D. S. I, 11, 31, 21.
11. दक्षिणेन पुरं सभा दक्षिणोदग्द्वारा यथोभयं संदृश्येत बहिरन्तरं चेति ॥ आप० ध० II, 10, 25, 5.
12. Asv. G. S. II, 7, 6-11.
13. Asv. G. S. II, 7, 1-4.
14. Gobh. G. S. IV, 7, 2. 3. 4. 12. 13. *Cf.* Asv. G. S. II, 7, 9.
15. Asv. G. S. II, 7, 6-8 ; *cf.* Gobh. G. S. IV, 7, 5-6.
16. शालां कारयिष्यन्नुदगयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे रोहिण्यां त्रिषु चोत्तरेष्वग्निमुपसमाधाय व्याहृतिपर्यन्तं कृत्वा जुहोति ॥ हि० गृ० I, 27, 1.
17. Asv. G. S. II, 7, 5.
18. Asv. G. S. II, 8, 9-10.
19. Asv. G. S. II, 8, 11-12 ; Bhar. G. S. II, 3 ; Ap. G. S. VII, 17.
20. Sankh. G. S. III, 2, 1 ; Hir. G. S. I, 27, 1.
21. Hir. G. S. I, 27, 1 ; Ap. G.S. VII, 17, 3 ; Sankh. G.S. III, 2, 3.
22. Sankh. G. S. III, 2, 4.

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23. 'उद्ना समुद्रः' इत्यभ्यक्तमश्मानं स्तूपस्याधस्तान्निखनेत् ॥ शां० गृ० III, 3, 10.

24. Asv. G. S. II, 8, 16 ; Bhar. G. S. II, 3 : 33, 10 ; Hir. G. S. I, 27, 2-7 Par. G. S. III, 4, 4 ; Sankh. G. S. III, 2, 8.

25. Hir. G. S. I, 27, 8 ; Par. G. S. III, 4, 4 ; Sankh. G. S. III, 3, 1-9.

26. प्रागग्रेषु नवेषु कुशेषूदकुम्भं नवं प्रतिष्ठाप्य ॥ शां० गृ० III, 4, 3.

27. Asv. G. S. II, 9, 3-5 ; Ap. G. S. VII, 17, 9.

28. Asv. G. S. II, 9, 9 ; Sankh. G. S. III, 4, 1-8 ; Par. G. S. III, 4, 5-8 Baudh. G. S. III, 5.

29. Par. G.S. III, 4, 19 ; Asv. G.S. II, 9, 9 ; Kaus. S. 43, 14-15 ; Ap. G.S. VII, 17, 13.

30. मध्येऽग्निमुपसमाधाय कृष्णया गवा यजेत। अजेन वा श्वेतेन। सपायसाभ्याम्। पायसेन वा ॥ गो० गृ० IV, 7, 25-28.

31. प्राशनान्ते कांस्ये संभारानोप्यौदुम्बरपलाशानि ससुराणि शाड्वलं गोमयं दधि मधु घृतं कुशान् यवांश्चासनोपस्थानेषु प्रोक्षेत् ॥ पा० गृ० III, 4, 9.

The Bhar. G.S. II, 5 : 35, 10, in a similar ceremony contains the words, "Udumbara-palāśāni Sasushirāṇi", which mean 'Udumbara leaves with holes or cavities'. The reading of the Par. G.S. is "Udumbara-palāśāni Sasurāṇi". The reading of the Bhar. G. S. appears to be a better one. So I have translated it in accordance with the reading of the Bhar. G.S., though Oldenberg following the commentators translates it : "Udumbara leaves with strong liquor." Agreeing with Viśvanātha I have translated *Upasthānāni* as beds, while Oldenberg following Jayarāma translates it into shrines.

32. Hir. G.S.I, 28, 2-3 ; Gobh. G.S. IV, 7, 38.

33. उक्तं गृहप्रपदनम् (*cf.* आ० श्रौ० 2, 5)। वीजवतो गृहान् प्रपद्येत ॥ आ० गृ० II, 10, 1-2. ज्येष्ठं पुत्रमादाय जायां च सहधान्यः प्रपद्येत—
"इन्द्रस्य गृहाः शिवा वसुमन्तो वरूथिनः। तानहं प्रपद्ये सह जायया सह प्रजया सह पशुभिः सह रायस्पोषेण सह यन्मे किंचिदस्ति तेन ॥" शां गृ० III, 4, 9-10.

34. Kat. S.S. IV, 7, 12 ; Man. S.S. I, 5, 1, 12 ; Ap. D.S. I, 1, 2, 40.

35. SBE, vol. XLI, p. 85, n. I ; Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 308 ; vol. II, p. 292.

36. Sankh. S.S. English Translation, p. 456.

37. Hir. G.S.I, 10, 5 ; Sankh. G.S. III, 1, 18 ; Kat. S.S. IV, 7, 12 ; *ibid.*, V, 6, 32 ; *ibid.*, VII, 2, 16 ; Man. S. S. I, 5, 1, 12.

38. Par. G.S.I, 4, 12-13 ; Hir. G.S.I, 10, 5 ; Baudh. D.S.I, 3, 5, 2. 6 ; Vas. D.S. XII, 14.

39. Par. G.S. II, 6, 25 ; Kat. S. S. XV, 5, I3.

40. Kath. Samh. XIII, 10 ; Sat. Br. XIV, 2, 1, 8 ; *cf.* Vedic Index I, p. I04.

41. Vedic Index, vol. II, pp. 372-73 ; Alt. Leb., p. 262.

42. Par. G.S. II, 7, 17 ; Gaut. D. S. IX, 9 ; Ap. D,S.I, 11, 30, 10.

43. Baudh. D.S.I, 6, 13, 9 ; Ap. S.S. XIX, 16, 6 ; Kat. S.S. XXII, 3, 15.

44. मोदमानीं गापयेत्। महाहैमवतीं वा ॥ शां० गृ० I, 22, 16-17.

Bhavatrāta says that some interpret मोदमानी and महाहैमवती as names of Gāthās to be sung by the lute-players.

45. Sankh. G. S. III, 1,18 ; Par. G.S. II, 6, 26 ; Ap. G.S.V, 12, 9 ; Kaush. G.S. III. 1, 13.

46. Ap. G.S.V, 12, 8 ; *cf.* Bhar. G.S. II, 18 : 50, 11.

47. Hir. G.S.I, 10, 6 ; *ibid.* I, 11, 3.

48. Ap. G.S.V, 12 ; Hir.G.S.I, 10, 6 ; Ap. S.S. XIX, 23, 11 ; Baudh. S.S. XIII, 32.

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49. Bhar.G. S. II, 7 : 39, 2 ; Kat. S. S. XIV, 3, 30 ; *ibid.* XX, 1, 12 ; Asv. S. S. III, 9 ; Sankh. G.S. III, 1, 7 ; Sankh. S. S. XVI, 1, 6.

50. Bhar. G.S. II, 7 : 39, 2 ; Kaus. S. 108, 3 ; *cf.* Zimmer's Alt. Leb., p. 265 ; Vedic Index II, p. 224.

51. Sankh. G.S. I, 12, 9.

52. Hir. G.S. I, 11, 4 ; *cf.* Bhar. G.S. II, 18 : 50, 12.

53. Sankh. G.S. 1, 12, 5 ; Par. G.S. I, 4, 14 ; Kat. S.S. VII, 2, 31.

54. Hir. G.S. I, 11, 5.

55. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 29. *Cf.* Vedic Index I, p. 329 ; *see* n. 56.

56. Sat. Br. III, 1, 3, 12.

57. Hir. G.S. I, 10, 4.

58. Gobh. G.S. III, 4, 10.

59. Par. G.S. II, 14, 17 ; Sankh. G.S. IV, 15, 8.

60. यथाकुलधर्मं केशवेशान् कारयेत् ॥ आ० गृ० I, 17, 17. *cf.* Vas. D.S. II, 21.

61. उदङ्मनेरुत्सृप्य कुशालीकारयन्ति यथागोत्रकुलकल्पम् ॥ गो० गृ० II, 9, 23.

62. दक्षिणतः कपुञ्जा वसिष्ठानाम्। उभयतो ऽत्रिकश्यपानाम्। मुण्डा भृगवः। पंचचूडा अंगिरसः। वाजिमेके। मंगलार्थं शिखिनोऽन्ये। यथाकुलधर्मं वा ॥ काठ० गृ० 40, 2-8.

63. R.V. VII, 33, 1 ; VII, 83, 8 ; *cf.* Vedic Index I, pp. 135, 335.

64. Man. G.S. I, 1, 2 ; *ibid.* 1, 2, 6 ; *cf.* Manu II, 219.

65. केशश्मश्रु वपते वाऽशिखम् ॥ का० श्रौ० II, 1, 9.

66. सशिखं वापयते। शिखामत्रावशिनष्टीत्येकेषाम् ॥ हि० गृ० II, 6, 16-17.

67. अथापि ब्राह्मणम्। रिक्तो वा एषोनपिहितो यन्मुण्डस्तस्यैतदपिधानं यच्छिखेति ॥ सत्रेषु तु वचनाद्वपनं शिखायाः ॥ आप० ध० I, 3, 10, 8-9.

68. Kat. S.S. II, 1, 9 ; Ap. D.S. I, 3, 10, 7 ; Man. S.S. I, 7, 2, 23.

69. अथास्यै शिखे विमुंचति यदि कृते भवतः। ऊर्णास्तुके केशपक्षयोर्बद्धे भवतः, 'प्र त्वा मुंचामि वरुणस्य पाशादिति।' उत्तरामुत्तरया ॥ आ० गृ० I, 7, 16-18.

70. In his S.R.L. G., page 76, Dr. Apte advances the conjecture that a porcupine's quill appears to be the hair-comb of the ancient Aryans ; this conjecture has been shown to be baseless.

71. Par. G.S. II, 14, 15 ; Kaus. S. 76, 5 ; *cf.* Sankh. G.S, IV, 15, 7.

72. Kaut. A.S. III, 14, 32-33 and 40-42.

73. लोहितलवणं संचुद्याभिनिष्ठीवति ॥। कौ० सू० 31, 17. दारिलः—

'सैन्धव-लवणं चूर्णीकृत्यापचिति कृत्वा तमभिमुखे निष्ठीवेत्।

74. Kh. G S. III, 3, 29 ; Kaus. S. 20, 7 ; Man. S.S. I, 2, 2, 26-30.

75. Kaus. S. 18, 16 ; Kat. S.S. II, 8, 14 ; Sankh. S.S. VII, 1, 1.

76. Gobh. G.S III, 10, 9-12. Explaining the sūtra, *Traiyambaka-pramāṇān*, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa says that the Apūpas should be made as large as the palm of a hand.

77. Gobh. G.S. I, 7, 2 seq.

78. Hir. G.S. I, 23, 2-7 ; Ap. G.S. III, 7, 1-15 ; Gobh. G.S. I, 7-8.

79. Gaut. D.S. XIX, 14 ; Kath. G.S. 6, 3 ; Kat. S.S. VII, 4, 25 ; Baudh. D.S. III, 7, 10. The authors of the Vedic Index (s.v.) take *Yavāgū* in the sense of barley-gruel. Bühler (SBE, II, p. 276) translates Yāvaka as 'barley-gruel', but Haradatta interprets *Yāvaka* as a mess of barley.

80. Gobh. G.S. II, 9, 5.

81. Man. G.S. II, 3, 6 ; Kath. G.S. 58, 2 ; Asv. G.S. II, 2, 2-3 ; Par. G.S. II, 16, 1-3.

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82. Ap. S.S. XIX, 26, 1 ; XIX, 2, 10 ; Man. S.S. V, 2, 4, 21.

83. Gobh. G.S. III, 10, 29 ; *ibid.* IV, 1, 6.

84. पश्वंगं पायसं वा कारयेन्नामांसो मधुपर्क इति श्रुतिः ॥ मा० गृ० I, 9, 22.
नामांसो मधुपर्कः स्यादिति ह विज्ञायते ॥ काठ० गृ० 24, 20.
नामांसो मधुपर्को भवति भवति ॥ आ० गृ० I, 24, 26.
नामांसोऽर्घः स्यात् ॥ शां० गृ० II, 15, 2.
न त्वेवामांसोऽर्घः स्यात् ॥ पा० गृ० I, 3, 29.

85. Baudh. G.S.II, 11, 65. *See* Chap. XVI for the Śrāddha and Chap. XVIII for the Ashṭakās.

86. Vas. D.S. XI, 34.

87. Man. G.S. I, 1, 12 ; Ap. D.S. I, 1, 2, 23 ; Gaut. D.S. II, 19.

88. Sankh. G.S. II, 12, 8 ; Asv. G.S. I, 23, 21 ; Kat. S.S. IV, 5, 27.

89. Kaus. S. I, 31-32. *Cf.* Sankh. S. S. IV, 1, 3.

90. हौम्यं च मांसवर्जम् ॥ आ० गृ० I, 9, 6.

91. Kat. S.S. IV, 7, 27 ; Man. S.S. I, 7, 2, 25 ; Ap. S.S. XVII, 24, 2 ; Sankh. S.S. III, 13, 30.

92. Gaut. D.S. XVII, 25-34 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 5, 12, 1-8 ; Ap. D.S. I, 5, 17, 29-39 ; Vas. D.S. XIV, 39-48.

93. सुरां सुरापेभ्यः ॥ कौ० सू० 11, 10.

94. Kat. S.S. XIX, 1, 20-27 ; Ap. S.S. XIX, 5, 7-11 ; Baudh. S.S. XVII, 31-32 ; Man. S.S. V, 2, 4, 2-6 ; R.L., p. 160.

95. Tait. Samh., Introduction, p. cxxii ; *cf.* HOS, vol. 32, p. 353 ; R.L., p. 159.

96. Gaut. D.S. II, 26 ; *ibid.* XV, 15 ; Baudh. D.S. II, 1, 1, 17-21.

97. Baudh. D.S. III, 5, 5, 6 ; *ibid.* III, 6, 6, 18 ; *cf.* Vas. D.S. I, 19-20 ; Manu IX, 235.

98. Baudh. D.S. 1, 7, 18, 18 ; Manu IX, 237.

99. Ap. D.S. II, 10, 25, 12-13 ; *cf.* n. 11.

100. Ap. S.S. XXI, 17-20 ; Kat. S.S. XIII, 2-3 ; Sankh. S.S. XVII, 1-17.

101. Kat. S.S. XIV, 3, 21 ; Ap. S.S. XVIII, 3-5 ; Baudh. S.S. XI, 8 ; R.L., pp. 141-43.

102. Ap. S.S. XVIII, 19, 10-14 ; *ibid.* XX, 6, 13-14 ; R.L., pp. 143-147 ; *ibid.* pp. 149-152.

103. Asv. G.S. IV, 6, 6. *Vide* Chap. XXII.

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CHAPTER IX

THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

The Kalpasūtras which shed a good deal of light on the system of government in the Sūtra period convey the impressions that anarchy and chaos were almost unknown to the authors of the Sūtras ; that the people felt quite safe and secure under the protection of the State ; that there was no fear of foreign invasions or internal uprisings ; and that political conditions in the country were, on the whole, stable and peaceful except for occasional fights between petty princes. No political agitation of any kind is alluded to in the Sūtras. The country was governed by the sons of the soil, and all sections of society were allowed to live peacefully in accordance with their faiths and customs.

1. FORM OF GOVERNMENT

KING

Monarchy is the only form of government described in our Sūtras. The king who was usually called *Rājan* succeeded to the throne by virtue of his hereditary right, and the system of electing a king was in all probability unknown to the Sūtra-writers. There is overwhelming evidence in the Sūtras to show that the king was normally a member of the Kshatriya caste. The Dharmasūtras dwell on the qualities, duties, powers and prerogatives of a king. In this connection the Gaut. D. S. (XI, 1-8) says, "The king is the master of all his subjects excepting the Brāhmaṇas. His actions should conform to the norm of right conduct laid down in the scriptures, and his utterances should be just and discreet. He should be well versed in the Vedas and logic. He should be endowed with integrity, uprightness and self-control, appoint wise and virtuous persons to assist him, and possess tact and resources to carry out his policy. He should be impartial to all his subjects and devote himself to their well-being. With the exception of the Brāhmaṇas, the subjects occupying lower seats should reverence the king sitting on a higher seat ; and the Brāhmaṇas should also hold him in high esteem."

All the Sūtras enjoin upon the people to show due respect to their king and to include him in the list of such guests as are entitled to the honour of *Argha* reception (*infra*, Chap. XXI).

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Palace : As regards the residence of the king, the Ap. D. S. (II, 10, 25, 2-4) lays down that the king should cause a capital city and a palace to be built with their gates to the south ; that the palace should be situated in the centre of the city ; that a guest-chamber called *Āmantraṇa* should be built in front of the palace ; and that his guests—at least Vedic scholars—should be lodged there and provided with food, drink and furniture in accordance with their position.

Though the king lived in a palace and had all luxuries at his command, he was advised not to flaunt his wealth in such a manner as to create heart-burning in his elders and ministers. Therefore, Āpastamba expresses the view that the king should not live better than his elders and ministers.[1]

Purohita : Every king had a *Purohita* (domestic priest) who assisted and advised him in religious and political matters. Most of the Dharmasūtras enjoin upon the king to appoint a *Purohita.* According to the Gaut. D. S. (XI, 14-15), a learned and eloquent Brāhmaṇa of good family, handsome appearance, suitable age, virtuous disposition, high character, and austere habits should be appointed Purohita ; and the king should follow his instructions in the performance of religious duties. A similar view is found in the Baudh. D. S. (I, 10, 18, 7-8). The Ap. D. S. (II, 5, 10, 14) lays down that a royal Purohita should be proficient in scriptural knowledge (*Dharma*) as well as in political science (*Artha*). A Purohita not only administered the religious affairs of the king but also accompanied him to the battlefield. The Asv. G. S. (III, 12) states that the Purohita should assist the king in making preparations for the battle, perform necessary rituals for his victory, and accompany him to the battlefield. The post of a royal Purohita was, of course, highly prized, and the Brāhmaṇas aspired after it. The Ap. S. S. (XXII, 7, 6) and the Kat. S. S. (XXII, 5, 11) prescribe the performance of a Śrauta sacrifice called *Bṛihaspati-sava* for a Brāhmaṇa who aspires to become a royal Purohita.

SABHĀ AND SAMITI

Many scholars are inclined to hold that *Sabhā* in the early Vedic age stood for the assembly of the people which was attended by the selected representatives of the people.[2] In the Sūtras the term *Sabhā* denotes an assembly of the people as well as an assembly-hall,[3] but the Sūtras nowhere refer to the political character of Sabhā. Perhaps *Sabhā* had no say in political affairs in the Sūtra period. *Samiti* which was, according to some scholars, an assembly

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of the whole nation in the early Vedic age is seldom mentioned in the Sūtras. A gambling-hall is also called Sabhā in the Sūtras, and the Ap. D. S. (I, 1, 3, 12) forbids a student to visit such a Sabhā and imposes the same ban on a graduate. This Sūtra enjoins upon the king to have a public hall (*Sabhā*) built where truthful and pure Āryas may assemble and play dice (*supra*, p. 169). It is known from the Sūtras that debates were often held in the Sabhā. Certain Gṛihyasūtras prescribe a ritual for those who desire to win a victory over their rivals in debates.[5] The Par. G. S. (III, 13, 3) lays down that the following Mantra should be recited at the time of entering the Sabhā: "May *Sabhā* and *Samiti*, the two concordant daughters of Prajāpati, protect me; may he, who does not know me, decorously approach me; and may people be discreet in their speech." *See* the Atharvaveda VII, 12, 1.

The Sabhā seems to have performed no political functions in the Sūtra period, and put little check on the actions of the monarch.

The king's regard for the law of the land was probably a real check on his actions. Since the law of the country was then closely interlinked with religion, '*Dharma*' or 'moral law' inherited from the earlier generations must have proved an effective check on the actions of kings who could hardly offend the religious susceptibilities of their subjects. Kings aspired to be popular with their subjects,[6] and cherished the desire that their subjects should always follow *Dharma*.[7]

RĀJASŪYA (ROYAL CONSECRATION)

The *Rājasūya* (royal consecration) of the king was celebrated with great pomp and show. Though the ritual dominated all celebrations, many items of popular interest also figured in the Rājasūya. Besides the king and priests, State functionaries, nobles, and other people participated in the performance of the Rājasūya; and the populace gathered together to witness royal festivities. The Ap. S. S. (XXII, 28, 1) prescribes the performance of royal consecration before an assembly of the subjects. Leaving out ritualistic details, we shall sum up below some salient features of royal consecration.

The Rājasūya comprised a number of distinct rites and acts, the performance of which was completed according to some authorities in a period of about three years. The performance of Rājasūya generally commenced on the first day of the month of *Phālguna*, and religious observances connected with it continued throughout the year. At the end of the year in the following *Phālguna* the king

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made special offerings called *Ratna-Havīṁshi* or *Ratnināṁ Havīṁshi* at the houses of the *Ratnas* or *Ratnins*, *i.e.* the jewels of the king, who included the commander-in-chief, the domestic priest (*Purohita*), the chief queen, the charioteer (*Sūta*), the village headman (*Grāmaṇī*), the chamberlain (*Kshattṛi*), the treasurer (*Saṁgrahītṛi*), the collector of taxes (*Bhāgadugha*), the superintendent of dicing (*Akshāvāpa*), and the courier (*Dūta*). The Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras show slight differences in regard to the names and order of the *Ratnins*, and some of these terms admit of more than one explanation. The recipients of these sacrificial honours from the king are called *Ratninaḥ*, *i.e.* those possessed of the jewel (offering).

After a few other rites connected with the Rājasūya had been gone through, *Abhishechanīya* (anointing), the principal ceremony of royal consecration, was performed in the month of *Chaitra* before an assembly of the people. On this occasion the *Brahman* priest grasped the right hand of the king and announced him to the people. According to the Ap. S. S. (XVIII, 12, 7), the king was formally announced by the *Brahman* priest to the *Ratnins* representing the people with the formula : "He, O *Bharatas*, is your King"; the king of the *Kuru* people was announced with the formula : "He, O *Kurus*, is your King" ; in the case of the king of the *Pañchālas* or *Kuru-Pañchālas* their name was inserted in the formula ; and the kings of other peoples were announced with the formula : "He, O people (*Janatāḥ*), is your King." The king donned a special dress prescribed for the occasion, wore golden ornaments, took a bow and three arrows, and stood on a tiger-skin, facing the east with his arms raised upwards. Then he was formally anointed with the holy water which was a mixture of seventeen kinds of water collected from different sources. The sacred anointing of the king was performed in turn by a priest, a kinsman, a Rājanya, a Vaiśya, and a friendly person from among the common people, who were regarded as representing different sections of his subjects.

After the performance of certain subsidiary rites, the king drove in a chariot drawn by four horses to the north of the *Āhavanīya* where more than a hundred cows belonging to his kinsmen were collected. Then he made a sham plunder of those cows of his kinsmen. According to the Lat. S. S. (IX, 1, 14-22), the weak agnates of the king assembled there along with their wealth ; the king made a sham plunder of their wealth at the time of giving away sacrificial fees to the priests, and feignedly shot arrows at the agnates who returned the discharged arrows to him with the prayer : "May you, O King, be victorious" ; one-third of their wealth was

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given away to the priests, one-third distributed among the Brāhmaṇas participating in the *Daśapeya* rite, and the remainder returned to the owners along with rich rewards like grants of villages; and such agnates were thenceforward called *Rājanyas* (royal nobles) and became permanently disqualified for royal consecration. A few minor rites followed this act.

Then the king sat on the royal throne placed on a tiger-skin and played the game of dice, in which he emerged victorious. It was followed by the performance of a number of rites. The king had to keep certain observances after this; and he and his subjects (excepting the Brāhmaṇas) did not get their hair shaved for a year. At the end of the year the king had his hair shaved according to a special rite called *Keśavapanīya*, and gave away a large number of cows to the priests.

According to the Kauśika Sūtra (17, 18-26), a Vaiśya taking all his wealth (?) with him should wait upon the anointed sovereign and pray: "O long-lived one, give away (this wealth)"; the sovereign should reply: "I give away (wealth) to the Brāhmaṇa, to the Kshatriya, and to the Vaiśya; may Dharma reign in my realm"; and he should ride a horse and visit the *Sabhā* and the residence of his queens. The Ap. S. S. (XXII, 28, 20-24) lays down that, after the ceremony of anointing, the king should drive in a chariot and look at the sun and his subjects.

2. FUNCTIONS OF THE KING

It was, of course, the primary function of the king to protect the life and property of his subjects. Baudhāyana says that the king who receives one-sixth of people's income in the form of taxes should protect them.[8] Both Gautama (X, 7) and Vasishṭha (XIX, 1) lay down that the king should protect all living beings. Āpastamba is of the view that the king, whose whole kingdom including villages and forests is free from the fear of thieves, looks after the welfare of his subjects.[9]

Administration of justice was another important function of the king. Either he himself acted as a judge or he appointed efficient and honest persons to dispense justice (*infra*, Chap. X). Gautama (XI, 5) and Vasishṭha (XVI, 3-5) enjoin upon the king to be impartial to all.

It was also an important function of the king to enforce the laws of castes and orders. Gautama (XI, 9-10) says that the king should protect castes and orders in accordance with justice and set right those who transgress their moral duties. Vasishṭha (XIX, 7-8)

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lays down that in conformity with the customs of countries, castes and families the king should keep the four castes within the law and punish those who transgress it.

It was, according to the Dharmasūtras, the bounden duty of the king to support learned and poor Brāhmaṇas, those of his subjects who were unable to earn a living and hence exempt from taxes, such persons as orphans and widows, and also those who rendered useful service to the people, (*e.g.* physicians).[10] Vasishṭha (XIX, 35) says that the king should support eunuchs and lunatics also.

According to the Sūtras, the king should always devote himself to the welfare of his subjects. At the performance of *Aśvamedha* the king and the *Hotṛi* priest prayed that his subjects might possess plenty of cows, horses, goats, sheep, rice, barley, beans, sesame, gold, elephants, servants, men, wealth, health and prosperity.[11] The Sūtras enjoin upon the king to think of the welfare of his subjects at all times.

3. STATE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

No State can function without stable sources of income necessary to defray the expenses of administration. Taxes, fines, treasuretrove, booty in battles, and income from forests were the main sources of income to the State.

TAXATION

The Dharmasūtras lay down certain principles of taxation and emphasize that the king should always pay particular attention to the collection of lawful taxes.[12] Since the majority of population lived on agriculture, taxes collected from the farmers formed the mainstay of royal exchequer. Land revenue amounted generally to a sixth part of the gross produce of the land.[13] Gautama lays down that the cultivators should pay to the king a tax amounting to one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-sixth of the produce.[14] From those who earned their livelihood by cattle-breeding, the king annually took one-fiftieth of cattle as a tax ; and similarly one-fiftieth of the income earned as interest was taken from those who lived by lending money.[15] A tax amounting to one-twentieth (*i. e.* 5%) was charged on merchandise from the traders.[16] According to Baudhāyana, the king should charge customs duty at the rate of 10 per cent on goods imported by sea, after exempting a choice article.[17] Gautama lays down that the merchants should give the king every month an article of merchandise for less than its market price.[18] One-sixtieth of roots,

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fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs, honey, meat, grass, and firewood was taken by the king as a tax.[19] Those persons who earned their livelihood by lending their personal service to the public paid their taxes by doing some service to the king. Thus the artisans were required to work for the king without wages once a month, and similarly those who earned their living by ships and carts put their services at the disposal of the king once a month ; it was, however, obligatory upon the king to provide them with food on that day.[20] The king is enjoined to be just and fair in levying taxes upon his subjects. Baudhāyana says that the king should charge taxes on all marketable goods according to their intrinsic worth without oppressing the traders.[21]

EXEMPTION FROM TAXES

Those persons who were exempted from taxes included the following : learned Brāhmaṇas (*Śrotriyas*) ; women of all castes, minors and students ; ascetics who performed austerities to fulfil the sacred law (*Dharma*) ; Śūdras who earned their living by washing the feet of others ; blind, dumb, deaf and diseased persons ; and those to whom the acquisition of property was forbidden, *e.g.* Saṁnyāsins.[22] It was believed that a sixth part of merit earned by the Brāhmaṇas and ascetics through good deeds went to the king who protected them.

OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME

The proceeds of fines levied on offenders went to the royal treasury.[24] The Crown claimed a treasuretrove, paying its one-sixth to the finder.[25] The property of an unknown owner was kept in the king's custody for one year and then it lapsed to the State, if its owner failed to appear during the said period ; one-fourth of such property was given to the finder, according to Gautama.[26] The property of a person who died heirless escheated to the king ; the property of such a Brāhmaṇa was, however, distributed among the learned Brāhmaṇas, *i.e.* Śrotriyas.[27] The booty gained in battles was also a source of income to the State.[28]

EXPENDITURE

State income was spent mainly on State administration, maintenance of the army, and royal establishment. As the king lived in a palace with pomp and show (*supra*, p. 177), a considerable amount of money was required to meet this expenditure. The civil and military officials of the State received their salaries from the royal

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exchequer, but the actual mode of payment is not described in our Sūtras. A certain amount of State income was spent on charitable endowments also. It is, for example, laid down by the Dharma-sūtras that the king should render financial assistance to the learned and poor Brāhmaṇas, students, orphans, widows, and invalid persons.[29]

4. CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

The king governed his State with the help of a number of administrative officials. For the purposes of efficient administration entire State was divided into a number of administrative units. The names of certain regional officers are mentioned in our Sūtras. The Kauśika Sūtra speaks of a *Prādeśika* who seems to have been a regional officer, because in point of status he stands between a *Rājan* (king) and a Vaiśya.[30] A *Sthapati* also finds mention in the Sūtras. In the Ap. G.S. a Sthapati is bracketed with a Rājan in the description of Madhuparka.[31] But in the Kat. S.S. XV, 7, 12 (*cf.* Sat. Br. V, 4, 4, 17) a Sthapati is equated with a Sūta and comes after the king's brother. In the Baudh. S.S. (XVIII, 2), however, Sthapati precedes Sūta and follows Purohita. The Baudh. S.S. (XVIII, 3) enjoins upon a Sthapati to perform *Sthapati-sava*. The Ap. S.S. XXII, 7, 6 (*cf.* Panch. Br. XVII, 11, 5-6) prescribes that he whom they consecrate for the office of Sthapati should perform *Bṛihaspati-sava*. According to the Kat. S.S. (XXII, 5, 26-29), he who is installed in a position of honour by the king and the Brāhmaṇas should perform Bṛihaspati-sava ; he should be called Sthapati ; and he should be greeted by the people, but he should not rise from his seat to greet others. The Kat. S.S. (XXII, 11, (8.10) holds that he who is installed in a position of honour by the king and the subjects (*Viśaḥ*) should be called Sthapati. The Panch. Br. (XXIV, 18, 2) mentions *Budha* as the Sthapati of the Vrātyas. Both Āpastamba and Kātyāyana speak of a *Nishāda-sthapati*.[32] Though it is difficult to determine the precise sense of this term, Sthapati was probably an administrative officer of a high rank. Eggeling's rendering of this term is 'governor', while Caland and others are inclined to interpret it as 'chief judge'.[33]

The chief officer of the village was designated as *Grāmaṇī*, *i.e.* the leader of the village.[34] It is difficult to ascertain whether these offices were hereditary or otherwise. The Ap. D.S. lays down that the king should appoint men of the three higher castes, who are pure and truthful, over villages and towns for the protection of his subjects, and that the persons working under these officers should

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also be honest and sincere.[35] It was the duty of State officers to protect towns and villages from thieves up to a distance of one *Yojana* and one *Krośa* respectively on all sides.[36] If any theft occurred within these boundaries, the officers in charge were required to make good the loss.[37] Gautama lays down that the king should recover the stolen property and return it to the owner ; and that if the stolen property is not recovered he should pay its value to the owner from the royal treasury.[38].

The Śrautasūtras mention a *Bhāgadugha* who was, according to Sāyaṇa, an official appointed for the collection of State revenue.[39] And Sāyaṇa interprets the term *Saṁgrahītṛi* occurring in Vedic literature as an officer in charge of royal treasury.[40]

5. ARMY AND WARFARE

In order to protect his kingdom against external incursions and internal disorders every king had to maintain an efficient army. The word *Senānī* which means 'the leader of the army', *i.e.* the commander-in-chief, is mentioned in the Sūtras.[41] However, no details are available in regard to his powers and functions. The army mainly consisted of chariot-fighters and infantry. Chariots, as we have already stated, were drawn by horses. Elephants, too, formed an important division of the army. The Kauśika Sūtra describes devices to frighten away the elephants of enemy forces.[42] If the elephants became panicky, they made havoc of their own army. The defeat of Poros due to panic among his elephants is an illuminating example. In support of this view Dr. R. K. Mookerji refers to Alexander's observation on the military value of elephants.[43] Though the Sūtras give no definite information about the existence of cavalry, it is quite certain that the horse was used for riding in the age of the Sūtras.[44] The principal weapons of warfare included bows and arrows, swords and spears, hatchets and maces. The warrior put on a coat of mail (*Kavacha*) to protect his body,[45] and covered his arm with a piece of leather called (*Tala*) as a protection against the bruise of the bow-string.[46]

The Sūtras yield meagre information on the art of war in ancient India. The Ap. D. S. (II, 5, 10, 10) dismisses this topic with the remark that in the event of war the king should act upon the advice of those who are expert in the art of war. Some of the Sūtras, however, describe rituals for winning a war.[47] The Baudh. S. S. (XIV, 18) quotes the opinion of a Brāhmaṇa text that on the performance of prescribed rites burning charcoals will envelop the army of his foe. The Kaus. S. (13,1—16,26) describes various rites

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connected with warfare. Describing the rites for frightening away the elephants of enemy forces, the Kaus. S prescribes the use of a chariot-wheel, a vehicle (*Yāna*), musical instruments, pebbles, and a goad against the elephants (*vide* n. 42). The same Sūtra contains rites for warding off arrows and other missiles discharged by enemy forces.[48] Further, the Kaus. S. (14, 17) prescribes a charm for creating confusion in the ranks of enemy forces. The Kaus. S. (14, 22-23) says that a white-footed (ewe or she-goat ?) should be driven towards the enemy and that fighting should be started at that time when the forces of the enemy are in an agitated state of mind. Dealing with the preliminaries of warfare, the Kaus. S. (16, 1-7) lays down that all musical instruments should be washed, besmeared with a fragrant substance, and handed over to the musicians by the Purohita with the recitation of certain Mantras ; that the Purohita should tie a special amulet to the hand of the warrior ; that the king should thrice go round his army with the recitation of Mantras ; and that the Purohita should make the warrior put on a coat of mail with the recitation of a Mantra. Similarly the Asv. G. S. (III, 12) lays down that with the recitation of appropriate Mantras the Purohita should make the king put on a coat of mail, hand over the bow and quiver to the king, recite Mantras for the chariot and the horses, and cause the king to recite Mantras when he looks at arrows and ties a piece of leather to his arm as a protection against the bow-string ; that the Purohita should mount the chariot after the king, cause him to recite a certain hymn, and look at him with the recitation of certain hymns ; that the king should drive in all directions and then start fighting after taking up position in the direction of the sun or the planet Venus ;[49] that the king should touch the drum with a Mantra and shoot arrows with another ; and that the Purohita should recite certain Mantras, while fighting is going on.

RULES OF WARFARE

The Dharmasūtras enjoin upon warriors to stand firm in battle and not to retreat.[50] Further, they declare that warriors incur no sin by injuring or slaying foes in battle.[51] But the Dharmasūtras pointedly forbid the slaughter of the following persons : women, children, old men, Brāhmaṇas, messengers ; those who are insane, intoxicated or terrified ; those who have lost their horses, charioteers, or arms ; those who join their hands in supplication ; those who flee ; those who are with dishevelled hair ; those who are with their faces turned aside ; those who are sitting ; those who, in flight, have

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climbed up eminences, or trees ; those who declare themselves to be cows or Brāhmaṇas ; and those who have laid down their arms.[52]

The use of barbed and poisonous weapons is prohibited by Baudhāyana.[53] It shows clearly that the Sūtrakāras did not approve of the dictum that all is fair in love and war.

Notes and References

1. गुरूनमात्यांश्च नातिजीवेत् ॥ आप० ध० II, 10, 25, 10.
2. Zimmer, Alt. Leb., p. 172 ; Vedic Index II, p. 426 ; Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, pp. 95-96 ; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 18 ff.
3. Par. G. S. III, 13, 2-3 ; Ap. D. S. II, 10, 25, 5 ; Hir. G. S. I, 15, 7.
4. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 174 ; Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-100 ; Vedic Index II, pp. 430-431.
5. Hir G. S. I, 15, 4 seq. ; Bhar. G. S. II, 26 : 59, 8.
6. Bhar. G. S. II, 23 : 56, 14.
7. उत्सृजामि ब्राह्मणायोत्सृजामि क्षत्रियायोत्सृजामि वैश्याय धर्मो मे जनपदे चर्यतामिति ॥ कौ० सू० 17, 19.
8. षड्भागभृतो राजा रक्षेत् प्रजाम् ॥ बौ० ध० I, 10, 18, 1.
9. क्षेमकृद् राजा यस्य विषये ग्रामेऽरण्ये वा तस्करभयं न विद्यते ॥ आप० ध० II, 10, 25, 15.
10. बिभृयाद्ब्राह्मणाञ्श्रोत्रियान् । निरुत्साहांश्च ब्राह्मणान् ॥ गौ० ध० X, 9-11.
11. Baudh. S. S. XV, 5 ; XVIII, 18 ; Ap. S. S. XX, 4, 3. *Cf.* Gaut. D. S. XI, 6.
12. Gaut. D. S. X, 29 ; Ap. D. S. II, 10, 26, 9.
13. Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 1 ; Vas. D. S. I, 42.
14. राज्ञे बलिदानं कृषेः कैर्दशममष्टमं षष्ठं वा ॥ गौ० ध० X, 23. *Cf.* Manu VII, 130.
15. पशुहिरण्ययोरप्येके पंचाशद्भागः ॥ गौ० ध० X, 24, *Cf.* Manu VII, 130.
16. विंशतिभागश्शुल्कः पण्ये ॥ गौ० ध० X, 25. *Cf.* Manu VII, 127.
17. सामुद्रश्शुल्कः ॥ वरं रूपमुद्धृत्य दशपणं शतम् ॥ बौ० ध० I, 10, 18, 13-14.
18. पण्यं वणिग्भिरर्घापचयेन देयम् ॥ गौ० ध० X, 34.
19. Gaut. D. S. X, 26 ; *cf.* Manu VII, 131.
20. शिल्पिनो मासि मास्येकैकं कर्म कुर्युः । एतेनात्मोपजीविनो व्याख्याताः । नौचक्रीवन्तश्च । भक्तं तेभ्यो दद्यात् ॥ गौ० ध० X, 30-33. *Cf.* Manu VII, 138; X, 120.
21. अन्येषामपि सारानुरूप्येणाऽनुपहत्य धर्मं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ बौ० ध० I, 10, 18, 15.
22. Ap. D. S. II, 10, 26, 10-17 ; Vas. D. S. XIX, 23-24. *Cf.* Manu VII, 133 ; VIII, 394.
23. Vas. D. S. I, 43-44 ; *cf.* Manu VII, 136 ; Yaj. I, 335.
24. Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 19, 1.
25. Gaut. D. S. X, 42-44 ; Vas. D. S. III, 13 ; *cf.* Manu VIII, 38.
26. Gaut. D. S. X, 35-37 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 16 ; Vas. D. S. XVI, 19.
27. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 42-43 ; Ap. D. S. II, 6, 14, 5 ; Vas. D. S. XVII, 83-87.
28. Gaut. D. S. X, 20-21 ; *cf.* Manu VII, 97.
29. Gaut. D. S. X, 9-11 ; Ap. D. S. II, 10, 26, 1 ; Vas. D. S. XIX, 35.

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30. वरमनड्वाहं ब्राह्मणः कर्त्रे दद्यात् ॥ सीरं वैश्योऽश्वं प्रादेशिको ग्रामवरं राजा ॥
कौ० सू० 96, 16-17.

31. प्रतिगृह्यैव राजा स्थपतिर्वा पुरोहिताय । । आप० गृ० V, 13, 14.

32. Ap. S. S. IX, 14, 12 ; Kat. S. S. I, 1, 12.

33. Eggeling, SBE, vol. XLI, p. 111. Caland, Panch. Br., p. 466. Vedic Index, vol. II, p. 486. But *see* Caland, German Translation of Ap. S. S. IX, 14, 12.

34. Bhar. G. S. II, 23 ; Kat. S. S. XV, 7, 12 ; Sankh. S. S. II, 6, 5.

35. ग्रामेषु नगरेषु चार्याञ्छुचीन् सत्यशीलान् प्रजागुप्तये निदध्यात् । तेषां पुरुषास्तथागुणा एव स्युः ॥ आप० ध० II, 10, 26, 4-5. *Cf.* Yaj. I, 322.

36. सर्वतो योजनं नगरं तस्करेभ्यो रक्षयम् । क्रोशो ग्रामेभ्यः ॥ आप०ध० II, 10, 26, 6-7.

37. तत्र यन्मुष्यते तैस्तत् प्रतिदाप्यम् ॥ आप० ध० II, 10, 26, 8.

38. चोरहृतमपजित्य यथास्थानं गमयेत् । क्रोशाद्वा दद्यात् ॥ गौ० ध० X, 46-47.

39. Kat. S. S. XV, 3, 11 ; *Vide* Sāyaṇa's Commentary on the Tait. Samh. I, 8, 9.

40. Kat. S. S. XV, 3, 10. Sāyaṇa on Tait. Samh. 1, 8, 9.

41. Kat. S. S. XV, 3 ; Bhar. G. II, 23.

42. पूर्वस्य हस्तित्रसनानि । रथचक्रेण संपातवता प्रतिप्रवर्तयति । यानेनाभियाति । वादित्रैः । दृतिवस्त्योरोप्य शर्कराः । तोत्रेण नग्न-प्रच्छन्नः ॥ कौ० सू० 14, 1-6.

43. *Hindu Civilization*, p. 287, footnote 2.

44. Par. G. S. III, 15, 4; Kaus. S. 17, 22.

45. Asv. G. S. III, 12, 3 ; Kath. G. S. 57, 5 ; Baudh. S. S. XV, 7 ; Ap. S. S. XX, 5, 10.

46. Asv. G. S. III, 12, 11.

47. Man. S. S. V, 1, 4, 14-19 ; 9, 17-18. Baudh. S. S. XIII, 2 ; XIII, 13 ; XIII, 9 ; XIV, 18.

48. Kaus. S. 14, 12-14.

49. सर्वां दिशोऽनुपरियायात् । आदित्यमौशनसं वाऽवस्थाय प्रयोधयेत् ॥
आ० गृ० III, 12, 15-16.

नारायणकृतवृत्तौ—यस्यां दिश्यादित्यस्तां दिशमास्थायाहनि चेत् । रात्रौ चेद् यस्यां दिशि शुक्रस्तां दिशं परिगृह्य योधयेद् राजा । न प्रत्यादित्यं युध्येत । नापि प्रतिशुक्रमित्यर्थः ॥

हरदत्तकृतवृत्तौ—आदित्यमौशनसं वा यत्रादित्यः स्थितः शुक्रो वा तं दिग्भागमास्थाय तत्र स्थितः सन प्रयोधयेद् युद्धमारम्भयेद् राजा, न प्रत्यादित्यं नापि प्रतिशुक्रम् ॥
पक्षावुरस्यं प्रतिग्रह इत्यौशनसो व्यूहविभागः ॥ कौ० अर्थशास्त्र० X, 6, 1.

In their interpretations the said commentators take Āditya and Uśanas to mean the sun and the planet Venus respectively. The flaw of Nārāyaṇa's interpretation is quite obvious, because *Ādityam* and *Auśanasam* cannot be grammatically construed with 'Diś' as its adjectives, as Nārāyaṇa takes them in that sense. Haradatta removes this flaw by using the word 'Digbhāgam' with 'Ādityam' and 'Auśanasam'. In Oldenberg's translation Āditya and Uśanas are taken to mean the names of authorities on the art of warfare. The half of this conjecture is rendered probable by the fact that the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (I, 2, 6 ; I, 15, 55 ; etc.) refers to the school of *Uśanas* in the realm of political science and (X, 6, 1) mentions the view of Uśanas in regard to the arraying of troops. Jayaswal (*op. cit.*, p. 4) and Hopkins (J. A. O. S., XIII, p. 193 note) subscribe to Oldenberg's view. But Dr. Kane's objection (H. D. S. III, 229 n.) to it is quite weighty.

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50. Gaut. D. S. X, 15 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 9. *Cf.* Manu VII, 87-89.
51. Gaut. D. S. X, 16.
52. Gaut. D. S. X, 17 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 11 ; Ap. D. S. II, 5, 10, 11 ; *cf.* Manu VII, 91-93 ; Yaj. I, 326.
53. न कर्णिभिर्न दिग्धैः प्रहरेत् ॥ वौ० ध०
I, 10, 18, 10. *Cf.* Manu VII, 90; Yaj. I, 324.

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CHAPTER X

LAW AND JUSTICE

1. SOURCES OF LAW

The Dharmasūtras are our main sources for the study of legal institutions existing in the Sūtra period. Law in the modern sense of the term was then included in *Dharma* which was a comprehensive term denoting all moral principles governing social, religious, and political life of an Aryan.

The authors of the Dharmasūtras, as we have seen above in Chapter III, do not claim to be law-makers and state plainly that they are merely codifying Dharma as based on holy scriptures, customs, conventions, and ideal conduct of cultured people. According to Gautama (I, 1-2), the Veda as well as the tradition and conduct of those who understand it is the source of Dharma. Baudhāyana (I, 1, 1, 1-6) also regards the Veda, tradition, and ideal conduct of cultured people as sources of Dharma and defines the cultured people (*Śishṭas*) as follows : "Cultured are those who are free from envy and arrogance ; who possess enough food to support their family for a year or so ; who are not greedy ; who are free from hypocrisy, haughtiness, avarice, confusion, and anger ; who have properly studied the Veda with its supplements ; who are able to adduce from the revealed texts proofs perceptible by the senses ; and who can draw right conclusions" (*cf.* Manu XII, 109). Since the *Dharma* embodied in the Dharmasūtras is principally Smārta or Sāmayāchārika Dharma, *Smṛiti* (tradition) and *Samayāchāra* (conventional practice) are the chief sources of this Dharma. So Āpastamba (I, 1, 1, 2-3) declares : "The authority for Dharma codified in the Dharmasūtra is the conventional practice of those who know Dharma ; and the authorities for the latter are the Vedas alone." The Vedas are no doubt the final authority on Dharma. When the Vedas and tradition are silent on any point of Dharma, the ideal conduct of cultured people is regarded as an authority, according to Vasishṭha (I, 5).

Thus in addition to the holy scriptures, traditions and customs were also considered to be the sources of law. So Gautama declares : "The king's administration of justice should be regulated by the Veda, the Dharmaśāstras, the Aṅgas (*i.e.* the works auxiliary

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to the Vedas), the Upavedas, and the Purāṇa. Customs of countries, castes and families should also be regarded as authoritative, in so far as they are compatible with the law sanctioned by the holy scriptures."[1]

The members of professional classes were allowed to frame rules of conduct for their profession. Gautama provides that cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders and artisans have authority to lay down rules for their respective classes, and that any dispute between members of these classes should be decided after ascertaining the technical points of the case from those who are authorised to speak on behalf of their profession.[2]

According to the Dharmasūtras, the king had few powers of legislation and had to content himself with the enforcement of laws and customs prevalent at that time. Such customary laws as were incompatible with the injunctions of the Vedas were considered null and void. The powers of legislation were, according to the Sūtras, vested in those who fully understood the Vedas and whose conduct conformed to the teachings of the Vedas.

2. PENAL LAWS

Punishments inflicted on criminals varied according to the nature of crimes ; those who were convicted for minor crimes were let off after a reprimand, while those who committed heinous crimes were awarded capital punishment. The penal code of the Sūtras discriminates between castes, prescribes more severe penalties for the members of lower castes, and is rather lenient towards the members of the higher castes.It shows special consideration for the life of a Brāhmaṇa. Gautama declares that corporalpunishment must not be inflicted on a Brāhmaṇa[3] ; and similarly Baudhāyana lays down that a Brāhmaṇa must never be sentenced to death for any crime whatsoever.[4] It is laid down that in order to prevent a Brāhmaṇa convict from repeating the commission of crimes, his crime should be publicly announced and he should be branded with a red-hot rod of iron and banished from the country.[5] However, in regard to the imposition of fines for committing a theft the severity of punishment was applied in the reverse order, and it was laid down that the punishment for theft should be very much increased if the culprit belongs to a higher caste or is a learned person.[6]

RAPE AND ADULTERY

Rape and adultery were recognized as heinous crimes punishable by death, or by banishment, or by mutilation of the genital

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organ and confiscation of property. Laying down punishments for a Śūdra offender, Gautama says that if a Śūdra commits criminal intercourse with an Aryan woman his genital organ should be cut off and all his property confiscated ; and that if a Śūdra commits criminal intercourse with an Aryan woman placed under his protection the culprit should suffer capital punishment in addition to the punishment prescribed in the preceding Sūtra.[7]

Āpastamba prescribes the following penalties for crimes of adultery and for attempts at adultery : "If a young man decked with ornaments unintentionally enters the residence of a married woman or a marriageable damsel, he must be reprimanded. But if he does so with an evil intent, he must be fined. If he commits adultery, his genital organ shall be cut off together with his testicles. But if he commits adultery with a marriageable girl, his property shall be confiscated and he shall be banished. The king must support such women and damsels and protect them from defilement. If they agree to undergo penance, the king shall hand them over to their lawful guardians. If the adulteresses have undergone penance, they should be treated as guiltless, because the relation of husband and wife is established through law (and not by force or fraud)."[8]

Āpastamba further adds : "If a man belonging to one of the three higher castes commits adultery with a woman of the Śūdra caste, he shall be banished. If a Śūdra commits adultery with a woman of one of the three higher castes, he shall suffer capital punishment. And the king should emaciate the woman who has committed adultery with a Śūdra, by making her undergo penances and fasts, in case she has had no child. They declare that a Brāhmaṇa, who has once committed adultery with a married woman of his caste, shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for an outcast, *i.e.* he should observe celibacy for three years."[9]

Baudhāyana lays down that if a Brāhmaṇa commits adultery with the wife of a *Guru* (teacher or an elder), he should be branded on his forehead with the sign of female organ and banished.[10] The same Sūtrakāra further states that if a Śūdra holds criminal conversation with an Aryan woman, he should be burnt alive in a fire of straws.[11] Vasishṭha (XXI, 1-5) extends the scope of Baudhāyana's law and lays down that if a Śūdra, or a Vaiśya, or a Kshatriya commits adultery with a woman of a higher caste, he should be burnt alive ; and that the woman should be taken out naked on the back of a donkey to a public road after her head has been shaved. Gautama (XXIII, 14) who prescribes the highest penalty for an adulteress states that an adulteress guilty of holding crimi-

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nal conversation with a male of a lower caste should be caused to be devoured publicly by dogs. However, Āpastamba prescribes no such penalty but only penances for an adulteress, as noted above. Similarly Baudhāyana (II, 2, 3, 49-51) also prescribes only penances for an adulteress.

DEFAMATION, ASSAULT AND HOMICIDE

Gautama lays down the following penalties for a Śūdra who commits defamation and violence : "If a Śūdra intentionally reviles twice-born men by criminal abuse, or if he criminally assaults them with blows, he should be deprived of the limb with which he offends."[12] As regards offenders belonging to the other castes, Gautama says, "A Kshatriya shall be fined one hundred Kārshāpaṇas, if he abuses a Brāhmaṇa. A Vaiśya who abuses a Brāhmaṇa shall pay a fine of one hundred and fifty Kārshāpaṇas. But a Brāhmaṇa who abuses a Kshatriya shall pay a fine of fifty Kārshāpaṇas ; he shall pay a fine of twenty-five Kārshāpaṇas, if he abuses a Vaiśya ; and he shall pay no fine, if he abuses a Śūdra. If a Kshatriya and a Vaiśya abuse each other, they shall pay the same fine as a Brāhmaṇa and a Kshatriya."[13]

Prescribing penalties for homicide, Baudhāyana says, "A Brāhmaṇa who murders a Brāhmaṇa shall be branded with the sign of a headless trunk on his forehead and banished. If a Kshatriya and persons of other lower castes murder a Brāhmaṇa, their property shall be confiscated and they shall suffer capital punishment."[14] Baudhāyana further lays down that if a Kshatriya is murdered, a thousand cows together with a bull must be given by the offender to the king as wergeld (*Vaira-niryātanam, i.e.* in order to pay off enmity) ; that a hundred cows together with a bull should be given to the king, if a Vaiśya is murdered ; and that ten cows together with a bull should be given to the king, if a Śūdra is murdered.[15]

Prescribing penalties for assault and abuse, Āpastamba says, "The tongue of a Śūdra who speaks ill of a virtuous person belonging to any of the three higher castes shall be cut out. In case a Śūdra commits homicide or theft, or appropriates land, his property shall be confiscated and he shall suffer capital punishment. But if these offences are committed by a Brāhmaṇa, he shall be made blind (by tying a cloth over his eyes, according to Haradatta)." [16]

THEFT

The Dharmasūtras prescribe the following punishment for the theft of gold : "He who has stolen gold shall approach, keeping his

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hair dishevelled and holding a club in his hand, the king of his country and request him to punish him. The thief is then purified of his guilt, whether he is slain or pardoned by the king. The king should strike the thief with that club. The king who relents incurs sin".[17] Gautama (XII, 12-15) lays down the following penalties for theft : "If a Śūdra appropriates property by theft, he shall be made to repay eightfold value of that property to the owner. If the same crime is committed by members of the higher castes, the fine shall be successively doubled, that is, sixteenfold, thirty-twofold, and sixty-fourfold value of the stolen property shall be paid by a Vaiśya, a Kshatriya, and a Brāhmaṇa respectively to the owner. Thus punishment is to be increased very much, if the offender is a learned person. If fruits, green corn, and vegetables are stolen in a small quantity, a fine amounting to five *Kṛishṇalas* shall be imposed on the offender.." In this connection Āpastamba says, "He who has unintentionally taken the property of another shall be reprimanded, in case the property consists of fuel, water, roots, flowers, fruits, perfumes, fodder, or vegetables. But if he intentionally takes such property, his garment shall be taken away. If a person faced with starvation takes away food to save his life, he shall not be punished."[18]

DAMAGE TO CROPS

According to Gautama, if the crop is damaged by cattle the owner of the cattle shall be held responsible for the damage, but if the cattle were left to the care of a herdsman, he is responsible for the damage; and if the damage is done to the crop in an unenclosed field near the road, its responsibility falls on both the herdsman and the owner of the field. For the damage caused by a cow a fine of five *Māshas* shall be paid ; a fine of six *Māshas* shall be paid, if the damage is done by a camel or a donkey ; a fine of ten *Māshas* should be paid, when the damage is done by a horse or a buffalo ; and a fine of two *Māshas* is to be imposed, when the damage is done by sheep or goats. If the whole crop is destroyed, the value of the crop must be paid to the owner, and the above-prescribed fine should also be imposed.

Āpastamba (II, 11, 28, 5) states that if cattle, leaving their stable, damage the crops of other persons, the owner of the crops or the servant of the king may make such cattle lean by impounding them, but no excess should be committed in such a punishment.

ABETMENT IN CRIMES

Abetment in crimes was also regarded as a crime. Gautama

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(XII, 46-47) states that if a person knowingly renders assistance to a thief he should be treated as a thief, and that a similar treatment should be meted out to that person who knowingly receives goods from a thief or an unrighteous person.

THE VIOLATION OF CASTE-ORDER AND DUTIES

It was considered a crime to violate caste-order, and punishments were prescribed for such offences. It is laid down in the Dharmasūtras that if a Śūdra assumes a position of equality with the Dvijas in talking, sitting, or sleeping, or on the road, or on a couch, he shall undergo corporal punishment.[20] Gautama (XII, 4) goes even further and states that if a Śūdra intentionally listens to a recitation of the Veda, his ears shall be filled with molten tin or lac ; that if a Śūdra recites Vedic texts, his tongue shall be cut out ; and that if he remembers them, his body shall be split into twain.

Āpastamba (II, 10, 27, 18-20) lays down that the king should keep in secret confinement that person who violates the rules of his caste or order, or any other criminal until he promises to amend his ways ; and that he should be banished, if he does not amend. Gautama lays down that if a person always neglects his prescribed duties and indulges in forbidden acts, his property excluding the amount necessary for food and clothing should be confiscated.[21]

3. CIVIL LAW

THE LAW OF PROPERTY

Gautama lays down the following laws respecting the ownership of property : "A man becomes owner of a property by inheritance, purchase, partition, acquisition (*Parigraha*), or finding. For a Brāhmaṇa the acceptance of gift is an additional mode of acquiring property. Conquest is an additional mode of acquiring property in the case of a Kshatriya. Gain by labour is an additional mode of acquiring property in the case of a Vaiśya and a Śūdra. Treasuretrove is the property of the king, excepting that which is found by a Brāhmaṇa who fulfils all his duties. According to some, a non-Brāhmaṇa finder, who announces his find to the king, should obtain one-sixth of the treasuretrove. The property of minors must be protected by the State until they attain majority or complete their studentship."[22]

Regarding ownership through possession Gautama (XII, 34-36) states that if the property of a person who is neither an idiot nor a minor is enjoyed by others before his eyes for ten years, it belongs to the person who enjoys it ; but it is made clear that this law will not

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hold good, if the property is used by Śrotriyas, ascetics, or State officials ; and that animals, land, and women are never lost to the owner, even though they are used by another person for any length of time.

THE LAW OF PARTITION AND SUCCESSION

The partition of paternal property may be effected during father's lifetime with his consent or after his death.[23] No partition should, however, be made of water, property dedicated to pious uses or sacrifices, prepared food, and women connected with the members of the family.[24] Āpastamba (II, 6, 14, 16-19) puts forward the view that no partition takes place between husband and wife, because from the time of marriage they are united for the performance of religious ceremonies, for the rewards of works that bring forth spiritual merit, and for the acquisition of property.

Sons begotten by a man on his legal wife are entitled to inherit his estate, provided they do not sin against either of their parents.[25] Gautama (XXVIII, 5) prescribes an additional share for the eldest son. But Baudhāyana (II, 2, 3, 3-7) says that the property should be divided equally among all the sons, or the eldest son may take the best part of the property, or the eldest son may additionally take one-tenth of the whole property and the rest of the property may be equally divided. Āpastamba (II, 6, 14, 6-14) pleads against any sort of preference being given to the eldest son in partition and holds that the property should be divided equally among all the virtuous sons. Gautama and Baudhāyana allot varying portions of ancestral property to the sons born of wives of different castes. Gautama (XXVIII, 36-40) lays down the following injunctions : "The son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Kshatriyā wife, being even the eldest and endowed with good qualities, shares equally with a younger brother born of a Brāhmaṇī wife ; and he, as the eldest son, shall get no additional share. If there are sons begotten by a Brāhmaṇa on wives from the Kshatriya and Vaiśya castes, the division of the estate between them takes place according to the same rules as govern the division of property between the son borne by a Kshatriyā wife and the son borne by a Brāhmaṇī wife. And the sons of a Kshatriya father from a Kshatriyā wife and from a Vaiśyā wife share the estate in the same manner. The son borne by a Śūdrā wife also, if he is obedient like a pupil, receives a provision for maintenance out of the estate of his Brāhmaṇa father who has no male issue from another wife belonging to a higher caste." In another Sūtra (XXVIII, 46), Gautama states that the sons begotten

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by men of lower castes on women of higher castes should be treated like sons begotten by a Brāhmaṇa on a Śūdrā wife. Baudhāyana follows a different course in dividing the estate among sons borne by wives of different castes, and says, "When there are sons borne by wives of different castes, the whole estate should be divided into ten parts. The sons borne by wives from Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra castes should take four parts, three parts, two parts and one part respectively."[26]

Out of *twelve* types of sons enumerated by Gautama, only six types of sons are entitled to inherit the estate. The six types of sons who are entitled to inheritance are the following : (1) *Aurasa* who is begotten by the father himself on his married wife of equal caste ; (2) *Kshetraja* who is begotten by a kinsman through *Niyoga* ; (3) *Datta*, an adopted son ; (4) *Kṛitrima* who is willingly accepted as son by a person of equal caste ; (5) *Gūḍhotpanna* who is born secretly in the house, his fatherhood being unknown ; and (6) *Apaviddha* who, after having been abandoned by his natural parents, is accepted as son by another person.[27] The other six types of sons who inherit only the *Gotra* of the family and not the property are the following : (1) *Kānīna* who is born of an unmarried damsel ; (2) *Sahoḍha*, if a bride is already pregnant at the time of marriage, the son born out of that pregnancy is called Sahoḍha ; (3) *Paunarbhava*, the son born of a woman who has taken a second husband, after having given up or being given up by her first husband, or after the death of her first husband ; (4) *Putrikāputra*, the son born of a brotherless daughter who is given in marriage on the condition that the son born of her shall belong to her father ; (5) *Svayaṁdatta* who, being deprived of his natural parents, offers himself to another man as his son ; and (6) *Krīta* who is bought from his natural parents.[28] To this list of sons, Baudhāyana adds two more types of sons, *viz. Nishāda* and *Pāraśava* : the son begotten by a Brāhmaṇa on his Śūdrā wife is called Nishāda, and the son begotten by a Brāhmaṇa on that Śūdrā wife who was taken merely to satisfy carnal desires is called Pāraśava.[29] According to Baudhāyana, a Putrikāputra is also entitled to inherit both property and Gotra, and a Nishāda type of son may inherit Gotra only, whereas a Pāraśava son shares neither.[30] According to the view of Aupajaṅghani quoted by Baudhāyana, only the Aurasa son is entitled to inheritance.[31] Gautama provides that in default of the first six types of sons the remaining types of sons may receive one-fourth of the estate as inheritance.[32] According to Vasishṭha (XVII, 12-39), Aurasa, Kshetraja, Putrikāputra, Paunarbhava, Kānīna and Gūḍhoṭ-

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panna sons are entitled to inheritance ; and the remaining six types of sons, *viz.* Sahoḍha, Dattaka, Krīta, Svayaṁdatta, Apaviddha and Śūdrāputra (born of a Śūdrā wife) are not entitled to inheritance in the ordinary course, but inherit on the failure of the first six types of sons.

The Dharmasūtras lay down certain rules relating to *disinheritance.* Gautama (XXVIII, 41) says, "According to some authorities, the son born of a wife of equal caste also shall not get inheritance, if he lives unrighteously." Āpastamba (II, 6, 14, 15) opines that even the eldest son should be disinherited, if he squanders money unrighteously. A son begotten by some one else on a widow, whose former husband's brother is alive, is not entitled to inherit the property of his mother's former husband.[33] Idiots, eunuchs and degraded persons are debarred from inheritance ; they must, however, be provided with maintenance.[34] But the male offspring of an idiot receives his father's share of inheritance.[35]

When a man dies without a son, his property is to be inherited by his other heirs. According to Gautama, the property of a person who dies without a son shall be shared by his *Sapiṇḍas* (persons connected through Piṇḍa, *i.e.* blood relations), *Sagotras* (persons connected by the same Gotra), those connected by descent from the same *Ṛishi*, and his wife.[36] Āpastamba lays down that on the failure of sons the nearest *Sapiṇḍa* inherits the property ; on the failure of Sapiṇḍas the *Āchārya* (spiritual teacher) inherits; and on the failure of a spiritual teacher a pupil of the deceased should inherit the property and use it for religious rites to be performed for the deceased, or he may enjoy it himself ; or the daughter of the deceased may inherit the property.[37] If a brother who is not reunited after the partition dies without a son, his property is to be inherited by the eldest brother.[38] The property of an heirless deceased escheats to the king.[39] But the property of such a Brāhmaṇa is to be divided among the Śrotriyas, according to Gautama (XXVIII, 42) and Vasishṭha (XVII, 84-87).

Gautama (XXVIII, 29-32) lays down the following rules regarding the inheritance of coparceners : "If a reunited coparcener dies without any male issue, his reunited coparcener inherits the property. A son born after partition takes exclusively the estate of his father. A learned coparcener may, at his pleasure, not give his unlearned coparceners what he earned through his own efforts. But the unlearned coparceners should equally divide their earnings."

Strīdhana (separate property of women) : Now we turn to the inheritance of the separate property of women. Āpastamba says, "Ornaments and, according to some, presents received from her

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relatives constitute the separate property of the wife."[40] A woman's separate property (*Strīdhana*) goes to her unmarried daughters and ,on the failure of unmarried daughters, to her poor married daughters.[41] A sister's fee, *i.e.*, the money which the father has accepted from the bridegroom to give away his daughter at an *Āsura* or *Ārsha* marriage, belongs after father's death to her uterine brothers, if her mother is dead ; according to some, it belongs to them, even when the mother is alive.[42]

Damages for Breach of Contract : Āpastamba (II, 11, 28, 1-4. 6) lays down the following rules regarding damages for breach of contract:

If a person who has taken a lease of land for cultivation does not exert himself and consequently the land bears no crop, he shall be made, if he is rich, to pay to the owner of the land a sum equivalent to the value of the crop that might have ordinarily grown on it. A servant in tillage who leaves his work shall be flogged. The same punishment shall be inflicted on a herdsman who leaves his work, and the flock of cattle entrusted to him shall be taken away and entrusted to another herdsman. If a herdsman who has taken cattle under his care allows them to perish or loses them through his negligence, he shall replace them or pay damages to the owner.

The Rate of Interest : Laws relating to the rate of interest on money advanced as a loan have already been discussed above in Chap. VII (p. 144).

The Law of Marriage : Laws and customs concerning marriage will be fully discussed below in Chap. XI. However, laws concerning re-marriage and Niyoga will be dealt with in Chap. XX.

4. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The administration of justice was an important function of the State. Gautama enjoins upon the king to inflict lawful punishments on offenders.[43] Āpastamba declares that if the king does not punish offenders, the guilt falls upon him.[44]

JUDGES

Generally the king himself acted as a judge (*Prāḍvivāka*) and administered justice ; however, if the king was unable to dispense justice due to pressure of work, a Brāhmaṇa learned in the Śāstras could be appointed to deal out justice.[45] With regard to the qualifications of judges, Āpastamba says, "Men of learning, pure descent, mature age, and ripe judgment who are conscientious in the discharge of their duties concernin caste and order, shall be judges in lawsuits."[46]

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PARISHAD

The Dharmasūtras recommend the constitution of a *Parishad* (council) to give expert legal advice in complicated and doubtful cases of law. In this connection Gautama (XXVIII, 49-53) says, "In doubtful cases of law that course must be adopted, which is recommended by at least ten such persons as are well instructed, adept in reasoning, and free from greed. It is held that a council (*Parishad*) should consist at least of the following ten members : four persons who have each thoroughly studied the four Vedas ; three persons belonging to the three orders (Āśramas) enumerated first (III, 2), *i.e.* a Brahmachārin, a Gṛihastha (householder), and a Saṁnyāsin ; and three persons who are well versed in three different institutes of law. But in the absence of such a council the decision of a Śrotriya well versed in the Veda should be followed in a doubtful case of law ; for such a scholar is incapable of doing unjust harm or favour to anyone." Baudhāyana (I, 1, 1, 7-8) lays down that in the absence of *Śishṭas* (*supra*, p. 189) whose conduct is a source of law, the decision of a council (*Parishad*) consisting of not less than ten members should be followed ; and that the council should consist at least of the following ten members : four persons who each know one of the four Vedas, a specialist in Mīmāṁsā (*Vikalpin*), a person proficient in all branches of learning auxiliary to the Vedas (*Aṅgavid*), one who specially studies works on Dharma (*Dharmapāṭhaka*), and three Brāhmaṇas belonging to the three Āśramas, *i.e.* a Brahmachārin, a Gṛihastha, and a Saṁnyāsin. The Vas. D. S. (III, 20) has the same verse, and Manu (XII, 111) slightly differs from Baudhāyana. Baudhāyana (I, 1, 1, 9) allows the option that in lieu of ten members, there may be five or three members, or only one member who is free from blemish. But in another verse (I, 1, 1, 13) Baudhāyana opines that, since the course of Dharma which has many doors is very subtle and hard to tread, a single person, even if he is very learned, should never give judgment in a doubtful case of law.

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE

Plaint and Reply : The plaintiff was to approach the judge (*Prāḍvivāka*) humbly to seek justice.[47] That the plaint was committed to writing seems to be suggested by Gautama (XIII, 5). Then the defendant was summoned by the court to submit his reply to the plaint. If the defendant was unable to reply to the plaint immediately, he might be allowed time, extending up to one year, to

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submit his defence.[48] But the defendant had to reply immediately in a case concerning cows, draught oxen, women, or the procreation of offspring ; similarly a prompt reply was demanded in a case that might suffer due to delay.[49]

Evidence : If the accused disputed the charges levelled against him by the plaintiff, the latter was called upon to produce evidence in support of his case. So Gautama (XIII, 1) states that in disputed cases the truth should be established with the help of witnesses. Āpastamba (II, 11, 29, 6) lays down that in doubtful cases the truth should be ascertained by inference, ordeals, and the like means (*i.e.* by cross-examination—Haradatta).

Vasishṭha (XVI, 10) recognizes three kinds of proofs, *viz.* written documents, witnesses, and possession. The older Sūtras do not mention written documents as a means of proof. Though Āpastamba speaks of ordeals as a means of ascertaining the truth, he gives no details. Gautama and Baudhāyana are silent on ordeals. The Sūtras lay down many rules about witnesses. Important rules regarding witnesses are set out below.

Persons belonging to all the four castes were eligible to appear as witnesses.[50] Gautama (XIII, 2-3) states that in each case there should be many witnesses (not less than three) who are free from blemish in regard to the performance of their duties, who are worthy of being trusted by the king, and who have no prejudice in favour of or against either party. A Śrotriya, a prince, and an ascetic were exempted from appearing in the court as witnesses, and a person having no relatives was debarred from being a witness.[51] Gautama (XIII, 5) says that a Brāhmaṇa must not be forced to give evidence at the word of a non-Brāhmaṇa unless he is mentioned in the plaint.

Witnesses had to take an oath to speak the truth ; in the case of non-Brāhmaṇa witnesses, the oath was administered in the presence of the gods (*i.e.* fire and water, or images of gods, according to some), the king, and Brāhmaṇas.[52] A witness was exhorted to speak the truth and was told that he would commit a grave sin by telling a lie in the court.[53] According to Āpastamba (II, 11, 29, 7), a person who is possessed of good qualities may be called as a witness, and shall truthfully answer the questions put to him on an auspicious day, in the morning, before kindled fire, standing near a jar full of water, in the presence of the king, and with the consent of all, after he has been exhorted by the judge to be fair to both the parties. Witnesses were not to speak singly or without being asked, and if they did not answer any question, they were held guilty of contempt of court.[54] According to

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Gautama (XIII, 9-11), persons not mentioned in the plaint must also give evidence ; no objection can be raised against the competence of witnesses in a case of criminal violence ; and in such a case their evidence will not be ruled out, even if they have spoken inadvertently. Perjury was considered to be an offence. The Dharmasūtras lay down that a witness who tells a lie before the court must be punished by the king.[55]

Judgment : It was the first and foremost duty of a judge to determine the facts of the case carefully through cross-examination, inferences, etc. ; and he was to pronounce his judgment finally, after he had ascertained the truth in every possible way.[56]

The benefit of doubt was always given to the accused. So Āpastamba lays down that the king should not punish any person in case of doubt.[57] It is also laid down in the Dharmasūtras that at the time of awarding punishment the judge should give full consideration to the status and physical capacity of the offender, to the nature of the crime, and also to the fact whether the crime has been committed for the first time or it has been repeated.[58]

Pardon : Pardon could be granted to a convict if his case for pardon was recommended by a committee of three or four persons learned in the Vedas.[59] According to Āpastamba, a convict may be granted pardon on the intercession of an Āchārya (a spiritual teacher), a Ṛitvij (an officiating priest), a Snātaka, or the king, but a convict sentenced to death was not granted pardon.[60] The commentator Haradatta explains that as a result of intercession mutilation of limbs may be commuted to a fine, a fine to flogging, and flogging to a reprimand.

Notes and References

1. तस्यच्च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यंगान्युपवेदाः पुराणम् । देशजातिकुलधर्माश्चाम्नायैरविरुद्धाः प्रमाणम् ॥ गौ० ध० XI, 21-22. *Cf.* Baudh. D.S.I, 1, 2, 6-9 ; Ap. D.S. II, 6, 15, 1.
2. कर्षक-वणिक्-पशुपाल-कुसीदि-कारवः स्वे स्वे वर्गे । तेभ्यो यथाऽधिकारमर्थान् प्रत्यवहृत्य धर्मव्यवस्था ॥ गौ० ध० XI, 23-24.
3. न शारीरो ब्राह्मणदण्डः ॥ गौ० ध० XII, 43.
4. Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 17. *Cf.* Gaut. D. S. VIII, 13 ; Manu VIII, 380.
5. Gaut. D. S. XII, 44 : Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 18.
6. Gaut. D. S. XII, 12-14. *Cf.* Manu VIII, 337-38.
7. Gaut. D. S. XII, 2-3 ; *cf.* Manu VIII, 359 ; Yaj. II, 286.
8. Ap. D. S. II, 10, 26, 18-24 ; II, 10, 27, 1.
9. Ap. D. S. II, 10, 27, 8-11.

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10. Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 18.
11. Baudh. D. S. II, 2, 3, 53.
12. Gaut. D. S. XII, 1. *Cf.* Manu VIII, 279-80.
13. Gaut. D. S. XII, 6-11. *Cf.* Manu VIII, 267-68.
14. Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 18-19.
15. Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 19, 1-2 ; *cf.* Ap. D. S. I, 19, 24, 1-4.
16. Ap. D. S. II, 10, 27, 14. 16. 17.
17. Gaut. D. S. XII, 40-42 ; Baudh. D. S. II, 1, 1, 15-16 ; Ap. D. S. I, 9, 25, 4-5.
18. Ap. D. S. II, 11, 28, 10-12. *Cf.* Manu VIII, 339-41.
19. Gaut. D. S. XII, 16-23. *Cf.* Manu VIII, 238-43.
20. Gaut. D. S. XII, 5 ; Ap. D. S. II, 10, 27, 15.
21. शिष्टाकरणे प्रतिषिद्धसेवायां च नित्यं चैलपिण्डादूर्ध्वं स्वहरणम् ॥ गौ० ध० XII, 24.
22. Gaut. D.S. X, 38-45. *Pratigraha* means appropriation of forest trees etc. ,having no owner. *Finding* means the obtaining of lost property the owner of which is unknown.
23. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 1-2 ; Baudh. D. S. II, 2, 3, 8 ; Ap. D. S. II, 6, 14, 1.
24. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 47-48. *Cf.* Manu IX, 219.
25. Ap. D. S. II, 6, 13, 1-2.
26. Baudh. D. S. II, 2, 3, 10 ; *cf.* Manu IX, 153.
27. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 33 ; *cf.* Baudh. D. S. II, 2, 3, 14. 17-27.
28. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 34 ; *cf.* Baudh. D. S. II, 2, 3, 15-16 and 24-28.
29. Baudh. D. S. II, 2, 3, 29-30 ; *cf.* Manu IX, 178.
30. Baudh. D. S. II, 2, 3, 31-32.
31. Baudh. D. S. II, 2, 3, 33.
32. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 35.
33. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 24 ; *cf.* Manu IX, 143-44.
34. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 44 ; Baudh. D. S. II, 2, 3, 38-41 ; Ap. D. S. II, 6, 14, 1 ; Vas. D. S. XVII, 53-54.
35. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 45 ; *cf.* Manu IX, 203 ; Yaj. II, 141.
36. पिण्डगोत्रर्षिसम्बन्धा रिक्थं भजेरन् । स्त्री चानपत्यस्य ॥ गौ० ध० XXVIII, 21-22.

The text of the sūtras given here is in accordance with the reading of the Mysore edition, and Haradatta also accepts this reading in his commentary. But according to the Ānandāśrama Skt. Series Edition of this Sūtra and according to Jīmūtavāhana and Vijñāneśvara also, the reading is : *strī vā*, which means 'or the wife may inherit'. *See* Chapter XI for the meaning of Sapiṇḍa, Sagotra and Samāna-pravara.

37. Ap. D.S. II, 6, 14, 2-4. The commentator Haradatta says, "Regarding the daughter's case, some say that she inherits on the failure of sons ; others say that she inherits on the failure of pupils only." Bühler, in the SBE, vol. II, p. 134, prefers the latter explanation.

38. असंसृष्टिविभागः प्रेतानां ज्येष्ठस्य ॥ गौ० ध० XXVIII, 28.
39. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 43 ; Ap. D. S. II, 6, 14, 5 ; Vas. D. S. XVII, 83.
40. अलंकारो भार्याया ज्ञातिधनं चेत्येके ॥ आप० ध० II, 6, 14, 9. *Cf.* Manu. IX, 194.
41. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 25 ; Baudh. D. S. II, 2, 3, 44 ; Vas. D. S. XVII, 46. *Cf.* Manu, IX, 192 ; Yaj. II, 145.

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42. Gaut. D. S. XXVIII, 26-27.

43. न्याय्यदण्डत्वम् ॥ गौ० ध० X, 8. *Cf. ibid.* XI, 30.

44. Ap. D. S. II, 11, 28, 13 ; *cf.* Gaut. D. S. XII, 45.

45. राजा प्राड्विवाको ब्राह्मणो वा शास्त्रवित् ॥ गौ० ध० XIII, 26, *Cf. ibid.* XIII, 31, Vas. D.S. XVI, 2 ; Manu. VIII 9.

46. विवादे विद्याभिजनसम्पन्ना वृद्धा मेधाविनो धर्मेष्वविनिपातिनः ॥

आप० ध० II, 11, 29, 5.

47. Gaut. D. S. XIII, 27. Haradatta explains that it is not for the judge to invite litigation. *Cf.* Manu VIII, 43.

48. Gaut. D. S. XIII, 28.

49. Gaut. D. S. XIII, 29. *Cf.* Yaj. II, 12.

50. Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 19, 16 ; Gaut. D. S. XIII, 4 ; Vas. D.S. XVI, 29.

51. Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 19, 16. *Cf.* Manu, VIII, 65-67.

52. Gaut. D. S. XIII, 13-14 ; Ap. D. S. II, 11, 29, 7.

53. Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 19, 9-15 ; Gaut. D. S. XIII, 15-22. *Cf.* Manu VIII, 88-101.

54. नासमवेता अपृष्टा प्रब्रूयुः । अवचने च दोषिणः स्युः ॥ गौ० ध० XIII, 6-7.

55. Gaut. D. S. XIII, 23 ; Ap. D. S. II, 11, 29. 8 ; *cf.* Manu VIII, 119-23.

56. Ap. D. S. II, 5, 11, 3 ; *ibid.* II, 11, 29, 6 ; Gaut. D. S. XI, 25-26.

57. न च सन्देहे दण्डं कुर्यात् ॥ आप० ध० II, 5, 11, 2.

58. Gaut. D. S. XII, 48 ; Baudh. D. S. I, 10, 18, 20 ; Vas. D. S. XIX, 9.

59. अनुज्ञानं वा वेदवित्समवायवचनात् ॥ गौ० ध० XIII, 46.

60. आचार्य ऋत्विक् स्नातको राजेति त्राणं स्युरन्यत्र वध्यात् ॥ आप० ध० II, 10, 27 21.

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CHAPTER XI

MARRIAGE LAWS AND CUSTOMS

Numerous points of marked resemblance between the marriage customs of the Indo-Aryans, the Parsees, the Romans and other Aryan peoples point out that the institution of marriage among the Aryans was already in a highly developed stage in the remote past when their forbears were living together in a common homeland.[1] The marriage-hymn (X, 85) of the Ṛigveda leaves no doubt as to the popularity of marriage in the Vedic age. The fourteenth Kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda consists entirely of such Mantras as are connected with marriage. The Brāhmaṇas speak highly of marriage. The Panch. Br. says, "Heaven and earth were once together; when they were separated, they said: 'Let us bring about a marriage, let there be co-operation between us.'"[2] Married life is highly praised in the Brāhmaṇa literature. The Sat. Br. opines that a man becomes complete only after he has taken a wife.[3]

The tenor of the Sūtra literature prefers married life to the ascetic one. The Gṛihyasūtras lay down that a Snātaka should take a wife after he has completed his education at his teacher's house.[4] Eulogizing married life, Baudhāyana says, "The teachers have recognized only one Āśrama (*i.e.* Gṛihastha), because there is no procreation of progeny in the other Āśramas. In this connection they cite the view that there was an Asura named *Kapila*, the son of Prahlāda; being jealous of the gods, he created these differences (of Āśramas). A wise person should, therefore, not honour these differences."[5] Though the Dharmasūtras recognize Saṁnyāsa as a stage of life and lay down rules of conduct for the Saṁnyāsins,[6] the injunctions of the Gṛihyasūtras which enjoin upon the householder to tend the *Gṛihyāgni* (sacred domestic fire) till his last breath preclude the possibility of his becoming a Saṁnyāsin at any stage of his life.[7] However, in later times these injunctions of the Gṛihyasūtras were reconciled with the doctrine of Saṁnyāsa.

The procreation of progeny and the attainment of spiritual merit through mutual co-operation were regarded as the chief purposes of Aryan marriage.[8] It was believed that every Ārya was born with three debts, that is, a debt due to the Ṛishis, a debt due to the Pitṛis, and a debt due to the gods; and that the debt due to the Pitṛis could be discharged by the procreation

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of progeny.[9] Marriage was, therefore, considered as an essential means of discharging the debt due to the Pitṛis. All the Mantras which are to be recited at the marriage ceremony show in clear terms that the chief aim of marriage, according to the Gṛihyasūtras, consists in the procreation of progeny. According to our Sūtras, marriage was not a contract which could be abrogated at the will of either party. Marriage, on the contrary, was regarded as an indissoluble bond uniting two souls. Both the bridegroom and the bride addressed the following prayer to the gods before the nuptial fire: "May the Viśvedevas and the waters (*Āpas*) unite our hearts. May Mātṛiśvan, Dhātṛi, and Deshṭṛi join us together."[10]

1. FORMS OF MARRIAGE

The Sūtras attach great importance to the form of marriage. It was believed that if the form of marriage was solemn and dignified the progeny born out of it would be good and noble. Baudhāyana quotes a saying that the quality of the progeny depends upon the form of marriage.[11] The same view is expressed by Āpastamba in almost the same words.[12]

The Sūtras mention eight forms of marriage, namely, Brāhma, Daiva, Prājāpatya, Ārsha, Gāndharva, Āsura, Rākshasa, and Paiśācha. The Ap. D. S. and the Vas. D. S. omit Prājāpatya and Paiśācha forms of marriage. These eight forms of marriage are defined in the Sūtras as follows:

(1) *Brāhma*: If the father, pouring a libation of water, gives away in marriage his daughter adorned with ornaments to a suitable man of virtuous conduct and great learning, who has been invited and honourably received by the father himself, it is called the Brāhma form of marriage.[13]

(2) *Daiva*: The gift of a daughter decked with ornaments to an officiating priest (*Ṛitvij*) who is performing a Śrauta sacrifice for the giver, during the course of its performance, is called the Daiva form of marriage.[14]

(3) *Prājāpatya*: If the father gives away his daughter in marriage, after having addressed the bridegroom and the bride with the words: "May both of you perform together your duties", and after having shown due honour to the bridegroom, it is called the Prājāpatya form of marriage.[15]

(4) *Ārsha*: If the father gives away his daughter according to the sacred law, after having received from the bridegroom a cow and a bull, it is called the Ārsha form of marriage.[16]

(5) *Gāndharva*: If a maiden and her lover unite themselves

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through love, it is called the Gāndharva form of marriage.[17]

(6) *Āsura* : If a suitor obtains a maiden, after having gladdened her kinsmen with money, it is called the Āsura form of marriage.[18] The Vas. D. S. (I, 35) calls it *Mānusha* form of marriage.

(7) *Rākshasa* : If a maiden in tears is forcibly abducted from her home by the bridegroom or his companions, after slaying or wounding her relatives, it is called the Rākshasa form of marriage.[19] According to the Vas. D. S. (I, 34), it is called *Kshātra* form of marriage. It is strongly condemned by the Sūtras.

(8) *Paiśācha* : If a man carries off or seduces a maiden who is unconscious through sleep or intoxication, it is called the Paiśācha form of marriage.[20] This form of marriage is also condemned by all the authorities on Dharma.

The Man. G. S. mentions only two forms of marriage, namely, *Brāhma* and *Śaulka* ; in the latter form of marriage a chariot with a hundred cows, or a cow and a bull are given as a fee to the guardian of the bride.[21] In so far as the bride-fee consists of a cow and a bull, the Śaulka form of marriage is not different from the *Ārsha* form of marriage. In the Kath. G. S. the fee (*Śulka*) of a bride is mentioned in terms of gold.[22] This form of marriage is therefore identical with the Āsura form of marriage. At the end of the description of nuptial rites the Kaus. S. (79, 31) declares, "This is the *Saurya* form of marriage", and mentions *Brāhma* (v. l. Brāhmya) and *Prājāpatya* in the following two sūtras.

Out of the eight forms of marriage described above, only the first four are generally countenanced by the Sūtras.[23] Gautama (IV, 15) states that some teachers approve of the first six forms of marriage. In this connection Baudhāyana (I, 11, 20, 10-15) says, "Out of these forms of marriage the first four are recommended for a Brāhmaṇa ; among these four also each preceding form of marriage is better than the following one. Of the remaining four forms each succeeding form is more sinful than the preceding one ; and among them, too, the sixth (Āsura) and the seventh (Rākshasa) are in accordance with the disposition of the Kshatriyas, because strength is the predominant trait of their character. The fifth (Gāndharva) and the eighth (Paiśācha) are for the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras respectively, because they do not exercise proper control over their wives due to their preoccupation with tillage and service". The Brāhma form of marriage is thus the best form of marriage ; and it is, therefore, extolled by all the Sūtras,

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GĀNDHARVA FORM OF MARRIAGE

The Gāndharva form of marriage, *i.e.* marriage by love, is also praised by some authorities. Baudhāyana says, "The Gāndharva form is also recommended for all castes by some authorities, because it is based on mutual love."[21] Similarly Bhāradvāja and Āpastamba also refer to the view of some authorities who are in favour of love-match (*vide* Chap. II, notes 90 and 92). The Dharmasūtras permit a maiden to choose her husband under the following circumstances : "A marriageable maiden who is not given away in marriage by her guardian shall wait for three years, and afterwards she shall herself choose a suitable match, having given up the ornaments received from her father or family."[25] The *Svayaṁvara* of the epics and the Purāṇas, wherein a maiden chooses a husband for herself from an assembly of suitors, is not mentioned in our Sūtras.

RĀKSHASA AND PAIŚĀCHA FORMS OF MARRIAGE

The Rākshasa form of marriage is a marriage by capture, and the Paiśācha form is a marriage by seduction. Both of these forms have been relentlessly condemned by the Sūtras. Their mention in the Sūtras cannot be taken to mean that violence or fraud is legalized therein ; these forms are mentioned there with a view to condemning such practices. The Sūtras mean to point out that though some people resort to such means for securing wives, these methods are abhorrent and condemnable. Macnaghten's view that the Paiśācha form of marriage is an instance where fraud is legalized by Hindu law is absolutely erroneous and misleading.[26] The Sūtras do not mean to confer legality on acts of fraud or violence ; for they prescribe deterrent punishments for raping a maiden (*supra*, Chap. X). Further, it is expressly declared by the Dharmasūtras that a damsel who has been abducted by force and has not been wedded with sacred texts (Mantras) should be lawfully given to another man ; for she is as good as a virgin.[27] Āpastamba holds that a woman who has unfortunately fallen a victim to rape or seduction should be treated as quite pure and guiltless after she has undergone penances, because the relation of husband and wife is established through law (*Dharma*) and not by force or fraud.[28]

Factum valet : In spite of the fact that the Paiśācha and Rākshasa forms of marriage have been unequivocally condemned by the Sūtra-writers, the maxim of *factum valet* was recognized and the girl was regarded to have been married according to these forms of marriage, when her abduction or seduction had

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become an accomplished fact. The Dharmasūtras had to acquiesce in the maxim of *factum valet* with a view to conferring the status of a legal wife on the girl so abducted or seduced ; otherwise the unfortunate girl would be looked down upon as a mere concubine and her progeny which would be regarded as illegitimate could claim neither social status nor any right to inheritance. It is thus obvious that by recognizing the maxim of *factum valet* the Sūtra-writers displayed a broader vision of social problems arising from abduction and seduction of girls.

2. ESSENTIAL RITES OF ARYAN MARRIAGE

The performance of certain rites was considered to be essential for the validity of an Aryan marriage. Though the marriage rites differed in minutiae from place to place and family to family, as we shall see below, yet certain essential rites were common to all. The most important rites of the Aryan marriage, which have been described by all the Gṛihyasūtras, include the following : the performance of the *Homa* (offering of Ājya oblations into the fire), *Pāṇigrahaṇa* (taking hold of the bride's hand), *Lājahoma* (offering of fried grains into the fire), *Aśmārohaṇa* (making the bride tread on a millstone), *Agni-Pradakshiṇā* (the circumambulation of the nuptial fire by the couple), and *Saptapadī* (walking together seven steps). The details of all these rites are given in the next Chapter.

Of all the marriage rites mentioned above the *Saptapadī* is regarded as the most important. Marriage becomes complete and irrevocable, only on the completion of the Saptapadī.[29] According to a verse found in the Parāśara Dharma Saṁhitā, a woman becomes one with her husband in respect of *Piṇḍa, Gotra* and *Sūtaka* (pollution) on the completion of marriage ; and she loses her father's Gotra on the seventh step.[30] Prior to the Saptapadī marriage is incomplete and revocable. So it is said in the Smṛitichandrikā that if the bridegroom dies before the completion of the Saptapadī, the bride is still a maiden and not a widow.[31]

3. ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

ENDOGAMY

Endogamy appears to have been the order of the day in the age of our Sūtras, for the Gṛihyas lay down that a man should marry a maiden belonging to his own caste.[32] A son whose father as well as mother belonged to the same caste was considered to be the best type of son known as *Aurasa*.[33] On the other hand, the sons whose father and mother belonged to different castes were not regarded with equal respect (*supra*, Chapters VI and X). This

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state of things indicates that an inter-caste marriage was then considered to be inferior to a marriage between the members of the same caste. Endogamy was, therefore, regarded as normal and inter-marriage as anomalous. The cases of inter-marriage were, however, not unknown, and it was in fact recommended by some authorities (*supra*, Chap. VI).

EXOGAMY

Gotra-exogamy : Every caste was further divided into a number of exogamous groups, and marriage between the members belonging to the same exogamous group was prohibited. Gobhila, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, and Jaimini lay down that a man should not marry a girl belonging to his own *Gotra*.[34] Gautama, Vasishṭha, and the Man. G. S. state that a man should marry a girl who does not have the same *Pravara*.[35] Gautama further declares that a man, who holds criminal conversation with a woman belonging to his own *Gotra*, commits as abhorrent a sin as that of violating his Guru's bed.[36] Baudhāyana lays down that, if a woman belonging to the same *Gotra* is taken as a wife without the previous knowledge of her *Gotra*, she should be maintained like mother ; and that the man should undergo the *Kṛichchhra* penance, if she has given birth to a child.[37] Though the word *Gotra* is used in the Ṛigveda to express many meanings according to the context, such as a cow-stall, a cloud, a fort, and a mountain range, yet 'enclosure' appears to be the main idea associated with *Gotra*.[38] Later on the word *Gotra* came to signify a group of persons living together within the same walls. In the Atharvaveda the compound *Viśvagotryaḥ* is used, and the word Gotra here means 'a group of persons connected together by blood'.[39] In the Śrauta, Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras, the term Gotra denotes a group of persons who are distinguished by the same family name (*i.e.* surname) and who are believed to have descended from the same ancestor.[40]

Pravara-exogamy : The Man. G. S., the Gaut. D. S., and the Vas. D. S. prohibit marriage between those who belong to the same *Pravara* or *Ārsheya* (*vide* notes 32 and 35). The terms Pravara and Ārsheya which are used as synonyms in the Sūtra occur frequently in the Śrautasūtras. The Śrautasūtras often employ these terms in the dictum : "The priest chooses the names of the *Ṛishis* of the sacrificer to include them in the specific formula to be recited at the sacrifice."[41] The choice of the names of such Ṛishis was not left to the discretion of the priest but was regulated by a well-established tradition. The sacrificer and the priests were

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expected to know the names of the Ṛishis whom the tradition associated with their families. Some of the Sūtras, *e.g.* the Baudh. S. S., the Asv. S. S., and the Ap. S. S., contain the list of such Ṛishis associated traditionally with the important Gotras of the Sūtra age. The number of such Ṛishis associated with each Gotra varies from one to five. The group of the Ṛishis associated traditionally with a Gotra constitutes the Pravara of the persons belonging to that Gotra. Baudhāyana says that though there are innumerable Gotras, the number of their Pravaras is forty-nine only.[42] Regarding the number of the Ṛishis in a Pravara, the Man. S. S. and Āpastamba lay down that one Ṛishi, or two, or three, or five Ṛishis may be included in a Pravara ; and Āpastamba imposes the restriction that four or more than five Ṛishis should never be chosen for inclusion in the specific formula to be recited at the sacrifice.[43] However, the Sankh. S.S. (I,4,16) does not subscribe to this view and prescribes six *Ārsheyas* (the names of Ṛishis) for a sacrificer belonging to two Gotras, *e.g.* a man who has gone as adopted son to another Gotra will have the Gotra of his adopted father as well as of his natural father. According to the Sūtras, a group of ancient *Ṛishis* (seers of the Vedas) who were believed to have been connected with the family of the sacrificer formed his *Pravara* which was recited at the performance of his sacrifices. The Pravara of certain families consisted of a single Ṛishi, as stated above.

The Parāśara Mādhavīya defines Pravara as 'a group of sages' that distinguishes the founder of one Gotra from that of another.[44] Prof. Max Müller explains Pravara as follows : "When the fire is to be consecrated, Agni Havyavāhana, the god who carries the libations to heaven, must be invoked. This invocation or invitation of Agni, is called *pravara*. Agni himself or the fire is called Ārsheya, the offspring of the Ṛishis, because the Ṛishis first lighted him at their sacrifices. He is the Hotṛi as well as the Adhvaryu among the gods. Like the Hotṛi and Adhvaryu priests, he is supposed to invite the gods to the sacrifice, and to carry himself the oblation to the seat of the immortals. When therefore a Brahman has his own fire consecrated, he wishes to declare that he is as worthy as his ancestors to offer sacrifices, and he invites Agni to carry his oblations to the gods as he did for his ancestors. The names of these ancestors must then be added to his invitation, and thus the invitation or invocation of the ancestors came to be called *pravara*."[45] The Pravara-exogamy does not seem to have had the same strictness among the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas as among the Brāhmaṇas ; for the Sūtras do not demarcate the Pravaras of the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas as fully

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as those of the Brāhmaṇas and allow many options of a general nature for the Pravaras of all the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas.[46]

Sapiṇḍa-exogamy : Another type of exogamy prescribed in the Sūtras is *Sapiṇḍa-exogamy* which disallows marriage between the *Sapiṇḍas* (consanguineous relations).[47] In case the Sapiṇḍa-relationship is pushed to the extreme, most of the members belonging to the same caste might be found to be near or distant Sapiṇḍas, and hence marriage in the same caste would be difficult. Sapiṇḍa-relationship has, therefore, been restrictively defined by the Dharmasūtras. Baudhāyana states that Sapiṇḍa-relationship extends up to the seventh ancestor, *i.e.* it ceases with the seventh ancestor.[48] Gautama holds that Sapiṇḍa-relationship ceases with the seventh or the fifth ancestor.[49] Prescribing Sapiṇḍa-exogamy, Gobhila says that a man should marry a maiden who is not a Sapiṇḍa-relation of his mother.[50] According to Vaikhānasa, a maiden who is not a Sapiṇḍa on the mother's side and who is born of a different *Ṛishi* and *Gotra* on the father's side should be chosen as a bride (*see* note 57). Āpastamba lays down that a man should *not* give his daughter in marriage to a person who is a blood-relation on the mother's or the father's side.[51] Gautama lays down that marriage can be contracted between those persons who are not related up to the seventh ancestor on the father's or the begetter's side and up to the fifth ancestor on the mother's side.[52] According to some authorities, a statement in the Sat. Br. implies that in the early times *Sapiṇḍa-relationship* extended up to the fourth degree or so.[53]

Cousin-Marriage : The injunctions of the Sūtras relating to Sapiṇḍa-exogamy entirely preclude the possibility of cousin-marriage in Aryan society. However, Baudhāyana refers to the custom of cousin-marriage among the people of the South and declares it to be condemnable.[54] The Buddhist and Jain scriptures show that the custom of cousin-marriage was in vogue among the people of eastern India in early times.[55] But the custom of cousin-marriage was very much abhorred in the Aryan society depicted in our Sūtras.

4. SELECTION OF A MATCH

Qualities of a Bridegroom : Laying down the qualities of a worthy bridegroom, the Sūtras state that a man should give his daughter in marriage to a man who belongs to a good family and possesses intelligence, good character, auspicious characteristics, learning, and sound health.[56] In the case of a boy, marriage is recommended after the completion of his education (*see* notes 4 and 34).

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SELECTION OF A BRIDE

In regard to the selection of a bride, the Gṛihyas lay down a number of qualifications concerning her age, family, special characteristics, and other qualities. A systematic and complete account of these qualifications is given below.

Age of a Bride : According to the description of marriage contained in the Gṛihyasūtras, the *Chaturthīkarman* which marks the consummation of marriage should be performed on the fourth night after the wedding (*see* Chap. XII). This shows that the girl was married at an age when she had attained puberty. It is recommended in the Gṛihyasūtras that the bride should be younger than the bridegroom (*see* notes 32 and 34). Some of the Gṛihyas lay down that a *Nagnikā* is the best bride.[57] There is a wide divergence of opinion with regard to the explanation of the word Nagnikā. Mātṛidatta, the commentator of the Hir. G.S., explains that Nagnikā means that girl whose menstrual period is near, *i.e.* one who is fit for intercourse.[58] Ashṭāvakra, the commentator of the Man. G.S., explains Nagnikā as 'that girl who has not yet attained womanhood and who has not experienced the emotions of youth', or 'that girl who looks beautiful even without dress, because even an ugly girl attired in beautiful dress etc. looks attractive' ; in the latter explanation the commentator takes the word *Śreshṭhām* along with Nagnikā.[59] According to the Gṛihyasaṁgraha, Nagnikā is that girl who has not yet begun to menstruate or whose breasts are not yet developed.[60] The Jaim. G.S., however, recommends that a girl who is not Nagnikā should be chosen as a bride (*see* note 34). The Kath. G.S. says that Brahmacharya of ten or twelve years is prescribed for girls.[61] Devapāla, the commentator of this Gṛihya, explains that a girl must not be kept unmarried by her father after the tenth year of her age, or after the twelfth year in straitened circumstances.

Qualities of a Bride : The Gṛihyas lay down that a girl who is endowed with the following qualities should be chosen as a bride :

She should possess auspicious characteristics ; her limbs should be proportionate ; her hair should be smooth ; and she should also have on her neck two curls turned to the right.[62] She should show the characteristics of intelligence, beauty, and moral conduct ; she should be free from disease and should have relatives ; and she should be a virgin.[63]

The Man. G.S. puts forward the views that five factors, *viz.* wealth, beauty, learning, intelligence, and family, are considered for

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contracting a marriage; that the consideration of wealth may be waived up in favour of beauty, that of beauty in favour of learning, that of learning in favour of intelligence; and that marriage is contracted in view of intelligence and family (*see* p. 41, note 89). A very similar view is expressed by Bhāradvāja who says, "A marriage is contracted in consideration of four things, namely, wealth, beauty, intelligence, and family. If all of them cannot be obtained, the consideration of wealth may be given up and then that of beauty. But there is a difference of opinion as regards intelligence and family. Some hold the view that the consideration of family may be given up, because it is difficult to live with a person who has no intelligence. Moreover, it should also be borne in mind that she is not married for riches only; the procreation of progeny is, of course, the main consideration in regard to her" (*vide* p. 41, note 87).

Disqualifications of a Bride: Dealing with the disqualifications of a bride, Āpastamba says, "The wooer should not choose a girl who sleeps excessively, or cries, or leaves home when wooers have arrived; who has been betrothed to another; who is kept under guard; who has squint in her eyes; who is like a bull (in appearance etc.); who is like a *Śarabha* (a fabulous deer); who is a hunchback; who is of monstrous appearance; who is bald-headed; whose skin is like that of a frog; who has gone over to another family; who is very passionate (or fond of games); who has a beard; who has many friends; who has a beautiful younger sister; or who is older than the bridegroom. Girls who bear the names of Nakshatras, rivers, or trees are objectionable; and all those girls, the penultimate letter of whose names is *r* or *l*, should not be chosen."[64] Bhāradvāja says that if one is able to assess the good characteristics of a girl, one should marry that girl who might give birth to excellent progeny; and that one should not marry a girl who sleeps too much or who wanders about.[65]

CHOOSING A BRIDE BY MEANS OF EARTH-CLODS

Some of the Gṛihyasūtras say that since it is difficult to know exactly the characteristics of a girl, she should be examined by means of lumps of different kinds of earth. This method of selecting a bride is described in the Sūtras as follows:

The wooer should make eight lumps of earth taken from eight different places, namely, a sacrificial altar (*Vedi*), a pool of water, a cow-pen, a furrow, a crossing of roads, a place of gambling, a cemetery, and a barren spot. These earth-clods are placed before

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the girl and a Mantra is recited over them. Then she is asked to choose one of them. If she chooses one of the first four earth-clods, *i.e.* the lumps of earth taken from a sacrificial altar, a furrow, a pool of water, and a cow-pen, she should be chosen as a bride. She is to be rejected if she chooses any of the remaining four lumps. The Gobh. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. refer to the view of some teachers that the girl should be married if she chooses the ninth lump made of a mixture of all the eight types of earth mentioned above.[66]

The Man. G.S. (I, 7, 9-10) lays down that the girl should be led to a temple (*Devāgāra*) and then asked to choose one of the eight earth-clods.

According to the Bhar. G.S. (I, 11), only four earth-clods are placed before the maiden ; two of them are made of earth taken from a sacrificial altar and a field ; one is made of cow-dung ; and the fourth is made of earth taken from a cemetery. If she avoids the fourth and chooses any other earth-clod, she may be accepted as a bride, according to Bhāradvāja. The Ap. G.S. (I, 3, 14-17) lays down that five objects, namely, (*i*) different kinds of seeds mixed together, (*ii*) loose earth from a sacrificial altar, (*iii*) an earth-clod from a field, (*iv*) cow-dung, and (*v*) an earth-clod from a cemetery, are to be placed covered in pots before the maiden ; that she is then asked to touch any of them ; and that since the last object, *i.e.* the clod from a cemetery is objectionable, she should be accepted if she touches any of the first four objects.

It seems that in course of time the examination of a girl by means of eight earth-clods came to be regarded as crude and risky. So the number of lumps was reduced and among them, too, there was only one objectionable earth-clod, *i.e.* the one from a cemetery, and thus reduction in the number of objectionable earth-clods increased the chances of a girl being chosen.

All Tests regarded as futile : Pointing to the futility of all tests and marks, Bhāradvāja declares, "Truly there are many marks. But those who can judge of marks quote a Śloka which reads : 'Whomsoever his heart takes a delight in and whomsoever his eye dwells on, her he will consider endowed with good marks. What will he do with the knowledge of marks ?' " (*vide* p. 41, n. 90). Almost the same view is put forward by Āpastamba who says, "A wife, who is pleasing to his heart and eyes, will bring happiness to him ; let him attach no importance to other considerations ; such is the opinion of some" (*vide* p. 41, n. 92).

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5. BETROTHAL (VARANA)

Baudhāyana prescribes the sending of an even number of Brāhmaṇas as wooers (*Varāḥ*) during the northern course of the sun in the bright fortnight under an auspicious Nakshatra; and no wooers, he thinks, are sent for this purpose if the bride has been given away along with the sacrificial fees.[67] The Kauśika Sūtra and the Jaim. G.S. also mention the sending of wooers.[68] The Kath. G.S. and the Man. G.S. recommend that betrothal should be solemnized under the Nakshatras Kṛittikās, *Svāti* and *Pūrvas* (*i.e.* Pūrva-phalgunī, Pūrvāshāḍhā, and Pūrva-proshṭhapadā).[69] According to Āpastamba, if wooers are sent out under the Nakshatra Invakā, they are welcomed by the relatives of the girl and achieve their aim.[70] The Ap. G. S. (I, 4, 1) further says, "The assembled friends (*Suhṛidaḥ*) who are versed in the Mantras should be sent as wooers, and he should recite Mantras to them when they depart."

The rites of betrothal are described in the Sankh. G.S. (I, 6, 1-6) as follows :

The bridegroom recites a Mantra (R.V. X, 85, 23) to the wooers when they leave for the girl's house. On their arrival there they take flowers, fruits, barley, and a pot of water, and say thrice, "Here I am, sir !" When these words have been uttered, they ask for the girl in marriage, pronouncing the Gotra-names ; the relations of the girl sit facing the east and the wooers facing the west. When the matter pleases both parties, they touch, reciting a Mantra, a vessel full of water in which flowers, fried grains, fruits, barley and a piece of gold have been immersed. Having risen from his seat with a Mantra of the R.V. (X, 85, 43), the Āchārya of the girl's family places the vessel on her head with the blessing : "Offspring I bestow upon you ; cattle I bestow upon you ; and splendour and holy lustre I bestow upon you."

6. AUSPICIOUS TIME FOR MARRIAGE

Some of the Gṛihyasūtras lay down that wedding should be solemnized during the northern course of the sun in a bright fortnight under an auspicious Nakshatra.[71] As regards the Nakshatras auspicious for wedding, Baudhāyana opines that *Rohiṇī*, *Mṛigaśiras*, *Uttara-phalgunī*, and *Svāti* are auspicious for wedding.[72] In this connection Pāraskara (I, 4, 6-7) says that wedding may be solemnized under any of three Nakshatras, of which a Nakshatra designated as *Uttara* is first, or under the Nakshatras *Svāti*, *Mṛigaśiras*, or *Rohiṇī*. The Man. G. S. and the Kath. G. S.

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recommend *Rohiṇī*, *Mṛigaśiras*, *Śravaṇa*, *Śravishṭhā* and *Uttaras* (*i. e.* Uttarāshāḍhā, Uttara-phalgunī and Uttara-bhādrapadā) for celebrating marriage.[73]

The Bhar. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. say, "The cows are provided under the Nakshatra named *Maghā*, and marriage is celebrated under *Phalgunī*. A daughter whom the father wishes to be dear to her husband should be given away in marriage under the *Nishṭyā* (*i. e.* Svāti Nakshatra) ; thus she becomes dear to her husband and does not return to her parents' home (due to any quarrel at her home). This is an observation based on a Brāhmaṇa text."[74]

The ceremony of showing the sun to the bride at the conclusion of wedding makes it clear that marriage was celebrated during the day also. The Bhar. G. S. (I, 12) discusses many views that permit the performance of wedding in the morning, midday, and afternoon. The Vaikh. G. S. and the Kath. G. S., which prescribe the ceremony of showing the pole-star to the bride at wedding, indicate that wedding was celebrated at night also (*vide* the description of *Dhruvadarśana* in the next Chapter).

All Times Auspicious for Marriage : Some of the Gṛihyasūtras put forward a totally different view and allow the performance of marriage at any time. Āśvalāyana says, "According to some authorities, marriage may be celebrated at any time."[75] A similar view is mentioned by Baudhāyana who says, "All months are auspicious for marriage, excepting *Śuchi* (Āshāḍha), *Tapas* (Māgha) and *Tapasya* (Phālguna) according to some."[76] The Kauśika Sūtra lays down that marriage may be celebrated at any time after the full moon of *Kārtika* up to the full moon of *Vaiśākha*, or one may perform it at any time one likes, but the month or half month of *Chaitra* should be avoided.[77] The Nakshatra *Chitrā* is declared to be inauspicious by the Bhar. G. S. also.[78] The Ap. G. S. prescribes that all seasons, excepting the two months of *Śiśira* (*i. e.* Māgha and Phālguna) and the last of the two months of summer (viz. *Āshāḍha*), are fit for marriage and similarly all Nakshatras which are declared to be auspicious are fit for marriage.[79]

Notes and References

1. R. L., pp. 2-3 ; Alt. Hoch., pp. 2 ff., Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, pp. 384 ff. ; Ind. Stud., vol. V, pp. 177-411.

2. इमौ वै लोकौ सहास्तां तौ वियन्तावभूतां विवाहं विवहावहै सह नावरित्वति ॥
पं० ब्रा० VII, 10, 1. *Cf.* ऐ० ब्रा० IV, 27, 5.

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3. अर्धो ह वा एष आत्मनो यज्जाया तस्माद् यावज्जायां न विन्दते नैव तावत् प्रजायतेऽसर्वो हि तावद् भवत्यथ यदैव जायां विन्दतेऽथ प्रजायते, तर्हि सर्वो भवति ॥ सर्व एतां गतिं गच्छानीति तस्माज्जायामामन्त्रयते ॥ श० ब्रा० V, 2, 1, 10.

Cf. तस्मात् पुरुषो जायां वित्वा कृत्स्नतरमिवात्मानं मन्यते ॥ ऐ० आ० I, 3, 5.

4. ब्रह्मचारी वेदमधीत्य । उपन्याहृत्य गुरवेऽनुज्ञातो दारान् कुर्वीत ॥ गो० गृ० III, 4, 1-2.

Cf. Hir. G. S. I, 19, 2.

5. ऐकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्या अप्रजननत्वादितरेषाम् । तत्रोदाहरन्ति—प्राह्लादिर्ह वै कपिलो नामाऽसुर आस । स एतान् भेदांश्चक्रार देवैस्सह स्पर्धमानस्तान् मनीषी नाऽऽद्रियेत ॥

बौ० ध० II, 6, 11, 29-30.

Cf. Gaut. D.S. III, 1-3 ; *ibid.* III, 36. The A.V. VIII, 10, 22, mentions *Virochana Prāhrādi* as calf to Māyā. It says, "She rose and approached the Asuras. They called her ; their cry was, 'Come, O Māyā, come thou hither.' Her calf was *Virochana Prāhrādi*. Her milking vessel was a pan of iron. Dvimūrdhā Ārtvya milked her. He milked illusion from her. The Asuras subsist upon that illusion (Māyā). One who knows thus becomes worthy of being subsisted upon." *Cf.* Tait. Br. I, 5, 9, 1 ; I, 5, 10, 7,

6. Baudh. D.S. II, 10, 17-18 ; Ap. D.S. II, 9, 21-22 ; Vas. D.S. X, 1-31.

7. यावज्जीवमेतमग्निं व्रीहिभिर्यवैर्वा सायं प्रातः परिचरति ॥ भा० गृ० I, 18. Cf. Hir. G. S. I, 22, 2-3; Ap. G. S. II, 5, 15-16.

एतद् वै जरामर्यं सत्रं यदग्निहोत्रम् ॥ श० ब्रा० XII, 4, 1, 1.

8. Kath. G.S. 25, 27 ; Ap. D.S. II, 6, 14, 16-19 ; *ibid.* II, 5, 11, 12 ; Manu IX, 28 ; Yaj. I, 78.

9. Baudh. D.S. II, 6, 11, 36 ; Tait. Samh. VI, 3, 10, 5 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. I, 7, 2, 1.

10. Par. G.S. I, 4, 14. . R.V. *Cf.* X, 85, 47.

11. यथायुक्तो विवाहस्तथायुक्ता प्रजा भवतीति विज्ञायते ॥ बौ० ध० I, 11, 21, 1.

12. Ap. D.S. II, 5, 12, 4. *Cf.* Manu III, 42.

13. Asv. G.S. I, 6 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 1 : 36, 3 ; Vas. D.S.I, 30 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 11, 20, 2 ; Ap. D.S. II, 5, 11, 17 ; Gaut. D.S. IV, 6. *Cf.* Manu III, 27.

14. Asv. G.S. I, 6 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 1 : 36, 4 ; Gaut. D.S. IV, 9 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 11, 20, 5 ; Ap. D.S. II, 5, 11, 19 ; Vas. D.S. I, 31. *Cf.* Manu III, 28.

15. Asv. G.S.I, 6 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 1 : 36, 5 ; Gaut. D.S. IV, 7 : Baudh. D.S.I, 11, 20, 3. *Cf.* Manu III, 30.

16. Asv. G.S. I, 6 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 1 : 36. 7 ; Gaut. D.S. IV, 8 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 11, 20, 4 ; Ap. D.S. II, 5, 11, 18 ; Vas. D.S. I, 32. *Cf.* Manu III, 29.

17. Asv. G.S. I, 6 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 1 : 36, 9 ; Gaut. D.S. IV, 10 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 11, 20, 6 ; Ap. D.S. II, 5, 11, 20 ; Vas. D.S. I, 33. *Cf.* Manu III, 32.

18. Asv. G.S. I, 6 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 1 : 36, 8 ; Gaut. D.S. IV, 11 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 11, 20, 7 ; Ap. D.S. II, 5, 12, 1. *Cf.* Manu III, 31.

19. Asv. G.S. I, 6 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 1 : 36, 10 ; Gaut. D.S. IV, 12 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 11, 20, 8. *Cf.* Manu III, 33.

20. Asv. G.S. I, 6 ; Vaikh. G.S. III. 1 : 36, 10 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 11, 20, 9 Gaut. D.S. IV, 13. *Cf.* Manu III, 34.

21. संजुष्टां धर्मेणोपयच्छेत ब्राह्मेण शौल्केन वा । शतमिति रथं दद्याद् गोमिथुनं वा ॥ भा० गृ० I, 7, 11-12. *Cf.* Var. G. S. X, 12; Kath. G. S. 15, 1-5; Par. G. S. I, 8, 18; Vas. D. S. I, 36.

22. अथ शुल्कदेयायाः ॥ हिरण्यं व्यतिहरतः ॥ का० गृ० 16, 1-2.

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23. Vaikh. G.S. III, 1 : 36, 11 ; Gaut. D.S. IV, 14 ; Ap. D.S. II, 5, 12, 3. *Cf.* Manu III, 39-40.

24. गान्धर्वमप्येके प्रशंसन्ति सदेषां रनेहानुगतत्वात् ॥ बौ० ध० I, 11, 20, 16.

25. Baudh. D.S. IV, 1, 1, 15-16 ; Vas. D.S. XVII, 67-68 ; *cf.* Manu IX, 90. Gaut. D.S. XVIII, 21 lays down that such a maiden should wait for three monthly periods (*Ritus*) only.

26. Macnaghten, *Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law*, p. 60 note ; *cf.* Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee, *Marriage and Stridhana*, Tagore Law Lectures for 1878, 5th edition, 1925, page 94.

27. बलाच्चेत् प्रहृता कन्या मन्त्रैर्यदि न संस्कृता ।
अन्यस्मै विधिवद्देया यथा कन्या तथैव सा ॥ बौ० ध० IV, 1, 1, 17. *Cf.* Vas. D. S. XVII, 73.

28. चरिते यथापुरं धर्मादधि सम्बन्धः ॥ आप० ध० II, 10, 27, 1.

29. पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्रा नियतं दारलक्षणम् । तेषां निष्ठा तु विज्ञेया विद्वद्भिः सप्तमे पदे ॥
मनु० स्मृ० VIII, 227.

30. एकत्वं सा गता भर्तुः पिण्डे गोत्रे च सूतके ।
स्वगोत्राद् भ्रश्यते नारी विवाहात् सप्तमे पदे ॥ Parāśara Dharma Saṁhitā (Bombay 1893), vol. 1, part II, p. 63. *Cf.* Smṛiti-Chandrikā (Mysore Ed.) Saṁskāra-kāṇḍa I, p. 184:

31. अतएव यमः—नोदकेन न वाचा वा कन्यायाः पतिरुच्यते ।
पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारात् पतित्वं सप्तमे पदे ॥
अनेन सप्तमपदादर्वाक् परिणेतुर्मरणेऽपि न विधवात्वमित्युक्तं भवति । Smṛiti-Chandrikā (Mysore Ed.) Saṁskāra-kāṇḍa I, p. 219.

32. बन्धुमतीं कन्यामस्पृष्टमैथुनामुपयच्छेत समानवर्णामसमानप्रवरां यवीयसीं नग्निकां श्रेष्ठाम् ॥ मा० गृ० I, 7, 8. *Cf.* Jaim. G. S. I, 20 in note 34.

33. Baudh. D.S. II, 2, 3, 14 and 33 ; Vas. D.S. XVII, 13.

34. असगोत्रान् (दारान् कुर्वीतेति) ॥ गो० गृ० III, 4, 3.
सगोत्राय दुहितरं न प्रयच्छेत् ॥ आप० ध० II, 5, 11, 15.
ताभ्यामनुज्ञातो भार्यामुपयच्छेत्सजातां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणीमसगोत्राम् ॥ हि० गृ० I, 19, 2. स्नात्वा मातापितरौ परिचरेत्तदधीनः स्यात् ताभ्यामनुज्ञातो जायां विन्देतानग्निकां समानजातीयामसगोत्रां मातुरसपिण्डां ज्यायसः कनीयसीम् ॥ जै० गृ० I, 20. *Cf.* वा० गृ० X, 8.

35. असमानप्रवरैर्विवाहः ॥ गौ० ध० IV, 2. *See* note 32.
गृहस्थो विनीतक्रोधहर्षो गुरुणानुज्ञातः स्नात्वासमानार्षेयामस्पष्टमैथुनामवरवयसीं सदृशीं भार्यां विन्देत ॥ वा० ध० VIII, 1.

36. Gaut. D.S. XXIII, 12. *Cf.* Yaj. III, 231.

37. Baudh. D.S. II, 1, 1, 38.

38. R.V. I, 51, 3 ; II, 17, 1 ; II, 23, 3· 18 ; III, 30, 21 ; III, 39, 4 ; III, 43, 7; VI, 17, 2 ; X, 48, 2. *Cf.* A.V., V, 2, 8 ; Vedic Index I, p. 235 ; Kane, H. D.S. vol. II, part I, p. 479.

39. A.V., V, 21, 3. *Cf.* Max Müller, *Selected Essays*, pp. 326-27 ; Kapadia, *Hindu Kinship*, p. 55 ; Kane, H.D.S. vol. II, part I, p. 479.

40. Sankh. S.S. I, 4, 16 ; XIV, 16, 8 ; Asv. S.S. Uttarashaṭka, VI, 10; Gobh. G.S. II, 9, 23 ; II, 10, 21 ; Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 484 ; Yaj. I, 33 ; Weber, Ind. Stud., vol. X, p. 75 seq. ; Max Müller, H.A.S.L., pp. 199-202.

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41. अग्निर्देवो दैव्यो होता देवान्यक्षद् विद्वांश्चिकित्वान् मनुष्वद् भरतवदमुवदमुवदित्यूर्ध्वान् यजमानस्य ऋषीन् प्रवृणीत एकं द्वौ त्रीन् पञ्च वा ॥ मा० श्रौ० I, 3, 1, 26.
यजमानस्यार्षेयान् प्रवृणीते यावन्तः स्युः ॥ आश्व० श्रौ० I, 3.

42. गोत्राणां तु सहस्राणि प्रयुतान्यर्बुदानि च। ऊनपञ्चाशदेवैषां प्रवरा ऋषिदर्शनात् ॥
बौ० प्रवरसूत्र 54.

43. त्रीन् यथर्षि मन्त्रकृतो वृणीते । अपि वैकं द्वौ त्रीन् पञ्च । न चतुरो वृणीते न पञ्चाति प्रवृणीते ॥ आप० श्रौ० II, 16, 6-8. *Cf.* XXIV, 5, 6-7 ; Asv. S. S. XII, 13. *Vide* note 41.

44. प्रवरः गोत्रप्रवर्तकस्य मुनेर्व्यावर्तको मुनिगणः ॥ पराशरमाधवीय vol. I, part 2, p. 70.

45. Max Müller, H.A.S.L., p. 203.

Dr. P.V. Kane (H.D.S., vol. II, part I, p. 497) makes the following remarks in regard to the relationship between Gotra and Pravara : "The connection of gotra and pravara may be stated thus : Gotra is the latest ancestor or one of the latest ancestors of a person by whose name his family has been known for generations ; while pravara is constituted by the sage or sages who lived in the remotest past, who were most illustrious and who are generally the ancestors of the gotra sages or in some cases the remotest ancestor alone." In this connection, Dr. Kapadia in his *Hindu Kinship* (footnote 34, pp. 56-57) observes : "Thus Pravara grouping has nothing to do with the ancestry of a person, but it points to a school of ritual or learning to which a person belonged. Thus in reciting the Pravaras the sacrificer does not really mean to recite the names of his ancestors, but he recites the name of the school of ritual to which he and his ancestors adhere for the performance of religious rites. Karandikar, S. V. Chas. III & IV. I agree with Karandikar rather than with Kane (Hist. of Dh. pp. 482, 497) in the interpretation of Pravara relationship. Gotra exogamy when linked with Pravara, therefore, implies spiritual kinship and not blood kinship. Samānagotra implies the sameness of even one Pravara Ṛishi."

46. यद्यब्राह्मणो यजेत पुरोहितस्य प्रवरेण प्रवृणीयात् ॥ मा० श्रौ० I, 3, 28.
पुरोहितप्रवरेणाब्राह्मणस्य । मानवेति वा सर्वेषाम् ॥ शां० श्रौ० I, 4, 17-18.
पुरोहितार्षेयेण वा । क्षत्रियवैश्ययोश्च नित्यम् । मनुवदिति वा सर्वेषाम् ॥ का० श्रौ० III, 2, 10-12.
पौरोहित्यान् राजविशाम् । राजर्षीन् वा राज्ञाम् । सर्वेषां मानवेति संशये ॥ आश्व० श्रौ० I, 3.
Cf. Ap. S. S. II, 16, 10-12; XXIV, 5, 9 ; Baudh. Pravarādhyāya 53-54.

47. *Sapiṇḍa-relationship* : There are two schools of interpreters with regard to the interpretation of *Sapiṇḍatā* (Sapiṇḍa-relationship) ; one being represented by Vijñāneśvara, and the other by Jīmūtavāhana, the author of the Dāyabhāga. According to Vijñāneśvara (on Yaj. I, 52-53), the Sapiṇḍas are those who have inherited the particles of the same body, that is, of the same ancestor common to them ; in other words, those who descend from the same parents or relations in a direct line. According to the other school ofinterpreters of Hindu Law, *Sapiṇḍatā* means only connection by funeral oblations *i.e.* by Piṇḍas which are offered at the Śrāddha : *vide* Medhātithi on Manu V, 60. The latter definition of Sapiṇḍatā, as Kulluka on Manu V, 60, points out, does not include among Sapiṇḍas the maternal grandfather and others on the mother's side, though they are connected by Piṇḍa (constituent atom of the body). According to the latter definition, Sapiṇḍatā is confined to the members of the same agnate family, *i.e.* to the Sagotras. Vijñāneśvara's interpretation of

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Sapiṇḍatā, which extends it to the blood relations on father's as well as on mother's side, has received a considerable amount of acceptance.

48. Baudh. D.S. I, 5, 11, 2. *Cf.* Ap. D.S. II, 6, 15, 2 ; Vas. D.S. IV, 17-18 ; Manu V, 60.

49. पिण्डनिवृत्तिस्सप्तमे पंचमे वा ॥ गौ० ध० XIV, 12.

50. मातुरसपिण्डान् (दारान् कुर्वीतेति) ॥ गो० गृ० III, 4, 4.

51. मातुश्च योनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥ आप० ध० II, 5, 11, 16.

52. ऊर्ध्वं सप्तमात् पितृबन्धुभ्यः । बीजिनश्च । मातृबन्धुभ्यः पंचमात् ॥ गौ० ध० IV, 3-5.

53. तद् वा एतत् । समान एव कर्मन्व्याक्रियते तस्मादु समानादेव पुरुषादत्ता चाऽऽद्यश्च जायेते । इदं हि चतुर्थे पुरुषे तृतीये संगच्छमाह इति विदेवं दीव्यमाना जात्या आसत एतस्मादु तत् ॥ श० ब्रा० I, 8, 3, 6. For discussion on this passage, *see* the Smṛiti-Chandrikā, Saṁskāra-kāṇḍa, pp. 194 ff.

54. यानि दक्षिणतस्तानि व्याख्यास्यामः । यथैतदनुपेतेन सह भोजनं स्त्रिया सह भोजनं पर्युषित-भोजनं मातुलपितृष्वसृदुहितृगमनमिति ॥ बौ० ध० I, 1, 2, 2-3.

55. R. L. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhistic India*, p. 278 ; Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*, p. 160.

56. बन्धुशीललक्षणसम्पन्नः श्रुतवानरोग इति वर-सम्पत् ॥ आप० गृ० I, 3, 19. बुद्धिमते कन्यां प्रयच्छेत् ॥ आ० गृ० I, 5, 2. *Cf.* Ap. D. S. II, 5, 11, 17. Baudh. D. S. IV, 1, 1, 12 ; Mbh. XIII 44, 3-4.

57. नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठा ॥ गो० गृ० III, 4, 5.
मातुरसपिण्डां पितुरसमान-ऋषि-गोत्र-जातां लक्षणसम्पन्नां नग्निकां कन्यां वरयित्वा पंचाहेषु कुलस्य परिशुद्ध्यै सपिण्डैः श्रोत्रियैः सह भूतं भुंजीत ॥ बै० गृ० III, 2. Cf. Vas. D.S. XVII. 70. *See* notes 32 & 34.

58. उपयच्छेत् स्वीकुर्यात् । कीदृशीम् । सजातां समानवर्णं समानाभिजनां च । नग्निकामासन्नार्तवाम् । नग्नपतिरपि परिपठितो वस्त्रविक्षेपणार्हः । ततोऽर्हेण्युक् (ण्वुच्) (पाणि. ३, ३, १११) कर्तरि च (पाणि. २, २, १६) स्यात् कृतो बहुलं कृति । तस्माद् वस्त्रविक्षेपणार्हा नग्निका मैथुनार्हेत्यर्थः ॥ Mātṛidatta on Hir. G. S. I, 19, 2.

59. नग्निकां श्रेष्ठां नग्नैव नग्निका स्वार्थे क-प्रत्ययः । नग्निकामप्राप्तस्त्रीभावामयौवनरसामुपयच्छेतेति तथा श्रेष्ठां लावण्य-युक्तां स्त्री-लक्षणोपेतामित्यर्थः । नान्यल्लाण्याच्छ्रेष्ठत्वं कन्यायां विद्यते । अनेनैवाशयेन मनुनोक्तं 'स्त्रीरत्नं दुष्कुलादपि' अव्यंगांगीं सौम्यनाम्नीमित्यादि । अथवा नग्निकां श्रेष्ठां विवस्त्रवतीं श्रेष्ठां विवस्त्रा सती श्रेष्ठा या भवेत्तामुपयच्छेत । यस्मात् कुरूपाऽपि वस्त्राद्यलंकारकृता मनोहारिणी भवति । तस्मात् विवस्त्रा सती न सर्वा शोभते किं तर्हि काचिदेव लक्षणवती । Man. G. S., p. 47.

60. Gṛihyasaṁgraha II, 17-18.

61. दशवार्षिकं ब्रह्मचर्यं कुमारीणां द्वादशवार्षिकं वा ॥ का० गृ० 19, 2. *See* Chap. XX for its explanation.

62. लक्षणप्रशस्तान् कुशलेन ॥ गो० गृ० II, 1, 2.
या लक्षणसम्पन्ना स्यात् । यस्या अभ्यात्ममंगानि स्युः । समाः केशान्ताः । आवर्तावपि यस्यै स्यातां प्रदक्षिणौ ग्रीवायाम् ।षड् वीरान् जनयिष्यतीति विद्यात् ॥ शां० गृ० I, 5, 6-10. For the good qualities of a woman, *see* Mbh. IV, 9, 10; V, 116, 24-25 ; Rāmāyaṇa VI, 48, 2 & 5-14.

63. Ap. G.S. I, 3, 18. *See* note 32 ; Chap. II, notes 87 and 89.

64. Ap. G.S. I, 3, 10-13. The English translation of the 12th sūtra has been done mainly in accordance with the explanations of the commentators.

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But they themselves are in doubt about the explanations of many words of this sūtra. So this is only a tentative rendering of the sūtra. Winternitz, Alt. Hoch., pp. 33 seq., discusses the different meanings of the obscure words of this sūtra. *Cf.* Saṁskāra-ratna-mālā, pp. 509-10 ; Manu III, 8-10 ; Yaj. I, 52 ; Vi. D.S. XXIV, 12-16.

65. स योऽलं संलक्षणाय स्यात् स तामावहेत् यस्यां प्रशस्ता जायेरन् न स्वपन्तीमुपगृह्णीत न चरन्तीम् ॥ भा० गृ० I, 11.

66. Gobh. G.S. II, 1, 3-8 ; Avs. G.S. I, 5, 4-6 ; Kath. G.S. 14, 4-9.

67. उदगयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्ये नक्षत्रे युग्मान् ब्राह्मणान् वरान् प्रहिणोति ।
अथ यदि दक्षिणाभिस्सह दत्ता स्यान्नात्र वरान् प्रहिणुयात् ॥ बौ० गृ० I, 1, 14 & 16.

68. Kaus. S. 75, 8-9 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 20 : 19, 12.

69. Man. G.S. I, 7, 4 ; Kath. G.S. 14, 2.

70. Ap. G. S. I, 2, 16 ; *cf.* Bhar. G. S. I, 12 : 12, 18. *Invakā* means the Nakshatra Mṛigaśiras, as the Ap. G.S. I, 3, 4 explains it (*see* note 74).

71. Sankh. G.S. I, 5, 5 ; Asv. G.S. I, 4, 1 ; Par. G.S. I, 4, 5 (the same as in the Sankh. G.S.) ; Gobh. G.S. II, 1, 1.

72. रोहिणी मृगशीर्षमुत्तरेफल्गुनीस्वातीति विवाहस्य नक्षत्राणि ॥ बौ० गृ० I, 1, 20,

73. Man. G.S. I, 7, 5 ; Kath. G.S. 14, 10.

74. विज्ञायते तु खल्वेकेषामिन्वकाभिः प्रसृज्यन्ते ते वराः प्रतिनिन्दिता मघाभिर्गावो गृह्यन्ते फल्गुनीभ्यां व्यूह्यत इति यां कामयेत दुहितरं प्रिया स्यादिति तां निष्ट्यायां दद्यात् प्रियैव भवति नैव तु पुनरागच्छतीति विज्ञायते ॥ भा० गृ० I, 12.
मघाभिर्गावो गृह्यन्ते । फल्गुनीभ्यां व्यूह्यते । यां कामयेत दुहितरं प्रिया स्यादिति तां निष्ट्यायां दद्यात् प्रियैव भवति नैव तु पुनरागच्छतीति ब्राह्मणावेक्षो विधिः । इन्वका-शब्दो मृगशिरसि निष्ट्या-शब्दः स्वातौ ॥ आ० गृ० I, 3. 1-4. *Cf.* Tait. Br. I, 5, 2, 3.

75. सार्वकालमेके विवाहम् ॥ आ० गृ० 1, 4, 2.
Cf. ज्योतिर्निबन्धे—"सार्वकालिकमिच्छन्ति विवाहं गौतमादयः" इति । एतच्च सार्वकालिकत्वमासुराद्यधर्मविवाहविषयमिति केचित् । आसन्नतुकालकन्याविषयमित्यन्ये ॥ Saṁskāra-ratna-mālā, p. 460.

76. सर्वे मासा विवाहस्य । शुचितपस्तपस्यवर्जमित्येके ॥ बौ० गृ० 1, 1, 18-19

77. अथ विवाहः । ऊर्ध्वं कार्तिक्या आ वैशाख्याः । यथाकामी वा । चित्रापक्षं तु वर्जयेत् । मघासु हन्यन्ते गावः फल्गुनीषु व्युह्यत इति विज्ञायते मंगलं च ॥ कौ० सू० 75, 1-5.

78. पुण्याह उपगृह्णीतापि वै खलु लोके पुण्याह एव कर्माणि चिकीर्षन्ते तस्मादश्लीलनामंश्चित्रे नावस्येन्न यजेत । यथा पापाहे कुरुते तादृगेव तदिति परिशिष्ट एव पापाहम् ॥ भा० गृ० I, 12.

79. सर्वे ऋतवो विवाहस्य शैशिरौ मासौ परिहाप्योत्तमं च नैदाघम् । सर्वाणि पुण्योक्तानि नक्षत्राणि ॥ आप० गृ० I, 2, 12-13.

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CHAPTER XII

MARRIAGE RITES AND FESTIVITIES

The Gṛihyasūtras exhibit wide differences with regard to the order and details of various acts comprised in marriage ceremonies. An attempt has been made in this Chapter to give a systematic account of almost all the marriage ceremonies described in the Gṛihyasūtras. So far as the order of rites is concerned, we have followed here the order adopted in the majority of the Gṛihyasūtras. Differences peculiar to individual Gṛihyasūtras in regard to the order of certain rites have been pointed out below in the description of those rites.

1. PRELIMINARY RITES AND FESTIVITIES

Pre-wedding Rites at the Bridegroom's House

The Sankh. G. S. (I, 7, 1) lays down that when the girl's father has promised to give his daughter in marriage the bridegroom should perform a sacrifice of Ājya (clarified butter). In order to perform this sacrifice the bridegroom should first establish the fire, according to the usual procedure (described below in Chap. XVII). Baudhāyana (I, 1, 24) says that the bridegroom should perform the *Nāndīmukha Śrāddha* (*vide* Chap. XVI) and entertain Brāhmaṇas with choice food before he departs for the bride's house. The Kath. G. S. (21, 2) lays down that the bridegroom should perform a sacrifice at his house on the eve of the marriage.

Pre-wedding Rites at the Bride's House

The Sankh. G. S. (I, 11, 1-4) and the Kath. G. S. (21, 1) lay down that the bride should take a ceremonial bath in the night preceding the wedding-day. It is stated that after midnight before dawn the female relatives of the bride should wash her including her head with water made fragrant with the mixture of all kinds of herbs, choicest fruits, and perfumes ; then she is made to put on new garments ; and a sacrifice of cooked food is offered into the fire to certain deities. The Gobh. G. S. prescribes that, after the bride has been washed with water mixed with the powder of *Klītaka*, barley and beans, a woman who is affectionate towards her should besprinkle her three times on the head with the

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Surā of first quality in such a manner that her whole body becomes wet ; the meaning of the word Surā has been discussed in the note.[1] The Man. G. S. (I, 8, 11) lays down that the bride should be sprinkled with water by means of a brazen vessel. As for the sacrifice of cooked food, it is laid down in the Sankh. G. S. (I, 11, 3-4) that after the bath the bride puts on new garments, sits to the west of the fire, and touches the family priest who offers the oblations of clarified butter into the fire with the recitation of the Mantras. According to the Sankh. G. S., four or eight women who are not widows should be regaled with lumps of cooked vegetables, food, and *Surā* (liquor) ; and then a dance should be performed by those who are expert in it.[2] Describing a very similar ceremony, the Kath. G. S. says that the Brāhmaṇas and four or eight women who are not widows should be entertained with lumps of cooked vegetables and other food ; and that the women should sing in chorus with the lute-players, or an expert performs a dance.[3]

The Kath. G. S. prescribes many other rites to be performed by the bride and her relatives on the eve of wedding. They are briefly described below.

The bride is adorned with ornaments etc. and seated on a soft chair (*Bhadrapīṭha*) of four legs with her face to the east. Then four unwidowed women, her mother, father, and the family priest wash her by pouring water through a strainer of a thousand holes, with the recitation of *Gaudānika* Mantras (*i.e.* the Mantras to be recited at the *Godāna* ceremony). Then she is made to put on new garments, and the family priest sacrifices the oblations of cooked food to Indra, Indrāṇī, Kāma, Bhaga, Hrī, Śrī, Lakshmī, Pushṭi, and Viśvāvasu Gandharvarāja. Having besmeared all the musical instruments with water mixed with perfumes, the bride plays upon *Nāḍī*, *Tūṇava*, *Mṛidaṅga* and *Paṇava* (*supra*, p. 171). The branch of a sacrificial tree, which spread towards the east, which was cut with one stroke, and which is wrapped up with an unbroken thread, is given to the girl by the *Guru* with the recitation of a Mantra. That branch is then thrown in a water-reservoir or in a pure temple (Kath. G. S. 17-18).

Havishyakalpa (A Special Rite for Maidens)

The Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (19, 1-7) prescribes *Brahmacharya* of ten or twelve years for girls and states that at the end of the *Brahmacharya* on the eve of their marriage a sacrifice of two animals, or one animal, or rice should be offered near a natural spring or

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in a temple where two fires have been lighted. Ordinary oblations are offered there in the usual way. Then oblations mixed with fragrant substances are offered to Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Bṛihaspati, *Skanda*, Rudra, *Vātsīputra*, Bhaga, *Bhaganakshatras*, *Kālī*, *Shashṭhī*, *Bhadrakālī*, Pūshan, Tvashṭṛi, and *Mahishikā*. This rite is named as *Havishyakalpa* in this Gṛihyasūtra.

Havishyapuṇyāha

The Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (20, 1-2) describes another rite known as *Havishyapuṇyāha* in which a relation or the priest of the girl's family goes to a water-reservoir or any convenient place, and cooks there a mess of food (*Sthālīpāka*) with milk. Her whole body including the head is washed with water mixed with all types of perfumes and fruits. She is then dressed in an *Ahata* garment (*see* n. 9). Then the oblations of the Sthālīpāka are offered to Indrāṇī, Varuṇānī, Gandharvāṇī, Udakānī, Agni Jīvaputra, Prajāpati, Mahārāja, Skanda, Aryaman, Bhaga, and Prajānaka.

Departure of the Bridegroom for the Bride's House

According to the Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (23, 1-4), on the day of departure a sacrifice is performed with the Vedic formulas beginning with *Jaya*. After the sacrifice is over, a sister of the bridegroom seizes a hem of his upper garment from behind, holding a weapon in her hand (according to the commentator Brāhmaṇabala, she in this way escorts the bridegroom up to a water-reservoir) ; the marriage procession proceeds to a water-reservoir ; and there they touch water reciting certain Mantras and then depart for the bride's house.

Baudhāyana (I, 1, 24) lays down that the bridegroom should take a bath, put on brand-new garments, anoint his body with perfumes, wear a garland, and take a rich repast ; and holding a long whip (*Pratoda*) in his hand he should depart for the bride's house on a vehicle and not on foot.

According to Śāṅkhāyana, the bridegroom who has taken a bath and for whom auspicious ceremonies have been performed is escorted by happy young women who are not widows to the bride's house ; and he is enjoined not to disregard their words excepting those concerning forbidden food or degrading sins.[4]

The Reception of the Bridegroom at the Bride's House

Baudhāyana (I, 1, 24) states that the bridegroom is received by the relations of the bride with such ceremonies as are performed in

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honour of a distinguished guest. Āpastamba says, "A cow is offered at wedding, and another in the house. With the first cow the guardian of the bride should prepare an Argha-reception for the bridegroom in the same manner as for a guest (*infra*, Chap. XXI). He who is revered by the bridegroom should be honoured with the second cow."[5] A similar view is put forward by Śāṅkhāyana who says, "A cow is offered at wedding when the Argha has been performed ; and in the house is offered another cow : these are the two Madhuparka-cows."[6] The Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (24, 2-3) lays down that the Argha-reception to the groom should be offered at the commencement of nuptial rites. Gobhila (II, 3, 16) prescribes that the Argha-reception to the bridegroom should be offered at the conclusion of wedding. In the following Sūtra (II, 3, 17), however, Gobhila refers to the view of those who hold that this reception should be offered when the bridegroom and his companions have arrived at the house of the bride. The manner of offering the Argha-reception to a distinguished guest is described below in Chap. XXI.

The First Meeting of the Pair

Most of the Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the Yajurveda prescribe that after the bridegroom has been formally received by the bride's relatives the bridegroom and the bride should behold each other with the recitation of Mantras. Baudhāyana (I, 1, 24-25) lays down that with the recitation of a Mantra the bridegroom beholds the bride who has taken a bath, who has put on proper garments, who has anointed her body with perfumes, who has worn a garland, who has taken her meals, who holds an arrow (*Ishu*)in her hand, and who has been ceremonially given away to the bridegroom ; and that he recites another Mantra when she beholds him. Āpastamba (II, 4, 3-4) and Hiraṇyakeśin (I, 19, 4) also prescribe that the bridegroom should behold the bride with the recitation of certain Mantras. Vaikhānasa (III, 2) says that first the bridegroom should behold her and then she should behold him.

The Mānava Gṛihya (I, 10, 12-13) states that the bridegroom should say to the bride with a pure mind : "Behold me" ; and that he recites a Mantra while she beholds him. According to Pāraskara (I, 4, 16), the bride's father (or the priest) makes the bridegroom and the bride look at each other with the recitation of certain Mantras, after the latter has been ceremonially given away to the former.

Kanyā-Pradāna

The majority of the Gṛihyasūtras are absolutely silent on the

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rite of *Kanyā-Pradāna, i.e.* the rite of handing over the bride to the bridegroom. Baudhāyana (I, 1, 24) and Pāraskara (I, 4, 15) simply refer to the fact that the girl has been handed over to the bridegroom ; and the details of the rite are conspicuously absent.

The Man. G. S. and the Kath. G. S. describe the rite of *Kanyā-Pradāna.* It is interesting to note that in both of these Gṛihyas the rite of *Kanyā-Pradāna* follows that of choosing the bride and precedes that of the bridegroom's departure for the bride's house. It appears that this Kanyā-Pradāna is betrothal which takes place long before the wedding-day. Both of these Gṛihyas describe two types of Kanyā-Pradāna, *i.e.* the *Pradāna* of a *Brāhma-deyā* girl and that of a *Śulka-deyā* girl. When a girl is given away according to the *Brāhma* form of marriage, she is called *Brāhma-deyā.* In this ceremony Darbha blades or four seats are spread to the west of the fire. The giver of the girl sits with his face to the west ; to the north of the giver sits the girl with her face to the west ; and the person, who is to accept the girl, sits to the west with his face to the east. To the south of both parties sits the priest with his face to the north. A water-pot containing rice, barley and a piece of gold is placed in their midst on Darbha grass. According to the Man. G. S., an unwidowed woman hands over this pot to the giver of the girl. The priest first proposes to the giver to give away the girl and then proposes to the other party to accept the girl. In the midst of all relatives and friends the giver announces three times : "I give" ; in response to this the other person also announces thrice : "I accept". Having pronounced the blessing : "May this act of yours be true !" the priest recites verses, looking at both the giver and the receiver.

When a girl is given in marriage for money, she is called a *Śulka-deyā* girl *i.e.* a girl to be given for fee. Her guardian and the other party settle the amount of the fee. The giver of the fee says, "I give it for progeny", and then he gives money to the girl's guardian. The receiver of the money says, "I take it for prosperity" ; and he accepts the money. Having placed the money in a brazen vessel full of water, the relations of the girl touch water, reciting certain Mantras of the R. V.[7]

The rite of Kanyā-Pradāna contained in the Vaikh. G. S. is more or less similar to the one performed at present. Describing Kanyā-Pradāna at the *Brāhma* form of marriage Vaikhānasa (III, 2) says, "When the *Guru* has performed the usual rites connected with the sacred fire, the guardian of the bride should hand her over to the bridegroom as his partner in sacred acts, pronouncing the

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bridegroom's Gotra and name ending in *Śarman*, with the recitation of the formula: 'I give her for Dharma, progeny, and prosperity; for success in sacrifices; for the satisfaction of Brahman, the gods, the Ṛishis and the Pitṛis; and for the purpose that the couple should procreate progeny and jointly perform sacred acts.' Thus he gives away the bride with water at the Brāhma form of marriage; and the bridegroom accepts her with water, reciting the six Mantras, the first of which opens with the words: 'Prajāpati put glory in women'."

Presentation of Wedding-Gift

According to Śāṅkhāyana, the bridegroom, reciting a Mantra, presents a garment to the bride with the permission of the women escorting him; he takes up the salve-box and anoints the bride; then he gives her a porcupine-quill and a string of three twisted threads in her right hand and a mirror in her left hand; her relations tie to her neck a red and black string of wool or linen adorned with three jewels; and the bridegroom ties *Madhūka* flowers to her neck. All these acts are, of course, accompanied with the recitation of appropriate Mantras.

Gobhila, Bhāradvāja, Jaimini and Pāraskara also state that the bridegroom presents the bride with brand-new (*ahata*) garments and makes her put them on with certain Mantras.[9]

Sprinkling, Anointing and Girdling of the Bride

Baudhāyana lays down that after looking at the bride the bridegroom cleanses her between her eyebrows with a blade of Darbha grass reciting a Mantra; and that, having thrown away the blade, he touches water and holds her by her right hand.[10] A more elaborate account of this rite is given by Āpastamba who says, "He should hold a Darbha blade with his thumb and ring-finger, cleanse therewith the interstice between her eyebrows with the next Yajus (M. P. 1, 1, 5), and then throw it behind towards the west. If there is an ominous occurrence, he should recite the next verse. With the next verse he should send an even number of persons, who have assembled there and who are versed in the Mantras, to fetch water for the rites. With the next Yajus he places a circlet of Darbha (*Darbheṇḍvam*) on her head; on the circlet is then fitted the hole of the right yoke (of a chariot); and on this hole he places with the next verse a piece of gold and washes her through this hole with the next five verses. With the next verse he causes her to dress herself in an *ahata* garment, and with the next verse he girdles her with a cord (*Yoktra*)."[11]

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A very interesting account of this rite is given in the Kath. G.S. (25, 1-9) which describes it as follows :

Having received the Argha-reception the bridegroom sends away a water-carrier (*Udāhāra*) who fetches water, covering it with a Śamī-branch which have leaves on it. This water is to be used for various ritualistic purposes at the wedding. The bride, who has been washed with water mixed with perfumes etc., is made to put on an *ahata* garment. A cord (*Yoktra*) of Muñja or Darbha is tied round her waist in such a manner that it is covered under her clothes. She is then led to the place where certain special rites are performed. Outside the house a fire is established with due rites, and the oblations of clarified butter are offered into it. To the west of the fire is placed a cart or a chariot. The bridegroom is harnessed to the right yoke of the vehicle and the bride to the left one with their faces to the east. They are then silently unyoked. A piece of gold is fastened with a Darbha string on the right hole of the yoke so loosely that it may be easily untied. The bride is brought under this hole, and then water is sprinkled on her head through this hole. Specific Mantras are recited at the performance of all these acts.

According to the Man. G. S. also, the bride is sprinkled over with water, when she has been brought under the left hole of the right yoke of a cart or a chariot, and when a piece of gold has been placed in that hole ; at the time of sprinkling the bride a musical instrument named *Bāṇa* is played there.[12] After describing the *Aśmārohaṇa*, but before the *Lājahoma*, the same Gṛihya gives the details of rites connected with the girdling of the bride and with anointing the eyes of both the bride and the bridegroom. According to this description, the priest draws together the two ends (of garments ?) and ties them into a knot with a cord of Darbha ; then the bride is girdled with a cord of Darbha ; by means of stalks of Darbha or reed wrapped with Muñja grass, the bride anoints thrice the eyes of the bridegroom with *Traikakubha-Añjana* (salve)—the right eye first and the left one afterwards—reciting certain Mantras ; with the rest of the salve the eyes of the bride are anointed by him silently ; and then the reeds are thrown away.[13]

The above ceremony of sprinkling the bride with water through a yoke-hole and a piece of gold seems to be alluded to in the Atharvaveda XIV, 1, 40-41 ; and in another verse (XIV, 1, 42) of the same Veda is referred to the ceremony of girdling the bride with a cord.

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2. ESSENTIAL RITES AT WEDDING

Preparations for the Nuptial Sacrifice

The place where the nuptial sacrifice is to be performed is besmeared with cow-dung; lines are drawn on it; the fire is established there (*vide* Chap. XVII); and articles, implements and material necessary for the rite are arranged systematically. According to Āśvalāyana (I, 7, 3), a millstone is placed to the west of the fire and a water-pot to the north-east. Gobhila (II, 1, 12-13) lays down that a member of the bridegroom's party (*Janyānām*) fills a vessel with water from a water-reservoir; and, putting on a turban and holding the water-pot, he passes in front of the fire and stations himself silently to its south, with his face to the north; and that another person with a goad (*Prājana*) in his hand passes in the same way and stations himself to the south. To the west of the fire is placed an upper millstone, and four handfuls of fried grains mixed with *Śamī* leaves are placed there in a winnowing-basket.[14] The Jaimini Gṛihya, however, prescribes that to the east of the fire a Brāhmaṇa, restraining his speech, should stand facing the west and holding a water-pot; that to the south of the fire the mother of the bride should stand holding a winnowing-basket of fried grains mixed with Śamī leaves; and that in the absence of the mother any other woman who is entitled to represent her may do so.[15]

Sacrificial Seats of the Pair

After the ceremony of presenting gifts to the bride and that of sprinkling her with water under a yoke have been completed, the bridegroom leads her to the fire, holding her by her right hand.[16] In the Baudh. G. S. (I, 1, 28-29) the rite of *Saptapadī*, which all the other Gṛihyas describe after the nuptial sacrifice, is described before it and just after the rite of anointing the bride. Gobhila lays down that the bridegroom should lead the bride, who is well dressed and wears a *Yajñopavīta*, to the fire with the recitation of a Mantra.[17] Pāraskara (I, 5, 1-2) refers to the view that the pair circumambulates the fire from left to right and that, having pushed with his right foot a bundle of grass or a mat to the west of the fire, the bridegroom sits down on it.

The Gṛihyasūtras generally lay down that the bridegroom and the bride should sit on a mat or on a bundle of grass or on something of the kind, to the west of the fire with their faces to the east. Baudhāyana, Gobhila, Jaimini, Hiraṇyakeśin, Āpastamba, and

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Khādira hold the view that when the bridegroom and the bride take their seats to the west of the fire, the latter sits to the right side of the former.[18] On the contrary, the Kāṭhaka Gṛihya opines that the bridegroom sits to the right side of the bride.[19]

VAIVĀHIKA HOMA (Nuptial Sacrifice)

When the bridegroom and the bride have taken their seats near the fire, the bride according to the Hir. G. S. (I, 19, 6-7) sips water and touches the groom. Śāṅkhāyana states that while the bride touches the groom, he offers three oblations of melted butter (*Ājya*) with the Mahāvyāhṛitis and a fourth oblation with the three Mahāvyāhṛitis together.[20] Gobhila lays down that while the bride touches his right shoulder with her right hand, the groom sacrifices six oblations of Ājya with the verses of the M. Br., three oblations with the Mahāvyāhṛitis one by one, and the fourth one with the three Mahāvyāhṛitis together.[21]

Pāraskara prescribes the following oblations: two *Āghāra* oblations, the oblations of two Ājya portions, oblations with Mahāvyāhṛitis, the general expiatory oblations, the *Prājāpatya* oblation, and the *Svishṭakṛit* oblation; and he further adds that at the wedding the groom may make oblations with the *Rāshṭrabhṛit*, *Jaya*, and *Abhyātāna* formulas.[22] The other Gṛihyas belonging to the Yajurveda also lay down that at the wedding oblations should be offered with Rāshṭrabhṛit, Jaya, and Abhyātāna formulas as well.[23] Then the oblations are offered with certain other Mantras given in the Gṛihyas.[24] The Mānava Gṛihya (I, 10, 9) prescribes at the wedding the offering of oblations to the Nakshatra and its presiding deity, to the Tithi (lunar day) and its presiding deity, and to the Ṛitu (season) and its presiding deity. The Kāṭhaka and the Jaim. Gṛihyas state that after offering each oblation its residue in the form of drops should be poured on the head of the bride.[25]

Śāṅkhāyana (I, 13, 1) states that after the groom has offered oblations into the fire, the father or brother of the bride, facing the west and standing, offers oblations on her head with the point of a sword or with a *Sruva* (a sacrificial ladle), while she sits facing the east; and that he here recites the Mantra of the R. V. (X, 85, 46) which begins with the words: "Be queen over your father-in-law."

PĀṆIGRAHAṆA

In most of the Gṛihyas the sacrifice (*Homa*) is followed by the *Pāṇigrahaṇa*. According to Śāṅkhāyana and Āśvlāyana, at the Pāṇigrahaṇa the groom stands facing the west while the bride sits facing the east. Reciting the Ṛigvedic Mantra (X, 85, 36): "I

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grasp your hand for great prosperity etc.," the groom grasps her right hand together with the thumb with his right hand, the palms of their hands being turned upward.[26] The Hir. G. S. and the Bhar. G. S. say, "At the time of grasping the bride's hand the bridegroom faces the east and the bride faces the west, or the groom faces the west and she faces the east."[27]

Some of the Gṛihyas express the view that if the bridegroom desires the birth of sons only, he should take hold of her thumb only ; that if he desires the birth of daughters only, he should take hold of the bride's fingers only ; and that if he desires sons and daughters he should grasp her hand on the hairy side together with her thumb and fingers.[28]

The Man. G. S. lays down the following procedure for this rite: After the performance of the sacrifice the bridegroom, with his face to the west and with a pure mind, says to the bride, "Look at me !" When she looks at him, he recites a Mantra. Then he asks her name. When her name has been told, he takes hold of her right hand which is with its palm upward and is not empty, with his right hand which is not empty and is kept under the hand of the bride ; at this time the bride sits with her face to the east, while the bridegroom stands with his face to the west.[29]

The Kath. G. S. (25, 21-22) contains the following description of the Pāṇigrahaṇa :

To the north of the fire the bride is seated on a seat of Darbha grass with her face to the east, while the groom sits in front of her with his face to the west. With a pure mind he takes hold of her right hand along with the thumb with his right hand. The hand of the bride should be with its palm upward and should not be empty. Similarly the hand of the groom should not be empty and it should be kept under her hand. In the same way he should take hold of her left hand with his left hand.

The Gobh. G. S. and the Kh. G. S. describe the Pāṇigrahaṇa ceremony after other ceremonies, namely Homa, Agni-Pradakshiṇā, Lājahoma and Saptapadī (*see* n. 26).

The Vedic Mantras to be recited at the Pāṇigrahaṇa show that in the age of the Ṛigveda and the Atharvaveda the Pāṇigrahaṇa was an indispensable part of the marriage ceremony.[30] Striking resemblance between the Pāṇigrahaṇa rite of the Indo-Aryans and the '*dextrarum junctio*' of the early Romans points to the conclusion that the rite of Pāṇigrahaṇa dates from the prehistoric period when the forbears of these peoples were living together.[31]

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THE RECITATION OF GĀTHĀS

The Kath. G. S. (25, 23) prescribes that after the Pāṇigrahaṇa the priest makes either the bridegroom or both the bride and the bridegroom, according to some, recite *Gāthās* (certain verses). Devapāla, the commentator of the Kath. G. S., quotes twenty-one verses which constitute the Gāthās to be recited on this occasion.[32] According to the Par. G. S., after the performance of the Aśmārohaṇa ceremony the bridegroom sings a *Gāthā* which contains the two verses: "O Sarasvati ! promote (this undertaking of ours), O gracious one ! O bountiful one ! You whom I praise are the source of all creation. It is you in whom the whole creation arose and in whom this whole world dwells ; today I shall sing that song which is the highest glory of women."[33]

The Order of Aśmārohaṇa, Lājahoma and Pariṇayana

The Gṛihyas differ a great deal regarding the succession of these three rites as in the case of other rites of the wedding. According to Hiraṇyakeśin, the Aśmārohaṇa is performed before the Pāṇigrahaṇa which is followed by the Lājahoma and Pariṇayana. In the Pāraskara Gṛihya the Lājahoma is described before the Pāṇigrahaṇa which is followed by Aśmārohaṇa and Pariṇayana.

However, in most of the Gṛihyasūtras, viz. in the Gṛihyas of Śāṅkhāyana, Gobhila, Khādira, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Kāṭhaka, and Jaimini, the Aśmārohaṇa is followed by Lājahoma and Pariṇayana. We have, therefore, adopted this order in the description of these rites.

AŚMĀROHAṆA (Treading on a millstone)

After a stone has been placed by the priest to the north of the fire, the bridegroom makes the bride rise with the words: "Come, O joyful one" ; and then he makes her tread with the tip of her right foot on the stone with the Mantra : "Come, tread on the stone. Be firm like a stone. Trample on those who have evil intentions. Suppress the wicked."[34] According to Kauśika, the stone is placed on a lump of cow-dung.[35]

Āśvalāyana (I, 7, 7) states that each time after the bridegroom has led the bride round the fire and the water-pot, he makes her tread on the stone with the Mantra. In this connection Gobhila says, "After the *Homa* both the bridegroom and the bride rise from their seats. Then the bridegroom, passing behind her, stands to the south with his face to the north, and grasps the bride's joined hands (*Añjali*). Standing to the east, the bride's mother or brother, who is holding fried grains, makes her tread on the stone with

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the tip of her right foot, while the groom recites the Mantra."[36]

According to the Mānava Gṛihya (I, 10, 16-17), both the bridegroom and the bride are simultaneously made to tread on a stone with their right feet to the west of the fire, with the Mantra : "Come, tread on this stone, and you both become firm like a stone. May all the gods bless you with a life of a hundred years." Then they are made to get down from the stone with the following Mantra addressed to the bridegroom : "As Indra descended with Indrāṇī from the Gandhamādana mountain, so you get down with your wife from this stone" ; then the bride is addressed with the Mantra : "Mount the same, (put) forward your feet and may you, O girl, be blessed with long life and sons" ; and this act is repeated twice. Likewise according to the Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (25, 28) both the bridegroom and the bride are made to tread on the stone ; however, the difference is that the bridegroom treads on the stone first while the priest recites a Mantra, and then the bride treads on the stone while the priest recites another Mantra.

The performance of the Aśmārohaṇa is prescribed in the Sūtras at the Upanayana ceremony also (*infra*, Chap. XIV). The Mantra which is recited at the Aśmārohaṇa during the Upanayana occurs in the Atharvaveda II, 13, 4. The Mantra of the Atharvaveda (XIV, 1, 47) to be recited at the Aśmārohaṇa shows that this rite was probably in vogue in the days of the Atharvaveda also. The symbolism that underlies this rite is quite clear from the Mantra ; the pair is advised to be firm in their love and to be steadfast in the struggle of life.

LĀJAHOMA (Sacrifice of fried grains)

This act follows the Aśmārohaṇa. Having poured some Ājya (melted butter) into her joined hands, her brother or any other man acting in her brother's place, pours out fried grains (*Lājān*) mixed with Śamī leaves, from his joined hands into the joined hands of the bride. After Ājya has been spread over these fried grains, she offers them into the fire without opening her joined hands, while the bridegroom recites the Mantra : "This woman, offering (*lit.* scattering) fried grains into the fire, prays, 'May my husband live long ; may my relations increase, Svāhā." In addition to this verse, other verses to be recited on this occasion are also contained in some of the Gṛihyas.[37] Śāṅkhāyana and Pāraskara lay down that the bride performs the Lājahoma standing.[38]

According to Śāṅkhāyana (I, 13, 15) either her father or brother may pour Lājas mixed with Śamī leaves into the bride's joined hands. The Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (25, 29) states that her brother or a

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Brahmachārin may pour Lājas and Śamī leaves into the bride's joined hands. Though Āpastamba refers to the view of some authorities that a real brother of the bride pours Lājas into her joined hands, yet he lays down that the bridegroom, having spread under Ājya into her joined hands, pours Lājas twice into them, and sprinkles Ājya over it ; and that then he sacrifices the Lājas with a Mantra.[39] Similarly the Hir. G. S. (I, 20, 3-4) says, "After the bridegroom has made the bride sit down at her proper place (*i.e.* to his right side) and has sprinkled Ājya into her joined hands, he twice pours Lājas into them with the Mantra : 'These fried grains I pour into your hands ; may they bring prosperity to me and unite you with me ; may this Agni grant us that.' After he has sprinkled Ājya over the Lājas in her hands, he sacrifices the Lājas with her joined hands with the Mantra : 'This woman prays etc.' "

The custom of a brother pouring Lājas into the joined hands of her sister at her wedding seems to have been pretty popular, because the majority of the Gṛihyas lay down this custom. Moreover, Yāska's alternative derivation of the word '*Syāla*' (brother-in-law), that 'a *Syāla* is so called because of his pouring Lājas,' lends some support to the above view.[40]

The Mānava Gṛihya (I, 11, 10-12) lays down that the bride's brother or a Brahmachārin pours out the Lājas from his joined hands into the joined hands (*Añjalis*) of both the bridegroom and the bride ; and that, having spread Ājya under and over the Lājas, both of them sacrifice the Lājas without opening their joined hands.

The Kauśika Sūtra (76, 17-18) prescribes that after the Aśmārohaṇa the bride who stands firm (on the stone) is made to offer the *Pūlyas* (fried grains) into the fire three times without opening her joined hands ; and that a fourth oblation is offered to *Kāma*. The Mantra of the A.V. (XIV, 2, 63) which is recited on this occasion reads as follows : "This woman, offering (*lit.* scattering) the *Pūlyas* (fried grains), prays : 'May my husband enjoy long life and live for a hundred autumns'." This Mantra shows that the ceremony of sacrificing fried grains at the wedding is at least as old as the Atharvaveda.

The Lājahoma was believed to bestow prosperity on the couple. This belief is expressed in the Bhar. G. S. which says, "The bride is then made to pronounce : 'I pour out these Lājas which bring forth my prosperity.' "[41]

PARIṆAYANA

Gobhila lays down that after the sacrifice of fried grains the bridegroom, passing behind her, returns to his previous position (*i.e.*

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to the left of the bride) and leads her round the fire clockwise with the recitation of a Mantra, or a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Mantras may lead her.[42]

According to the Hir. G. S. (I, 20, 5), the bridegroom makes the bride rise from her seat with a verse (Tait. Samh. I, 2, 8, 1, 'Up! with life') and then leads her round the fire clockwise. The Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya lays down that after the Aśmārohaṇa the bridegroom leads the bride round the fire and the water-pot clockwise and gives her a second garment; and that the Lājahoma is performed afterwards.[43] According to Āśvalāyana (I, 7, 6), after the Pāṇigrahaṇa the bridegroom leads the bride round the fire and the water-pot clockwise, reciting certain Mantras; and the Aśmārohaṇa and the Lājahoma follow this rite.

According to the Man. G. S., the bridegroom leads the bride four times round the fire after the Aśmārohaṇa; but no Pariṇayana is prescribed by this Gṛihya after the Lājahoma.[44] The Kauśika Sūtra (76, 20) describes the Pariṇayana after the Pāṇigrahaṇa which in this Sūtra follows the Aśmārohaṇa and Lājahoma. The Jaim. G. S. (I, 21) describes the Pariṇayana before the Lājahoma and after the Aśmārohaṇa.

The custom of the pair circumambulating the fire at the wedding perhaps dates from very early times, for such a custom is said to have been prevalent among the Romans also.[45]

The Repetition of Aśmārohaṇa, Lājahoma and Pariṇayana

Gobhila (II, 2, 9) says that after the bride has been led round the fire, she stands as before and treads on the stone as before; that the bridegroom recites the Mantra as before; that her brother pours the Lājas into her joined hands as before; and that she sacrifices as before; this is done three times. According to the other Gṛihyas also, the rites of Aśmārohaṇa, Lājahoma and Pariṇayana are performed thrice.[46] According to Śāṅkhāyana (I, 14, 4), these rites may be optionally performed a fourth time also but it ought to be done silently. In this connection Āśvalāyana (I, 7, 14-15) remarks: "Without going round the fire, she sacrifices the Lājas with the neb of a winnowing-basket towards herself silently a fourth time. Some lead the bride round the fire each time after the Lājas have been poured out; in that case the last two oblations do not meet together immediately."

The Par. G. S. (I, 7, 4) lays down that the rites beginning with the Lājahoma up to the Pariṇayana are repeated twice more. In the Pāraskara Gṛihya the Lājahoma and the Pariṇayana are intervened

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by the Pāṇigrahaṇa, the Aśmārohaṇa, and the singing of the Gāthā. So it follows that, according to Pāraskara, Lājahoma, Pāṇigrahaṇa, Aśmārohaṇa, the singing of the Gāthā, and Pariṇayana are to be performed three times. Pāraskara (I, 7, 5) further adds that the fourth time the bride pours the whole Lājas, by the neb of a winnowing-basket, into the fire with the words : "To Bhaga Svāhā !"

ŚIKHĀ-VIMOCHANA (To untie the bride's locks of hair)

The Asv. G. S. (*see* p. 174, n. 69) lays down that after the Pariṇayana the bridegroom unties the bride's two locks of hair if they are made, that is, if two tufts of wool have been bound round her hair on the two sides ; the right one with the Mantra 'I release you from the fetter of Varuṇa' (R. V. X, 85, 24), and the left one with the following Mantra (R. V. X, 85, 25). Haas refers to the prevalence of a similar marriage custom among the Romans also.[47]

SAPTAPADĪ

Though in the Baudh. G. S. the *Saptapadī* is described in the beginning of the wedding, even before the Homa, and in the Ap. G. S. the Saptapadī comes after the Pāṇigrahaṇa and before the Aśmārohaṇa, Lājahoma, and Pariṇayana, yet in the majority of the Gṛihyas the Saptapadī follows the Pariṇayana.

Pāraskara (I, 8, 1-2) says that after the bridegroom has led the bride round the fire three times and has sacrificed the oblation to Prajāpati, he makes her step forward seven steps with the formulas "One (step) for food ; two for strength ; three for prosperity of wealth ; four for happiness ; five for cattle ; six for the seasons. O friend, be of seven steps (*Saptapadā*) and so be devoted to me" ; and that the words "May Vishṇu lead you" are added to each of the formulas. According to the Asv. G. S. (I, 7, 19), the bridegroom makes the bride step forward seven steps in the north-eastern direction with the words : "Be of one step (*Ekapadī, i.e.*, you take one step forward) for food ; be of two steps for strength ; be of three steps for prosperity of wealth ; be of four steps for happiness ; be of five steps for progeny ; be of six steps for the seasons ; be a friend of seven steps (*Saptapadī*) ; so be devoted to me. Let us acquire many sons who may reach old age." The Sankh. G. S. (I, 14, 7) prescribes that the seven steps should be sprinkled with water. Gobhila enjoins that the bride should put forward her right foot first and follow with the left.[48]

The Hir. G. S. (I, 20, 9-10) says, "The bridegroom makes the bride take the 'steps of Vishṇu' in the eastern or northern direction

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to the west of the fire and instructs her to step forward with the right foot first and to follow with the left." According to some of the Gṛihyas—especially those belonging to the Yajurveda—the following formulas are to be recited at the performance of the *Saptapadī* : "One (step) for food, may Vishṇu escort you ; two (steps) for strength, may Vishṇu escort you ; three (steps) for vows, may Vishṇu escort you ; four (steps) for happiness, may Vishṇu escort you ; five (steps) for cattle, may Vishṇu escort you ; six (steps) for prosperity of wealth, may Vishṇu escort you ; seven (steps) for the seven *Hotrās* (sacrificial invocations), may Vishṇu escort you."[49] The Baudh. G. S. and the Hir. G. S. state that the bride stops on the seventh step and the bridegroom then recites the Mantra : "By seven steps we have become friends ; may I attain your friendship ; may I not be separated from your friendship ; may you not be separated from my friendship."[50] The Bhar. G. S. lays down that at the seventh step the bridegroom looks at her and recites the Mantra : "Be a friend by seven steps. We have become friends by seven steps etc. (the same as given above)."[51] The Kath. G. S. (25, 42) states that to the north of the fire the bridegroom makes the bride step forward in the eastern direction on the layers of Darbha grass with the formulas : "One (step) for food ; two (steps) for strength ; three (steps) for prosperity of wealth ; four (steps) for happiness ; five (steps) for progeny ; six (steps) for seasons ; place the seventh step for longevity ; be a friend by seven steps ; be bestower of happiness. O Sarasvati, may no one, even from the sky, see your seventh step, *i.e.* any of your limbs (*vide* Devapāla's explanation)" ; the words : "May Vishṇu escort you" are added to each of the formulas. The Man. G. S. (I, 11, 18) also contains a similar formula for it.

In connection with the Saptapadī the Kaus. S. lays down that with a Mantra (AV., V, 1, 6) seven easterly lines should be drawn to the north of the fire, and that the bride should be made to step forward on these lines with the Mantras.[52]

According to Kuhn, the custom of Saptapadī is also of Indo-Germanic origin.[53] Friendship was supposed to mature when two persons had walked seven steps together. In a hymn of the Atharvaveda a Ṛishi prays to Varuṇa, "Give me now gifts you have not so far given ; you are my friend by seven steps (*Saptapadaḥ*)".[54] The Saptapadī is regarded as the most important of all the rites at the wedding. Marriage becomes complete and irrevocable on the completion of the *Saptapadī* (*supra*, p. 208).

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3. POST-SAPTAPADI RITES AT BRIDE'S HOUSE

The Gṛihyas describe a number of rites to be performed at the house of the bride after the *Saptapadī*. They are briefly summed up below.

Mūrdhābhisheka

The Sankh. G. S. (I, 14, 7-9) lays down that after the Saptapadī the seven steps are sprinkled with water and that the holy water is then sprinkled on the heads of the couple. The Asv. G. S. (I, 7, 20) also says that after the seventh step the bride and the bridegroom stand together closely and then their heads are sprinkled with water from the water-pot. Gobhila says that after the Saptapadī the water-carrier (*Audaka*) follows the couple to the west of the fire and sprinkles water on their heads; and that the groom then recites a Mantra (M. Br. I, 2, 15).[55]

Hṛidayālambhana

According to some of the Gṛihyas belonging to the Yajurveda, after the Saptapadī the bridegroom touches the heart of the bride with the recitation of certain Mantras in the same way as the Āchārya (teacher) touches the heart of the Brahmachārin at the Upanayana. So the Hir. G. S. (I, 21, 3-4) lays down that after the seventh step the bridegroom touches the place of her heart as above (*i.e.* as in the Upanayana ceremony) and the place of her navel with his right hand, reciting the Mantra: "You are the knot of all the vital breaths; do not loosen yourself." The Bhar. G. S. (I, 17) states that when the bridegroom touches her heart he recites the following Mantra: "May your heart dwell in my heart; may your mind dwell in my mind. You listen to my speech with undivided attention; be devoted to me; be my companion"; that then he whispers some Mantras in her right ear; one of them reads as follows: "May your thought enter into me; may your eyes and mind be attached to me; may all creatures and your intellect enter me (*i.e.* may you direct all interests to me)." The Baudh. G.S. also lays down almost the same ceremony with a few more Mantras.[56]

The Par. G. S. (I, 8, 3-8) lays down that after the bridegroom has sprinkled the bride's head with water taken from the water-pot which is held silently by a man on his shoulder to the south or north of the fire, the bridegroom makes her look at the sun; and that then he touches her heart with the Mantra: "Into my will I take your heart; may your mind follow my mind; accept my words with undivided attention; may Prajāpati join you to me."

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Sūryodīkshaṇa and Dhruva-Darśana

The Par. G. S. (I, 8, 7), as we have just stated, lays down that the bridegroom makes the bride look at the sun, while he recites the Mantra (Vaj. Samh. XXXVI, 24). The Kath. G. S. (25, 43-44) prescribes that the bridegroom makes the bride worship the sun with the Mantra (Vaj. Samh. XXXVI, 24) and that she should be made to worship the fire, if the sun has set. Further, the Kath. G. S. (25, 45) states that the auspicious stars, namely *Jīvantī*, *Dhruva* (pole-star), *Svastyātreya* and *Arundhatī* should be shown to the bride one by one with the words : "Do you see such and such star" ; and that she should reply, "I see it." The Jaim. G. S. also prescribes that the pole-star and other stars should be shown to the bride at her father's house after the wedding ; and the Agni. G. S. enjoins the worship of these stars.[57] But the majority of the Gṛihyas lay down that these stars are to be shown to the bride at the bridegroom's house (*infra*, p. 243).

Prekshakānumantraṇa

The Gobh. G. S. says that after the Saptapadī the bridegroom addresses the following Mantra to the spectators : "This bride is auspicious ; come together and behold her. Having blessed her with good fortune, please return to your houses."[58] The Kath. G. S. (25, 46) also lays down the same injunction. The Man. G. S. (I, 12, 1) says that the bridegroom addresses this Mantra to the spectators when they disperse from there. According to the Par. G. S. (I, 8, 9), the bridegroom recites this Mantra to the bride after the rite of touching her heart.

The Parting of Hair and the Common Meal

The Man. G. S. (I, 11, 19-26) states that after the Saptapadī the bride is made to sit to the west of the fire on a red bull's skin covered with Darbha grass or on the blades of Darbha grass only ; that the bridegroom then unties the knot of the cord (that was tied previously) and ties it to the hem of the upper garment ; and that certain oblations are then offered into the fire and they cleanse themselves with holy water. The Mānava Gṛihya (I, 12, 1-7) further lays down that, after the bridegroom has addressed a Mantra to the spectators who are departing, he parts there (at the bride's house) her hair with a porcupine-quill which has three white spots, or with a blade of Darbha grass having roots with it ; that he anoints her hair (with oil) and then braids the hair with a thread made of the wool of a living ram ; and that both of them then eat together curds and honey.

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The Showering of grains on the couple : The Hir. G. S. (I, 21, 6) lays down that at the conclusion of the wedding those who are present there shower grains on the couple. This act evidently signifies the showering of blessings on the couple.

Gifts to the priest : Some Gṛihyas recommend that at the conclusion of the wedding the bridegroom gives away gifts to the priest.[59] The Par. G. S. and the Sankh. G. S. say that a cow is an optional gift to be given by a Brāhmaṇa, a village by a Rājanya, and a horse by a Vaiśya ; and that a hundred cows and a chariot should be given to the father of the girl.[60]

4. COUPLE'S DEPARTURE FOR HOME

The Hir. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. state that after the wedding they carry the bride in a vehicle or in a palanquin etc.[61] In this connection the Par. G. S. says that a strong man lifts up the bride (in a palanquin ?) and seats her on a red bull's skin in a secluded house in the eastern or northern direction with the words : "May cows sit here ; may horses and men sit here. Here may be a sacrifice with a thousand gifts ; here may Pūshan sit down."[62] Gobhila lays down that they carry the bride to a suitable house belonging to a Brāhmaṇa, which is situated in the north-eastern direction.[63] According to Āśvalāyana (I, 7, 21), the bride should stay that night in the house of an old Brāhmaṇa woman whose husband and children are alive. The Kath. G. S. (25, 47) prescribes the recitation of four Mantras on the bride's departure to her home in the north-eastern direction or wherever it may be.

Prescribing the departure of the bride by a vehicle, the Kauśika Sūtra states that the bride is made to rise with the three Mantras of the Atharvaveda (A. V. XIV, 1, 59. 60. 62) ; that with another Mantra (A. V. XIV, 2, 15) she is made to start ; that with the two verses (A. V. XIV, 1, 61 ; XIX, 2, 30) she is made to mount the vehicle ; and that the priest goes forward reciting a Mantra.[64] The Baudh. G. S. (I, 5, 3-4) says that then the bridegroom carries her away from the side of her father or Guru (elder) ; and that having held her by her right hand, he makes her mount the chariot and takes her to his house. The Sankh. G. S. lays down the following procedure for the bride's departure :

When the bride leaves for her husband's house, the bridegroom recites the three Mantras (R. V. X, 85, 24-26). If she begins to cry, he recites the Mantra, "The living one they bewail" (R. V. X, 40, 10). Then the wife smears with clarified butter the axle of the chariot, reciting a Mantra (R. V. I, 82, 2). With the two Mantras

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(R. V. X, 85, 12. 16) she smears the two wheels—the first with the first Mantra and the second with the second Mantra ; and then she smears the two bullocks. A branch of a fruit-bearing tree is put into each of the yoke-holes intended for pins, with a Mantra (R. V. VIII, 80, 7). If such branches are already fixed there, the Mantra is simply recited over them. They then harness the two bullocks with the two Mantras (R. V. I, 82, 5-6). When they have been harnessed, the bridegroom recites over them the half verse (R. V. X, 85, 10). When the bride mounts the chariot, he recites the Mantra (R. V. X, 85, 20).[65]

The Ap. G. S. (II, 5, 19-22) prescribes the Mantras which are to be recited when the chariot is put into position, when the two animals are yoked to the chariot—the right one first, and when the bride mounts the chariot. The Ap. G. S. (II, 5, 23-24) further adds that with the next verse (M. P. I, 6, 8) the bridegroom spreads out two threads in the wheel-tracks in which the chariot is to go —a dark-blue (*Nīla*) thread in the right track and a red one in the left track ; and that with the next verses (M. P. I, 6, 9-11) he walks on these threads. According to the Ap. G. S. and the Hir. G. S., the nuptial fire is carried in a vessel behind the newly-married couple to their home ; and this fire is to be constantly maintained by the couple.[66] The Asv. G. S. says that it should be carried in front of the couple.[67]

The Man. G. S. and Kath. G. S. lay down that a vehicle for the bride's departure should be made ready on an auspicious day.[68] Like other Gṛihyas, they also prescribe certain Mantras to be recited when the two animals (*i.e.* horses or bullocks) are yoked, when the bride mounts the chariot, and when they start on the journey.[69] The Kath. G. S. (26, 3) says that a branch of a Śamī tree should be fixed in the holes of the yoke with a Mantra.

Journey of the newly-married Couple to their Home

The Gṛihyasūtras prescribe the Mantras to be recited on various occasions in the course of the journey. Certain Mantras, for instance, should be recited by the bridegroom when the bride boards a boat ; when they pass by crossings, villages, rivers, big trees, cemeteries, or deserts ; when they see a ferocious beast or a snake ; when they sail across deep waters in a river ; and when they come across lookers-on, etc.[70]

If the chariot or any part thereof breaks, or something that is bound is loosened, or the chariot is overturned, or any other accident happens, the ceremonies of putting wood on the fire down to

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the *Ājyabhāga* oblations are performed. While the bride touches the bridegroom, he offers oblations. Then he enters upon the performance of the *Jaya* and the following oblations and performs the rites down to the sprinkling of water round the fire. When the chariot is repaired, a verse is recited (R.V. III, 53, 19), or another chariot is made ready ; and the bride is seated in it.[71]

5. THE RECEPTION OF THE BRIDE

Gṛihapraveśa

The Mānava Gṛihya lays down that they enter the village with cows at sunset or with the permission of a Brāhmaṇa ; and that they make the bride enter the house at the time of evening twilight.[72] The Kāṭhaka Gṛihya prescribes that the couple should reach their home in the afternoon when the rays of the sun are visible on trees and not below ; and that the bride then addresses certain Mantras to her new home.[73] Āpastamba says that the bridegroom shows his house to the bride with a Mantra.[74] The bride is made to dismount from the vehicle with a verse, and then auspicious objects (*Maṅgalāni*) are displayed from the house.[75] Gobhila (II, 4, 6) states that when the bride has reached the house, Brāhmaṇa women of good character, whose husbands and sons are alive, make her descend from the chariot and seat her on a bull's skin with a Mantra. With a Mantra (R.V. X, 25, 27) the bridegroom makes her enter the house.[76] Āpastamba lays down that with the two Mantras (M.P.I, 7, 11-12) the animals that draw the chariot are unyoked—the right one first ; then the bridegroom causes her to recite the Mantra (M.P.I, 8, 2), while making her enter the house ; and that she enters the house with her right foot first, and should not stand on the threshold.[77]

The Man. G.S. and the Kath. G. S. lay down that from the *Goshṭha* (cow-pen, *i.e.* the outer portion of the house where the bride dismounts from the chariot) up to the sleeping-chamber of the bride *Ulapa* grass is strewn in an unbroken line ; and that the bride enters the house by that line with a Mantra.[78]

According to the Kaus. S. (77, 16-23), on entering her new home the bride is again made to tread upon a stone ; she is again led round the fire thrice ; and then she pays obeisance to the tutelary deities of the house.

Sacrifice on entering the House

When the nuptial fire has been established in the house in its eastern or north-eastern part, to the west of the fire is spread out

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a red bull's skin with its neck to the east and with its hair upward ; a water-pot is placed near the fire ; the bride is then seated on the skin with her face to the east ; and the bridegroom sits to her left.[79] While she touches him, he sacrifices the oblations of Ājya into the fire ; and he offers certain oblations, according to the Sūtras of the Yajurveda, with *Jaya* and the following formulas.[80]

According to Śāṅkhāyana, the husband besmears her eyes with Ājya-salve, touches the ends of her hair, and pours the remaining drops of Ājya oblations on her head.[81] The Asv. G. S. (I, 8, 9) enjoins that after the sacrifice the bridegroom eats curds with the Mantra (R. V. X, 85, 47) and gives the remaining curds to the wife to eat ; or he besmears their hearts with the residue of the Ājya.

Placing a Boy in the Bride's Lap

According to Kauśika, Gobhila, Jaimini, and Mānavāchārya, a boy is placed in the bride's lap before the oblations are offered into the fire ; but Śāṅkhāyana, Kāṭhaka, and Āpastamba lay down that a boy is to be placed in her lap after the oblations have been offered into the fire. Kauśika states that a Brāhmaṇa's boy with an auspicious name is placed in her lap.[82] The Mānava Gṛihya (I, 14, 8) recommends that a Brahmachārin should be placed in her lap with a Mantra. Śāṅkhāyana states that a boy of good birth should be placed in her lap with a Mantra or silently.[83] Āpastamba (II, 6, 11) lays down that the groom places in her lap the son of a woman who has only sons and whose children are all alive. Other Gṛihyas prescribe no qualifications for the boy to be placed in her lap ; it is said that fruits are given in the hands of the boy and then he is made to rise from her lap.[84] Śāṅkhāyana believes that thus she becomes the mother of sons (*see* n. 83).

Then the bridegroom and the bride drink together curds and sit silently till the stars appear.[85] The Mānava Gṛihya (I, 12, 5-7) prescribes the eating together of curds and honey at the house of the bride's father after the wedding (*supra*, p. 239). According to those Gṛihyas which prescribe that the pole-star should be shown to the bride just after the wedding at the bride's house (*supra* p. 239), the bridegroom and the bride need not sit silently after the sacrifice.

Showing the Pole-Star and other Stars to the Bride

Some of the Gṛihyasūtras, as we have already pointed out (*supra*, p. 239), lay down that the pole-star and other stars are to be shown to the bride at her house just after the wedding. In the Gobh. G. S. this rite is described before the couple's journey to

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their home ; so it follows that according to Gobhila this rite is performed when the couple stays at the house of a Brāhmaṇa. Gobhila describes it as follows :

The fire is established there and the bride is seated on a red bull's skin to the west of the fire. She sits there silently until the stars appear. When someone has reported that a star has appeared, the husband sacrifices six oblations of Ājya and pours the remaining drops of each oblation over the bride's head. Then they rise from their seats and go out of the house. He shows her the pole-star (*Dhruva*), causes her to recite the following Mantra with the insertion of her husband's and her own name : "Firm are you ; may I, N.N., become firm in the home of my husband, N.N." After this when he shows her the *Arundhatī* star, she recites the formula : "I (N. N.) am held up (*ruddhā*) in his home by my husband (N. N.)." When he has recited for her the Mantra, "Firm is the sky etc." (M. Br. I, 3, 7), she breaks her silence by respectfully saluting her *Guru* by the *Gotra* name.[86]

Āśvalāyana (1, 7, 22), who also describes this rite before the couple's journey from the Brāhmaṇa's house to their home, says "Having seen the pole-star, the star *Arundhatī* and the *Ursa Major*, she should break silence by pronouncing the formula : 'May my husband live and may I have offspring.' " Pāraskara lays down that after sunset the bridegroom shows her the pole-star with the Mantra, "Firm are you ; I see you firm. You (O bride) be firm in my home, thriving ; Bṛihaspati has given you to me ; possessing offspring you live with me, your husband, a hundred autumns" ; and that, even if she cannot see the pole-star, she should reply : "I see it."[87] The Mānava Gṛihya prescribes that the pole-star, the stars *Arundhatī* and *Jīvantī* and the *Ursa Major* should be shown to the bride ; and that a Mantra should be recited while she looks at them.[88] The Bhar. G. S. (I, 19) states that after the pole-star, the *Arundhatī* and the *Ursa Major* have been shown to the bride, they are worshipped by the bridegroom. The Hir. G. S. (I, 22, 11-14) prescribes that the bridegroom should go out with his wife on the appearance of stars and worship the quarters of the sky, stars, the moon, the pole-star, and the *Ursa Major*.

Sthālīpāka-Homa and Samaśanam

The Gobh. G. S. lays down that on the following day a *Sthālīpāka* (a mess of cooked food) should be prepared, and that its oblations should be offered to Agni, Prajāpati, Viśvedevas and Anumati.[89] The same Gṛihya further says that after the Homa the remainder

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of the food is taken in another vessel and touched by the husband with certain Mantras ; that after eating a part of it he gives the rest to the wife to eat ; and that a cow is given away as sacrificial fee on this occasion.[90] The Mānava Gṛihya (I, 14, 11-13) lays down that after the Homa the husband thrice eats with a Mantra the residue of the sacrificial food mixed with melted butter and curds, and that the rest of this food is eaten by the wife silently. The Kath. G.S. enjoins that both the husband and wife should eat together remainder of the sacrificial food after oblations have been offered to Agni and Prajāpati.[91]

According to Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin, the wife husks rice grains for preparing a *Sthālīpāka* to be offered to Agni ; when the *Sthālīpāka* has been cooked and its oblations have been offered to Agni, a Brāhmaṇa who is revered by the sacrificer is served with the remainder of the sacrificial food mixed with ghee ; and he is presented with a bull.[92]

6. CONSUMMATION AND CONJUGAL RELATIONS

Trirātra-Vrata

Many Gṛihyas lay down that for a period of three nights after the wedding the husband and wife should abstain from saline or pungent food, sleep together on the ground on the same bed refraining from conjugal intercourse, and wear ornaments.[93] The Par. G. S. (I, 8, 21) says that the husband and wife should refrain from conjugal intercourse for a period of one year, twelve nights, six nights, or at least three nights after the wedding. Prescribing a similar rule, the Asv. G. S. refers to the opinion of some teachers who hold that a Ṛishi will be born to the couple, if they refrain from conjugal intercourse for one year after the wedding.[94] The Man. G. S. and the Kath. G. S. state that the newly-married couple should observe chastity for one year, twelve nights, three nights, or at least one night after the wedding.[95] The Sankh. G. S. (I, 17, 5-8) lays down that during a period of three nights after the wedding the husband and wife should refrain from conjugal intercourse, sleep on the ground, eat together boiled rice and curds, and serve the nuptial fire in the evening as well as in the morning. The same Gṛihya further adds that if the wife desires an offspring she should offer the first oblation into the fire with the words : "Males are both Mitra and Varuṇa ; males are both the Aśvins ; Indra and Agni are also males ; may a male offspring grow in me."[96] It is said in the Sankh. G. S. (I, 17, 10) that the husband and wife should not leave their home on any journey for a period of ten days after the wedding. The

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Baudh. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. lay down the injunction that for three nights the newly-married couple should sleep on the ground on the same bed but should interpose between them a staff of Udumbara wood anointed with perfumes and wrapped up in a garment or thread.[97] The Ap. G. S. (III, 8, 10) states that in the last part of the fourth night the husband takes up the staff with the two Mantras (M. P. I, 10, 1-2), washes it and puts it away. According to the Baudh. G. S. (I, 5, 18-25), after the performance of the sacrifice on the fourth night the husband takes up the staff with the recitation of a Mantra and gives it with a certain formula to the wife who accepts and returns it ; and then it is placed on the supporting-pillar of the house and thrown in water the next day.

Chaturthī-Karman

The rite to be performed on the fourth night when the husband and wife consummate marriage is known as *Chaturthī-karman*. Some of the Gṛihyas treat it very briefly, whereas the others describe it in vivid details. The Asv. G. S. is absolutely silent on the *Chaturthī-karman*. The Man. G. S. and the Kath. G. S. lay down that the husband and wife should recite certain Mantras at the times of consummation.[98] The Sankh. G. S. (I, 18, 1-5) says that in the fourth night after the wedding the husband offers the oblations of *Sthālīpāka* (cooked food) to Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Aryaman, Varuṇa, Pūshan, Prajāpati, and Agni Svishṭakṛit, reciting certain Mantras. As for the consummation of marriage, the Sankh. G. S. (I, 19, 1-6) says that at proper time after her menstruation the husband pounds the root of the *Adhyāṇḍā* plant and instils its juice into the wife's right nostril with two Mantras (R. V. X, 85, 21-22) inserting *Svāhā* at the end of each Mantra ; and that when he consummates marriage he recites certain Mantras. Some other Gṛihyas also prescribe the sacrifice of a *Sthālīpāka* on the fourth night ; and some Gṛihyas belonging to the Yajurveda explicitly lay down that these rites should be performed in the second half of the fourth night after the wedding.[99] The Gṛihyas of the Sāmaveda state that the remaining drop of each oblation of Ājya should be poured into a water-pot or a wooden vessel ; that the wife's whole body including her hair and nails should be smeared with these remnants ; and that then she is washed with water.[100] Gobhila first refers to the view of some authorities who hold that the consummation of marriage should take place on the fourth night, and then he puts forward the view that the period following the cessation of menstrual flow is the proper time for consummation.[101]

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The Ap. G. S. (III, 8, 10) says that after the sacrifice the husband makes the wife sit to the west of the fire with her face to the east and pours over her head the remnants of Ājya-oblations, with three *Vyāhṛitis* and with *Om* as the fourth (M. P. I, 10, 10-13) ; that both of them then look at each other with the next two verses (M. P. I, 11, 1-2) in accordance with their essential characteristics, *i.e.* the first verse is to be recited by the wife and the second by the husband ; that reciting a verse (M. P. I, 11, 3), he besmears the places of their hearts with the remnants of Ājya-oblations ; and that then he recites other Mantras at the time of consummation. The Baudh. G. S. (I, 5, 18-23) lays down that after the sacrifice of the *Sthālīpāka* and *Ājya* the staff (which was interposed between them for three nights) is given by the husband to the wife who accepts it and then gives it back to him, and that then they consummate marriage.

According to the Hir. G. S., after the sacrifice the husband places a water-pot near the fire and circumambulates clock-wise the fire and the water-pot ; and then follows the consummation of marriage.[102] Some of the Gṛihyasūtras give lascivious vivid details of consummation which have been passed over here.[103]

Conjugal Relations

The Par. G. S. lays down that after the husband has led the wife to his house he should discharge his conjugal duty towards her after each of her monthly periods, or as he likes, because it has been said (in the holy scriptures) : "May we have intercourse as we like until a child is born."[104] The Dharmasūtras also enjoin upon the husband to perform his conjugal duty towards his wife regularly after her monthly course ; and they declare that the husband incurs sin, if he does not perform this duty at proper time.[105]

Observances for a Menstruous Wife

The Bhar. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. put forward the view that when the wife has her monthly course the husband should instruct her about those acts which are interdicted in the Brāhmaṇa-text to menstruous women.[106] The Hir. G. S. (I, 24, 7) says that a woman who has her monthly course keeps through a period of three nights the observances prescribed in the Brāhmaṇa. The observances to be kept during the period of menstruation have been given in detail by the Baudh. G. S. It states that a man should not speak with a menstruous woman, nor should he sit together with her, nor should he eat the food touched by her, nor should he cohabit

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with her. Baudhāyana adds that a menstruous woman should abstain from going to the forest or a distant place, from taking a bath, from anointing herself, from dressing her hair, from salving her eyes, from cleaning her teeth, from paring her nails, from spinning, from weaving a rope, and from drinking water out of a leaf or a broken vessel.[107] Then she takes a bath on the fourth day. In this connection the Vaikh. G. S. (III, 9) says, "For a period of three days a menstruous woman should abstain from bathing, anointing, etc. ; she should take food once a day ; she should drink from an unbroken earthen vessel, or from her two hands held together, or from an iron vessel ; and she should not eat out of a copper plate. She should not look at any planet and should not sleep in the day. She should keep the observances as they have been explained. On the fourth day she should clean her teeth and wash herself with water mixed with fragrant substances, fruits of the Emblic Myrobalan (*Āmalaka*) etc. Clad in a white (clean) garment and anointed with perfumes she should first see her husband without having spoken with a woman or a Śūdra and without having looked at any other man ; for a woman who has bathed after her monthly course gets such offspring as is the man whom she looks at first."

The Bhar. G.S. and the Hir. G. S. prescribe that a menstruous wife should wash herself on the fourth day, then attire herself in white (clean) garments, put on ornaments, and talk to a worthy Brāhmaṇa ; and that the husband should have intercourse with her at night reciting certain Mantras prescribed for the occasion. Āśmarthya whose view is quoted in the Bhar. G. S. holds that the Mantras should be repeated at every intercourse while Ālekhana whose view is also cited in the Bhar. G. S. opines that the Mantras are to be recited at the first intercourse only ; and exactly identical views are ascribed to Ātreya and Bādarāyaṇa in the Hir. G. S., Ātreya's view corresponds to that of Āśmarthya and Bādarāyaṇa's to that of Ālekhana.[108]

As regards nights fit for conjugal union, the Baudh. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. refer to the view of the teachers (*Āchāryas*) that so far as the quality of offspring is concerned each succeeding even night from the fourth to the sixteenth after the menses is better than each preceding one.[109] Similarly the Vaikh. G. S. says that twelve nights are fit for conjugal union ; that some include the sixteenth also ; that the first three nights after the menses are prohibited ; and that a son is conceived on even nights, a daughter on odd ones.[110]

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The Ap. D. S. interdicts copulation on the new-moon and full-moon days.[111] The Gaut. D. S. (XV, 23) interdicts copulation on that day also when Śrāddha is offered to the Pitṛis.

Notes and References

1. क्लोतकैर्यवैर्माषैर्वाप्लुतां सुहृत् सुरोत्तमेन सशरीरां त्रिर्मूर्धन्यभिषिञ्चेत्—"काम वेद ते नाम मदो नामासीति, समानयासुम्" इति पतिनाम गृह्णीयात् स्वाहाकारान्ताभिरुपरथमुत्तराभ्यां प्लावयेत् । ज्ञातिकर्मैतत् ॥ गो० गृ० II, 1, 9-10.

According to Prof. Oldenberg (SBE, XXX, p. 43, f.n.), *Surottama* means Surā prepared from molasses ; *vide* Gṛihyasaṁgraha II, 16. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the commentator of this Gṛihya, opines that *Surā* is a name of water and he refers to the Nighaṇṭu I, 12. But the import of the Mantras to be recited at this rite indicates that *Surā* in this context means wine.

2. चतस्रोऽष्टौ वा अविधवाः शाकपिण्डीभिः सुरयान्नेन च तर्पयित्वा चतुरो नर्तनं कुर्युः ॥ शां० गृ० I, 11, 5 ; कौषी० गृ० I, 7, 2.

3. चतस्रोऽष्टौ वाविधवाः शाकपिण्डीभिः स्त्रियोऽन्नेन च ब्राह्मणान्भोजयित्वा वीणागायिभिः सह संगायेयुरपि वा चतुरो नर्तनं कुर्यात् ॥ काठ० गृ० 22, 1.

4. स्नातं कृतमंगलं वरमविधवाः सुभगा युवत्यः कुमार्यो वेश्म प्रवादयन्ति । तासामप्रतिकूलः स्याद-न्यत्राभद्रयपातकेभ्यः ॥ शां० गृ० I, 12, 1-2.

5. विवाहे गौः । गृहेषु गौः । तया वरमतिथिवदर्हयेत् । योऽस्यापचितरतमितरया ॥ आप० गृ० I, 3, 5-8.

6. विवाहे गामर्हयित्वा गृहेषु गां ते माधुपर्किक्यौ ॥ शां० गृ० I, 12, 10.

7. Man. G.S. I, 8, 1-11 ; Kath. G.S. 15, 1-5 ; *ibid.* 16, 1-5.

8. Sankh. G.S. I, 12, 3-9 ; *cf.* Kaush. G.S. I, 8, 2-9. Oldenberg's conjecture (SBE, Vol. XXIX, p. 33 footnote) that the bride and the bridegroom were anointed by a third person is hardly tenable, and Nārāyaṇa's view that the bridegroom anoints the eyes of the bride is more probable, for the Baudh. G.S. and the Ap. G.S. lay down that the bridegroom should anoint the eyes of the bride.

9. Gobh. G.S. II, 1, 17 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 13 : 13, 4 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 20 : 20, 1 ; Par. G.S. I, 4, 12-13. An *Ahata* garment which is prescribed in the Sūtras here and on many other occasions has been defined by Prachetas as follows :

ईषद्धौतं नवं श्वेतं सदशं यन्न धारितम् ।
अहतं तद्विजानीयात्सर्वकर्मसु पावनम् ॥ संस्काररत्नमाला, p. 191.

10. अथैनामन्तरेण भ्रुवं मुखे दर्भेण सम्मार्ष्टि—'इदमहं या त्वयि पतिघ्न्यलक्ष्मीरतां निर्दिशामि' इति । दर्भं निरस्याप उपस्पृश्यैनां दक्षिणे हस्ते गृह्णाति—'मित्रोऽसि' इति ॥ बौ० गृ० I, 1, 26-27

11. Ap. G.S. II, 4, 5-8 ; *cf.* Kaus. S. 76, 1-14.

12. Man. G.S. I, 10, 7 ; *see* Kaus. S. 76, 11-13. R. V. VIII, 91, 7, (A.V. XIV, 1, 41) which is to be recited (*vide* Kath. G.S. 25, 8) at the rite of sprinkling the bride through a yoke-hole points to the purpose of this rite.

13. Man. G.S. I, 11, 5-9. The words *Bhartuḥ* and *Patnyāḥ* in the sūtras

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show that the bride and the bridegroom anoint each other; Dresden, *op. cit.*, p. 54 takes it differently.

14. Gobh. G.S. II, 1, 14-15.

15. Jaim. G.S. I, 20 : 19, 19 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. I, 3, 5.

16. Ap. G.S. II, 4, 9 ; [*cf.* Kaus. S. 76, 14, Baudh. G.S. I, 1, 27 (*vide* n. 10).

17. 'परिधत्त धत्त वाससे'ति प्रावृतां यज्ञोपवीतिनीम् अभ्युदानयञ्जपेत् 'सोमोऽददद् गन्धर्वाय' इति ॥ गो० गृ० II, 1, 18.

18. Baudh. G.S. I, 3, 20 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 1, 22 : Jaim. G. S. I, 20 ; 20, 5; Hir. G.S. I, 19, 5 ; Ap. G.S. II, 4, 9 ; Kh. G.S. 1, 3, 7. *cf.* Saṁskāra-ratna-mālā, p. 13.

19. दक्षिणतः पुमान् भवति ॥ काठ० गृ० 25, 10.

20. Sankh. G.S. I, 12, 11-12. *Bhuḥ*, *Bhuvaḥ* and *Svaḥ* are called Mahā-vyāhṛitis. *See* Chap. XVII.

21. Gobh. G.S. II, 1, 23-25 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. I, 3, 8-9.

22. Par. G.S. I, 5, 3-7. *Jaya* and *Abhyātāna* formulas are given by the Par. G.S. in the following sūtras, *i. e.*, I, 5, 9 and I, 5, 10 respectively. The Tait. Samh. III, 4, 4-7 contains the Jaya, Abhyātāna and Rāshṭrabhṛit formulas. *See* the explanation of the two Āghāras and Ājyabhāgas etc. in Chap. XVII.

23. Hir. G.S. I, 20, 8 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 13 : 14, 3 ; Kath. G.S. 25, 13 ; Man. G.S. I, 10, 11 ; *cf.* Baudh. S.S. XIV, 16 ; Ap. S.S. XIX, 18, 18. 19.

24. Par. G.S. I, 5, 11-12 ; Hir. G.S. I, 19, 7 ; Man. G.S. I, 10, 8. 10 ; Kath. G.S. 25, 11-19.

25. Kath. G.S. 25, 20 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 20 : 20, 8.

26. Sankh. G. S. I, 13, 1 ; Asv. G. S. I, 7, 3 ; Gobh. G. S. II, 2, 15 ; Kh. G.S. I, 3, 31 ; Par. G.S. I, 6, 3 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 4, 10 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 3.

27. Hir. G.S. I, 20, 1 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 15 : 15, 5.

28. Asv. G.S. I, 7, 3-5 ; Ap. G.S. II, 4, 11-15. Hir. G.S. I, 20, 1 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 21 : 20, 20.

29. Man. G.S. I, 10, 12-15. 'Not empty (*Arikta*) hand' means that ornaments or some auspicious thing should be kept in the hand at the time of Pāṇigrahaṇa, *vide* Devapāla on the Kath. G.S. 25, 21.

30. R.V. X, 85, 36 ; A.V. XIV, 1, 48-51.

31. Weber, Ind. Stud., Vol. V, p. 277 ; Alt. Hoch., p. 49.

32. Laugākshi Gṛihyasūtra, Kashmir Edition, Vol. I, pp. 248-60.

33. Par. G.S. I, 7, 2. Bhar. G S. I, 16 : 16, 6 ; contains one verse only. The Man. G.S. I, 10, 15 contains two similar verses to be recited at the Pāṇigrahaṇa. The Man. G.S.I, 10, 15 and Devapāla's version of the Gāthā read '*Pragāyāmi*' and '*Manas*' in place of 'Prajāyām' and 'Yaśas' of Pāraskara.

34. Sankh. G.S. I, 13, 11-12 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 4, 24 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 16 : 16, 9 ; Par. G.S. I, 7, 1 ; Ap. G.S. II, 5, 3 ; Hir. G.S. I, 19, 8 (text is the same as that of the Bhar. G.S.) ; Jaim. G.S. I, 21 : 21, 6.

35. स्योनमिति शकृत्पिण्डेऽश्मानं निदधाति ॥ कौ० सू० 76, 15.

36. हुत्वोपोत्तिष्ठतः । अनुपृष्ठं पतिः परिक्रम्य दक्षिणत उदङ्मुखोऽवतिष्ठते वध्वञ्जलिं गृहीत्वा । पूर्वा माता लाजानादाय भ्राता वा वधूमाक्रामयेदश्मानं दक्षिणेन प्रपदेन । पाणिग्राहो जपति 'इममश्मानमारोहे'ति ॥ गो० गृ० II, 2, 1-4.

The commentators also explain that the mother or brother of the bride makes her tread on the stone. But such a custom is not met with in any other

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Grihyasūtra. If the third sūtra is split up into two parts and thus we take '*Purvā Mātā Lājānādāya Bhrātā vā*' as a separate sūtra, the rest of the third sūtra would mean that the proper person (who is naturally the bridegroom) makes the bride tread on the stone with the tip of her right big toe. This division of the third sūtra into two is supported by the Kh. G.S. which describes the content of the said sūtra of Gobhila into two separate sūtras, *i.e.*, I, 3, 18-19 and does not convey the meaning that the mother or brother of the bride makes her tread on the stone. Following his translation of the said sūtra of the Gobh. G.S., Oldenberg (SBE, XXIX, p. 381) understands the Kh. G.S. I, 3, 19 as 'mother should make the bride tread on the stone'. *See* Knauer, Gobh. G.S. (Zweites Heft), p. 169.

37. Asv. G.S. I, 7, 8-13 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 4, 25-26 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 16 : 16, 13 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 2, 5-7 ; Kh. G.S. I, 3, 20-23.

38. Sankh. G.S. I, 13, 11-17 ; I, 14, 1-4 ; Par. G.S. I, 6, 1-2.

39. Ap. G.S. II, 5, 4-6. The commentator Haradatta says, "The act of sacrificing belongs to the bridegroom ; the hands of the wife represent the sacrificial vessel." Another commentator Sudarśanāchārya also holds that it is the bridegroom who sacrifices the Lājās with the Mantra. This interpretation of these sūtras is supported by the Hir. G.S. I, 20, 3-4.

40. स्याल आसन्नः संयोगेनेति नैदानाः । स्याल्लाजानावपतीति वा ॥ निरुक्त VI, 9.

41. Bhar. G.S. I, 16 : 17, 2 ; *cf.* Hir. G.S. I, 20, 3.

42. Gobh. G.S. II, 2, 8 ; Kh. G.S. I, 3, 24.

43. Sankh. G.S. I, 13, 13-14 ; *cf.* Man. G.S. I, 11, 4.

44. चतुः परिणयति । समितं संकल्पेथामिति पर्याये पर्याये ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मजपं जपेत् ॥ मा० गृ०, I, 10, 18-19.

'चतुः परिणयति'—अग्निं पर्येतीत्यर्थः । एतच्च परिणयनं लाजा-होमेषु चतुर्षु पुरा समाचारात् ॥ अष्टावक्र on मा० गृ० I, 10, 18.

Dresden, *op. cit.*, p, 52, holds that the priest leads the couple.

45. Ind. Stud., vol. V, p. 318 f. n. ; Alt. Hoch., p. 62.

46. Kh. G.S. I, 3, 25 ; Ap. G.S. II, 5, 7-10 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 4, 27-31 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 16 : 17, 4 ; Hir. G.S. I, 20, 5-7 ; Kath. G.S. 25, 33-34.

47. Haas, Ind. Stud., vol. V, p. 320.

48. Gobh. G.S. II, 2, 10-12 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. I, 3, 26.

49. Baudh. G.S. I, 4, 28 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 17 : 17, 6 ; Hir. G.S. I, 21, 1 ; Ap. G.S. II, 4, 16 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 4 : 38, 11 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 21 : 22, 5.

50. Baudh. G.S. I, 1, 29 ; Hir. G.S. I, 21, 2 ; *cf.* Agni G.S. I, 5, 4 ; Ap. G.S. II, 4, 17 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 4 : 38, 10.

51. सप्तमे पदे समीक्षमाणो जपति—"सखा सप्तपदा भव सखायौ सप्तपदा बभूव । सख्यं ते गमेयं सख्यात्ते मा योषं सख्यान्मे मा योष्ठाः" इति ॥ मा० गृ० I, 17.

52. 'सप्त मर्यादा' इत्युत्तरतोऽग्नेः सप्त लेखा लिखति प्राच्यः । तासु पदान्युत्क्रामयति । 'इषे त्वा सुमङ्गलि प्रजावति सुसीम' इति प्रथमम् । 'ऊर्जे त्वा रायस्पोषाय त्वा सौभाग्याय त्वा साम्राज्याय त्वा संपदे त्वा जीवातवे त्वा सुमङ्गलि प्रजावति सुसीम' इति सप्तमं 'सखा सप्तपदी भव' इति ॥ कौ० सू० 76, 21-24.

53. Ind. Stud. vol. V, p. 321 f. n. *Cf.* Alt. Hoch. p. 53.

54. A.V., V, 11, 9. *Cf.* Alt. Hoch., pp. 51-53.

55. Gobh. G.S. II, 2, 14 ; Kh. G.S. I, 3, 28-30 ; *cf.* Jaim. G.S.I, 21 : 22, 9.

56. Baudh. G.S.I, 4, 1-9 ; *cf.* Vaikh. G.S. III, 4 : 38, 14.

57. Jaim. G.S. I, 21 : 22, 12 ; Agni. G.S. I, 6, 3.

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58. Gobh. G.S. II, 2, 13 ; M. Br. I, 2, 14 ; *cf.* Jaim. G S. I, 21 : 22, 10 ; Kh. G.S. I, 3, 27.

59. Man. G.S. I, 11, 27 ; Kath. G.S. 25, 40 ; Var. G.S. I, 38.

60. Par. G.S. I, 8, 14-18 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 14, 13-16 ; *cf.* Ap. D. S. II, 5, 11, 18 ; Vas. D.S. I, 36 ; Man. G.S. I, 7, 12. *Cf.* SBE, vol. XXIX, p. 391 f. n.

61. तां ततः प्रवाहयन्ति प्र वा हारयन्ति ॥ हि० गृ० I, 22, 1; आप० गृ० II,5, 12.

62. तां दृढपुरुष उन्मथ्य प्राग्वोदग्वाऽनुगुप्त आगार आनडुहे रोहिते चर्मण्युपवेशयति— 'इह गावो'''॥ पा० गृ० I, 8, 10.

The commentators explain this sūtra in various ways. Jayarāma says that '*Dṛiḍhapurusha*' means any person of a strong physique or the bridegroom. Harihara explains that any person of a strong physique is meant here. Gadādhara refutes the view of Harihara and holds that the bridegroom is meant here. Viśvanātha opines that the bridegroom or her brother, whoever is physically strong, seats her at proper place. All these commentators hold that the man in question lifts up the bride and takes her away to a secluded house. The sūtras of the Ap. G.S. (II, 5, 12) and the Hir. G.S. (n. 61) and their explanations by commentators, such as Haradatta and Sudarśanāchārya suggest that the bride is to be carried in a palanquin or a like thing. Oldenberg, SBE, vol. XXIX, p. 285, translates it : "A strong man snatches her up from the ground..."

63. Gobh. G.S. II, 3, 1 ; Kh. G.S. I, 4, 1-2.

64. Kaus. S. 76, 32-33 ; *ibid.* 77, 1-3.

65. Sankh. G.S I, 15, 1-8. 13 ; *cf.* Asv. G.S. I, 8, 1-4 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 22 : 22, 16 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 4, 1.

66. समोप्यैतमग्निमनुहरन्ति । नित्यो धार्यः ॥ आप० गृ० II, 5, 13-14; हि० गृ० I, 22, 2-3.

67. विवाहाग्निमग्रतोऽजस्रं नयन्ति ॥ आ० गृ० I, 8, 5.

68. Man. G.S. I, 13, 1 ; Kath. G.S, 26,1.

69. Man. G.S. I, 13, 2-8 ; Kath. G.S. 26, 1-6.

70. Asv. G.S. I, 8, 6-7 ; Kaus. S. 77, 3-13 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 5, 5-6 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 4, 2 ; Man. G.S. I, 13, 9-16 ; Kath. G.S. 26, 7-12 ; *ibid.* 27, 1 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 15, 14-21 ; Ap. G,S. II, 5, 25 ; *ibid.* II, 6, 1-4.

71. Ap. G.S. II, 6, 4 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 15, 9-12 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 4, 3-4 ; Man. G.S. I, 13, 17 ; Kath. G.S. 27, 2 ; Par. G.S. I, 10, 1-5.

72. Man. G.S. I, 13, 19 ; *ibid.* I, 14, 1.

73. Kath. G.S. 27, 3 ; *cf.* Sankh. G.S. I, 15, 22.

74. Ap. G.S. II, 6, 6 ; *cf.* Kaus. S. 77, 14.

75. Man. G.S. I, 14, 2-3 ; Jaim. G.S, I, 22 : 22, 19.

76. Asv. G.S. I, 8, 8 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 5, 7.

77. Ap. G.S. II, 6, 7-9 ; *cf.* Hir. G.S. I, 22, 6.

78. Man. G.S. I, 14, 4-5 ; Kath. G.S. 28, 1-2.

79. Ap. G.S. II, 6, 10.

80. Asv. G.S. I, 8, 9 ; Man. G.S. I, 14. 6-7 ; Kath. G.S. 28, 3-4 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 22 : 22, 21 ; Kaus. S. 78, 1-6 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 5, 8 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 18 : 18, 11 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 16, 1-4.

81. Sankh. G.S. I, 16, 5-7 ; cf. Kaus. S. 78, 11.

82. 'सुज्यैष्ठ्य' इति कल्याणनामानं ब्राह्मणायनमुपस्थ उपवेशयति ॥ कौ० सू० 78, 8.

83. अत्र हैके कुमारमुत्संगमानयन्त्युभयतः सुजातम् 'आ ते योनिम्' इत्येतया । अपि वा तूष्णीमेव । तस्याञ्जलौ फलानि दत्त्वा पुण्याहं वाचयति । पुंसवती भवति ॥ शां० गृ० I, 16, 8-11.

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84. Kaus. S. 78, 9 ; Man. G.S. I, 14, 9 ; Kath. G.S. 28, 5 ; Ap. G.S. II, 6, 11 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 16, 10 (n. 83) ; Gobh. G.S. II, 4, 8 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 22 : 23, 1. Gobh. G.S. and the Jaim. G.S. prescribe that *Śakaloṭās* (lumps of lotus leaves, or fruits, or sweetmeats ?) should be given to the boy.

85. Sankh. G.S. I, 17, 1,2 ; *cf.* Asv. G.S. I, 8, 9 ; Kaus. S. 78, 14 ; Hir. G. S. I, 22, 10 ; Ap. G.S. II, 6, 11.

86. Gobh. G.S. II, 3, 2-14. According to the commentator Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, '*Guru*' in the 13th sūtra means her husband. In II, 4, 10 again Gobhila says that after placing wood on the fire the bride salutes her *Gurus* by the Gotra name in order of their seniority. In the latter sūtra '*Gurūn*' undoubtedly means 'elders'. *Vide* Knauer, Gobh. G.S. (Zweites Heft) p. 173.

87. Par. G.S. I, 8, 19-20 ; '*Dhruvaṁ tvā paśyāmi*' of Pāraskara's Mantra corresponds to '*Dhruvaṁ paśyāmi*' of the Sankh. G.S. I, 17, 4, which is pronounced by the bride ; and if Pāraskara's Mantra is split up on the analogy of Śāṅkhāyana's, transition to the next part is easily explained. Otherwise the commentators explain '*paśyāmi*' as '*Darśayāmi*' to connect it with the following part of the Mantra. *See* Oldenberg SBE, Vol. XXIX, p. 285 f. n.

88. Man. G.S. I, 14, 9-10 ; Ap. G.S. II, 6,12.

89. Gobh. G.S. II, 3, 19-20 ; *cf.* Man. G.S. I, 14, 11.

90. Gobh. G.S. II, 3, 21-22.

91. तूष्णीमुपचरितं स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वा तस्याग्निमिष्ट्वा प्रजापतिं च शेषं प्राश्नीतः ॥ काठ० गृ० 29, 1.

'तेन भूतेनेति' समशनम् । रसानाशयति स्थालीपाकं च ॥ कौ० सू० 78, 14-15.

The commentators Devapāla and Ādityadarśana explain that both the husband and wife eat together from one and the same plate, and argue that the Mantra to be recited on this occasion also confirms this explanation.

92. Ap. G.S. III, 7, 1-16 ; Hir. G.S. I, 23, 2-6.

93. Gobh. G.S. II, 3, 15 ; Kh. G.S. I, 4, 9; Asv. G.S. I, 8, 10 ; Hir. G.S. I, 23, 10 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 19 : 20, 2 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 8 : 41, 17; Kaush. G.S. I, 10, 15.

94. Asv. G.S. I, 8, 10 ; *cf.* Baudh. G.S. I, 7, 1-21.

95. Man. G.S. I, 14, 14 ; Kath. G.S. 30, 1, adds—'or six nights' to this injunction.

96. पुमांसौ मित्रावरुणौ पुमांसावश्विनावुभौ । पुमानिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च पुमांसं वर्धतां मयि । स्वाहेति पूर्वं गर्भकामा ॥ शां० गृ० I, 17, 9; Kaush. G.S. I, 10, 24.

The Par. G. S. I, 9, 5 and the Kaushītaki Gṛihyasūtra of Benares Skt. Series read वर्ततां in place of वर्धतां of this Mantra, whereas the Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛihyasaṅgraha in this context gives the reading "पुमान्संवर्त्तताम्" and thus suggests that in the above-quoted Mantra "पुमान्संवर्धताम्" would be a better reading.

97. Baudh. G.S. I, 5, 16-17 ; Ap. G.S. III, 8, 8-9.

98. Man. G.S. I, 14, 16-20 ; Kath. G.S. 30, 2-7.

99. Gobh. G.S. II, 5, 1-4 ; Kh. G.S. I, 4, 12 ; Par. G.S. I, 11, 1-3 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 5, 18 ; Jaim. G.S. I. 22 : 23, 5 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 19 : 20, 2 ; Ap. G.S. III, 8, 10 ; Hir. G.S. I, 23, 11.

100. Gobh. G.S. II, 5, 5-6 ; Kh. G.S. I, 4, 12-13 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 22 : 23, 17.

101. Gobh. G.S. II, 5, 7-8 ; Kh. G.S. I, 4, 15-16.

102. Hir. G.S. I, 24, 3-6 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 20 : 20, 11.

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103. Hir. G.S. I, 24, 4-6 ; Kaus. S. 79, 2-12 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 19, 2-6 ; Man. G.S. I, 14, 17-19.

104. Par. G.S. I, 11, 7-8 ; *cf.* Tait. Samh. II, 5, 1, 5.

105. Gaut. D.S. V, 1-2 ; Baudh. D. S. IV, 1, 10, 19-21 ; Ap. D.S. II, I, 1, 17-23 ; Manu III, 45 ; Yaj. I, 79-81.

106. Bhar. G.S. I, 20 : 21, 2 ; Ap. G.S. III, 8, 12 ; *cf.* Tait. Samh. II, 5, 1, 5-6.

107. Baudh. G.S. I, 7, 22-36 ; Tait. Samh. II, 5, 1, 7.

108. Bhar. G.S. I, 20 : 21, 3 ; Hir. G.S. I, 24, 8 ; *ibid.* I, 25, 1-4 ; *cf.* Baudh. G.S. I, 7, 47-48.

109. Baudh. G.S. I, 7, 45-46 ; Ap. G.S. III, 9, 1.

110. Vaikh. G.S. III, 9 : 42, 11 ; *cf.* Manu III, 46-48 ; Yaj. I, 79.

111. Ap. D.S. II, 1, 1, 9 ; *cf.* Manu IV, 128 ; Yaj. I, 79.

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CHAPTER XIII

SAMSKARAS FOR MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE

1. MEANING OF SAMSKARA

As most of the Gṛihya rites including those dealt with in this Chapter are called *Saṁskāras* in the Smṛitis and later works, we shall here briefly discuss the meaning and number of *Saṁskāras*. It is important to note that in the earlier Gṛihyas the word *Saṁskāra* seldom denotes the chief domestic rites, such as marriage, Sīmantonnayana and Upanayana. In most of the Sūtras the term *Saṁskāra* generally signifies a subsidiary act of purification etc. performed at Śrauta or Gṛihya rites.[1] But the Par. G. S. uses the word *Saṁskāra* for the sacrament of Upanayana.[2] Similarly the Ap. D. S. employs the word *Saṁskāra* for Upanayana.[3] In Jaimini's *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* also the word *Saṁskāra* is used to denote Upanayana.[4] The Upanayana was rightly called a *Saṁskāra*, for it imparted accomplishment and refinement to a young mind through education (*infra*, Chap. XIV). The term was gradually extended to all domestic rites. According to the Gaut. D. S., almost all the important ceremonies and sacrifices described in the Gṛihyasūtras as well as in the Śrautasūtras are included in the *Saṁskāras*. The Gaut. D. S., therefore, enumerates the forty *Saṁskāras* as follows : Garbhādhāna, Puṁsavana, Sīmantonnayana, Jātakarman, Nāmakaraṇa, Annaprāśana, Chaula and Upanayana ; the four Vratas connected with Vedic studies ; Snāna (or Samāvartana) and Vivāha ; five daily Mahāyajñas, *viz.* Devayajña, Pitṛiyajña, Manushyayajña, Bhūtayajña, and Brahmayajña ; seven Pākayajñas, *viz.* Ashṭakā, Pārvaṇa-sthālī pāka, Śrāddha, Śrāvaṇī, Āgrahāyaṇī, Chaitrī, and Āśvayujī ; seven Havir-yajñas, *viz.* Agnyādheya, Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Āgrayaṇa, Chāturmāsya, Nirūḍhapaśubandha, and Sautrāmaṇī ; seven Soma sacrifices, *viz.* Agnishṭoma, Atyagnishṭoma, Ukthya, Shoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra, and Aptoryāma.[5] Classifying the forty *Saṁskāras* into two categories, *i. e.* Śārīra Saṁskāras and Yajñas, the Vaikh. G. S. states that there are eighteen Saṁskāras concerning the body (*Śarīra*), *viz.* Ṛitusaṅgamana, Garbhādhāna, Puṁsavana, Sīmanta, Vishṇu-bali, Jātakarman, Utthāna, Nāmakaraṇa, Annaprāśaṇa, Pravāsāgamana, Piṇḍavardhana, Chauḍaka, Upanayana,

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Pārāyaṇa-vratabandha, Visarga, Upākarman, Samāvartana, and Pāṇigrahaṇa ; and twenty-two *Yajñas* (sacrifices), *viz.* five daily Yajñas as one, seven Pākayajñas, seven Havir-yajñas, and seven Soma-yajñas ; thus there are forty Saṁskāras.[6]

It is thus clear from the foregoing statements of Gautama and Vaikhānasa that most of the ceremonies and sacrifices described in the Gṛihyasūtras came to be known as Saṁskāras at one time, though the word *Saṁskāra* was not used in this sense by the majority of the Gṛihyas. The Smṛitis which explain in their own way the purpose of the Saṁskāras apply the term *Saṁskāra* mostly to those rites which are included by Vaikhānasa in the category of *Śārīra* Saṁskāras.[7] In the later times the word Saṁskāra became popular in the sense of a *Śārīra Saṁskāra*. The Sūtras as well as the later works on the subject are far from unanimous in regard to the number of Saṁskāras. Though some of the major Saṁskāras, such as marriage, Jātakarman, Nāmakaraṇa, Chaula and Upanayana, have no doubt been accorded the same importance by all, the performance of many Saṁskāras depends upon the customs of castes and families.

Marriage which is the pivot of all the Saṁskāras has been discussed in the preceding Chapters. Now we shall deal with the Saṁskāras to be performed by the husband and wife for offspring.

2. ANTENATAL SAMSKARAS

GARBHĀDHĀNA OR NISHEKA

In most of the Gṛihyas, *viz.* the Sankh. G. S., the Par. G. S., the Ap. G. S., the Bhar. G. S., the Hir. G. S., the Man. G. S., the Gobh. G. S., and the Jaim. G. S., only the *Chaturthīkarman* is described (*supra*, Chap. XII) and there is no separate description of Garbhādhāna. Though the Baudh. G. S. and the Kath. G. S. employ the word *Garbhādhāna*, they do not describe it as distinct from the Chaturthīkarman.[8] Manu, Yaj., and the Vi. D. S. use the word '*Nisheka*' as equivalent to Garbhādhāna.[9] But the Vaikh. G. S. (*see* n. 6) mentions *Ṛitusaṅgamana* as distinct from *Garbhādhāna* and states elsewhere that the teachers regard *Ṛitusaṅgamana* (*i. e.* approaching the wife after the menses) as *Nisheka*.[10] In the description of the *Ṛitusaṅgamana* the Vaikh. G. S. (III, 9) first enumerates the observances which the wife is to keep up during the period of menses (*supra*, p. 247), and then it lays down its performance as follows :

On the day of performing this Saṁskāra the wife should eat food prepared from best rice and barley and mixed with milk.

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Having pounded a fruit of the *Lakshmī*, or a shoot of the Nyagrodha tree, or a fruit of the *Sahadevī*, the husband should instil its juice into her right nostril, if a son is desired, and into the left one, if a daughter is desired. She should not spit out this juice, and should avoid grief and anger. Then the husband sprinkles her with water, reciting the Mantras prescribed for sprinkling, and approaches her with the Mantras : "May Vishṇu make thy womb ready," etc. Some teachers hold that he should approach her with the Mantras after he has sprinkled water around the sacred fire and offered the oblations to Viśvedevas, Vishṇu, etc.

The Mantras to be recited at the Chaturthīkarman occur in the Ṛigveda (X, 184). In these Mantras a prayer is addressed to the deities like Vishṇu, Prajāpati, Sinīvālī, Tvashṭṛi, etc., to bless the sacrificer's wife with conception. The tenor of the Mantras seems to suggest that they were originally intended for a rite to secure conception. The said Mantras of the R. V. are found to occur in the A. V. (V, 25) also ; the latter contains a larger number of Mantras connected with the securing of conception. It is clear from the import of these Mantras of the A. V. (V, 25) that they are intended to be recited at such a rite as may be concerned with the securing of conception. The Bṛih. Up. also describes the rite of securing conception and prescribes in this connection the recitation of those Mantras which are common to the R. V. and the A. V.[11] The Asv. G. S. states that the rites of *Garbhalambhana* (securing conception), *Puṁsavana* (securing a male child), and *Anavalobhana* (protecting the embryo) are treated of in the Upanishad.[12] It is thus abundantly clear that the rite of securing conception is much older than our Gṛihyasūtras. Perhaps it existed in the days of the Vedic Saṁhitās also. It is, however, not possible to say anything definite in regard to the exact name of this rite in those early days.

As for the symptoms of pregnancy, the Vaikh. G. S. (III, 10) says that heaviness of the body, weariness of thighs, absence of liking for her husband, absence of relish for food, excess of saliva, roughness of voice, and quivering of the womb indicate pregnancy. The rites of *Puṁsavana* and *Sīmantonnayana* are performed after the ascertainment of pregnancy.

PUṀSAVANA

The purpose of this rite, as its name indicates, is to secure the birth of a male child. As regards the time of its performance, most of the Gṛihyas lay down that the *Puṁsavana* should be performed in the third month of pregnancy under the

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Tishya (*i. e. Pushya*) Nakshatra or under a Nakshatra with a masculine name, *e. g. Śravaṇa, Punarvasu, Hasta*, etc.[13] The Par. G. S. (I, 14, 1-3) states that *Puṁsavana* should be performed in the second or third month of pregnancy, before the foetus begins to move in the womb, on a day on which the moon stands in conjunction with a Nakshatra that has a name of masculine gender. The Baudh. G.S. and the Ap. G.S. lay down that when the pregnancy has become apparent the Puṁsavana should be performed under the Nakshatra *Tishya*.[14] The Bhar. G. S. enjoins the performance of the Puṁsavana in the third or in the beginning of the fourth month of pregnancy under Tishya, Hasta, Anurādhās, Uttarās, or Praushṭhapadās.[15] According to the Kath. G. S. (32, 1-2), the Puṁsavana is to be performed on the expiry of a larger number of the months of pregnancy ; Devapāla, the commentator of this Gṛihya, says that the usage of the *Śishṭas* (cultured) is to perform it in the eighth month ; and Brāhmaṇabala, another commentator of this Gṛihya, says that the usage is to perform it in the seventh or eighth month of pregnancy.

The procedure of performing this rite is set out below, according to the different Gṛihyasūtras.

The Asv. G. S. describes it as follows :

After the wife has observed a fast, the husband gives her two beans and a barley grain with a handful of curds of a cow which has got a calf of the same colour. When she eats it, he asks her, "What do you drink ? What do you drink ? " She replies thrice : "*Puṁsavana* (generation of a male child), *Puṁsavana*." Thus it is performed thrice.[16]

The Hir. G. S. lays down the following procedure for its performance :

In a round apartment the husband gives her a barley grain in her right hand with the words : "A begetter are you" ; and then he places a mustard seed or a bean on either side of the barley grain with the words : "Two testicles are you." He pours a drop of curds on these grains with the formula : "*Svāvṛitat.*" Then he causes her to eat them. After she has sipped water, he touches her belly with the formula : "With my ten fingers I touch you so that you may give birth to a child after ten months."[17] The Jaim. G. S. (I, 5) also gives a similar description of this rite.

According to the Sankh. G. S. (I, 20, 3-5), the husband pounds a Soma-stalk, or a blade of Kuśa grass, or the last shoot of the trunk of a Nyagrodha tree, or that part of a sacrificial post which is exposed to fire ; and he instils this pounded substance or the

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remnants of oblations from a *Juhū* ladle (on the completion of a sacrifice) into the right nostril of the wife with the four Mantras (R. V. I, 1, 3 ; III, 4, 9 ; V, 37, 2 ; II, 3, 9), pronouncing the word *Svāhā* at the end of each Mantra. The Hir. G. S. and the Par. G. S. also lay down a similar injunction in this connection.[18] The Par. G. S. further states that the husband should put the shell of a tortoise with water on the wife's lap and recite certain Mantras, if he desires a valiant son.[19] The Jaim. G. S. lays down that after the wife has been given to eat two beans and a barley grain with drops of curds, a Nyagrodha shoot together with fruits is fastened by means of two threads—one white and the other red—to her neck for wearing constantly ; this is believed to be a sure method of begetting a son.[20]

The Gobh. G. S. (II, 6, 2-11) contains the following details of the Puṁsavana :

In the morning the wife washes her whole body including her head, sitting on northward-pointed blades of Darbha grass. Then she sits down with her face to the east on northward-pointed blades of Darbha grass to the west of the fire, and oblations are offered. Standing behind her, the husband should first touch her right shoulder with his right hand, and then he should touch the uncovered place of her navel with the Mantra (M. Br. I, 4, 8). Other necessary acts are then performed. Afterwards he buys a Nyagrodha shoot which is on the north-eastern trunk of a tree ; which has fruits on both sides ; which is not dry ; and which has not been touched by worms. It is to be bought in exchange for twenty-one barley grains or beans with the recitation of certain Mantras. He should take it up with a Mantra and then cover it with grass. Having brought it home, he should place it in the open. A Brahmachārin, or a woman devoted to her husband, or a *Brahmabandhu* (*i.e.*, a person who is a Brāhmaṇa by birth only), or a maiden pounds this Nyagrodha shoot on a washed grindstone, without moving backward the upper stone used for pounding. In the morning the wife washes her body including her head on northward-pointed Darbha grass and lies down to the west of the fire on northward-pointed Darbha grass with her head to the east. Standing behind her, the husband holds the pounded substance with the thumb and the ring-finger of the right hand and instils it into her right nostril with a Mantra (M. Br. I, 4, 9).

The Bhar. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. also prescribe that a Nyagrodha shoot should be pounded and that the pounded substance should be instilled into the right nostril of the wife with certain Mantras.[21]

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After describing the rite of giving a barley grain, two beans and a handful of curds to the wife, the Asv. G. S. says that the husband then instils into her right nostril, in the shadow of a round apartment, the juice of an unfading (*Ajītā*) herb (*i. e.* Dūrvā, *Panicum Dactylon*) ; that, according to some teachers, he instils it with the *Prajāvat* and *Jīvaputra* hymns (indicated by initial words in the Sūtra) ; that the husband then offers the sacrifice of a mess of cooked food (*Sthālīpāka*) to Prajāpati ; and that he touches the place of her heart with a Mantra.[22] The Kath. G. S. (32, 2-3) prescribes that three *Sthālīpākas* should be cooked for Agni, Indra and Vishṇu; and that the sacrifice of each Sthālīpāka should be offered to its respective deity with certain Mantras. The Baudh. G. S. (I, 9, 6) lays down that after the husband has offered a sacrifice of cooked food and Ājya to the deities, he pours the remnant of the Ājya into the wife's mouth with a Mantra.

GARBHA-RAKSHAṆA

In the Sankh. G.S. (I, 21) we find the description of *Garbharakshaṇa*. This rite is performed in the fourth month of gestation for the protection of the foetus. At this ceremony the husband first sacrifices six oblations of *Sthālīpāka* with the six Mantras (R. V. X, 162, 1-6), *Svāhā* being pronounced at the end of each Mantra ; and then he cleanses the limbs of the wife with Ājya (clarified butter) reciting the six verses of the R. V. (X, 163, 1-6) in accordance with their characteristics.

The Asv. G. S. refers to the Upanishad which treats of *Anavalobhana, i. e.* the rite for preventing such disorders as could endanger the foetus (*see* n. 12). According to Nārāyaṇa, the commentator of the Asv. G. S., the description of *Anavalobhana* commences in this Gṛihya from I, 13, 5, with the word *Atha* (*see* n. 22). Commenting on the Kath. G. S. 31, 6, Brāhmaṇabala speaks of *Anavalobhana* and states that this rite has been prescribed by another Gṛihya for the protection of the foetus.

SĪMANTONNAYANA

In the Gṛihyasūtras of Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin and Kāṭhaka, the *Sīmantonnayana* precedes the Puṁsavana. However, in the other Gṛihyasūtras the Puṁsavana is followed by the Sīmantonnayana. The Sīmantonnayana is, according to most of the Gṛihyas, performed during the first pregnancy of the wife. It should be performed in the fourth month of pregnancy, according to the Asv., Hir., Ap., Bhar., and Baudh. G. S. ; in the

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fourth, sixth, or eighth month, according to the Jaim. and Gobh. G.S.; in the fourth or sixth month, according to the Kh. G.S.; in the sixth or eighth month, according to Pāraskara; in the eighth month, according to the Vaikh. G. S.; in the seventh month of pregnancy, according to the Sankh. G. S.[23] The Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (31,1) prescribes the third month of pregnancy for the Sīmantonnayana. The Man. G. S. says that the rite of parting the hair is performed in the third (?), sixth, or eighth month of pregnancy.[24]

The husband prepares a *Sthālīpāka* containing sesame and *Mudga* beans, or containing rice and *Mudga* beans.[25] According to the Sankh. G. S. (I, 22, 6), the implements (ladle etc.) to be used at this rite and the Nakshatra under which it is performed should be of masculine gender. Having cooked the sacrificial food, he offers the oblations with the *Mahāvyāhṛitis*, the *Jaya* and other Mantras, while the wife who has bathed and put on a brand-new garment touches him, sitting to the west of the fire with her face to the east.[26]

Then the hair of the wife sitting to the west of the fire (in a round apartment according to the Hir. G. S.) is parted upwards by the husband three or four times beginning from the middle, with a porcupine-quill that has three white spots, with three bunches of Kuśa grass, and with a bunch of an even number of unripe Udumbara fruits; and at that time he pronounces the words: "Bhūr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ, Om!"[27]

According to Pāraskara, the husband parts upwards the hair of the wife who is seated to the west of the fire on a soft chair, with a bunch of an even number of unripe Udumbara fruits, with three bunches of Darbha grass, with a porcupine-quill that has three white spots, with a stick of *Vīratara* wood, and with a full spindle, with the words: "Bhūr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ" together, or with each of these one by one.[28] Gobhila (II, 7, 3-8) says, "Standing behind the wife, the husband ties to her neck a bunch of an even number of unripe Udumbara fruits with the verse, 'Rich in sap is this tree' (M. Br. I, 5, 1), and thrice parts her hair upwards with a bunch of Darbha blades, with each of the three Mahāvyāhṛitis. Then he parts her hair with a splinter of Vīratara wood, with the verse (M. Br. I, 5, 2); then with a full spindle with the verse (M. Br. I, 5, 3); and lastly with a porcupine-quill that has three white spots, with the verse (M. Br. I, 5, 5)."

According to the Sankh. G. S., the husband places all the things used (for parting the hair) in her lap, then threads those Udumbara fruits on a string of three twisted strands, and ties them to her neck with the words: "Rich in sap is this tree; be

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fruitful like the sappy branch of this sapful tree" ; and the Par. G. S. also contains a similar rule about the bunch of fruits.[29]

The Man. G. S. (I, 15, 1) lays down that after the performance of the sacrifice the husband loosens the hair of the wife who sits on Darbha blades to the west of the fire ; and that, having anointed her hair with fresh butter (*Navanīta*), he parts the hair with a porcupine-quill having three white spots and with a Śamī branch having leaves on it, with the Mantra : "Agni has given back the wife etc." (R. V. X, 85, 39). According to the Kath. G. S. (31, 2-5), after the performance of the sacrifice the husband loosens the hair of the wife who sits on Darbha blades to the west of the fire with her face to the east ; he combs the hair, reciting three Mantras, and parts it with a porcupine-quill having three white spots, or with a Śamī branch having leaves on it, reciting a Mantra ; he then binds her hair, which has been parted into two, with a dark-blue thread, reciting a Mantra ; and the *Guru* (who assists in the performance of the rite) should be honoured with Madhuparka etc.

Gobhila lays down that after the parting of the hair the wife is made to look at a *Sthālīpāka* of boiled rice and sesame covered with ghee ; that the husband should then ask her, "What do you see ?" and cause her to say "Offspring" ; and that she should then eat that food, while Brāhmaṇa women should sit by her side, pronouncing auspicious words such as : "Be a mother of valiant sons ; a mother of living sons ; wife of living husband."[30] The Jaim. G. S. (1, 7) states that after parting the hair of the wife the husband should adorn her tresses on the right as well as on the left side of her head with wreaths ; that he should fill a vessel of bell metal with water mixed with gold ; that he should then make her look at this water and ask her, "Huṁ Bhūr, Bhūvaḥ, Svaḥ ! What do you see ?" and that she should reply "Children, cattle, good fortune for me, and long life for my husband."

According to the Gṛihyasūtras of Śāmbavya and Pāraskara, after tying the bunch of Udumbara fruits to the neck of the wife the husband says to two flute-players, "Sing together (the glory of) the King or (of) anybody else who is more valiant."[31] The Par. G. S. (I, 15, 8) adds : "Some teachers here prescribe a certain *Gāthā* (to be sung by the lute-players). The Gāthā (song) is as follows : 'Soma alone is our King ; may these people dwell on thy banks, O (river) N. N., whose dominion is unimpeded' ; here he inserts the name of the river near which they are dwelling."[32] The Asv. G. S. (I, 14, 6-7) lays down that the husband gives orders to the two

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lute-players, "Sing together (the glory of) the king Soma" ; that they sing : "May Soma, our King, protect the people whose dominion is settled (on thy banks), O (river) N. N. !" and that here they pronounce the name of the river near which they are dwelling. The Ap. G. S. (VI, 14, 5-6) also prescribes that the husband asks the two lute-players to sing ; that out of the two verses (M. P. II, 11-12) to be sung on this occasion, the first should be sung among the people of the *Sālvas* and the second is to be used for the Brāhmaṇas ; and that the river near which they are dwelling is to be named in the verse (*supra*, p. 97). The Hir. G. S. (II, 1, 3) states that on this occasion the husband recites for his wife the verses : " 'Soma alone is our King,' thus say the Brāhmaṇa subjects of vast and settled dominion, dwelling near thy banks, O Gaṅgā" ; and, "May we with your blessings overcome all hostile powers like streams of water" (*supra*, p. 111, n. 36). The Bhar. G.S. also contains a similar verse but contains the word *Yamunā* in place of *Gaṅgā*.[32] Though the Hir. G. S. and the Bhar. G. S. contain the verse which, according to the Ap. G. S., is sung by the lute-players, yet these two Gṛihyas omit the mention of 'lute-players'. In the Āgniveśya Gṛihya (II, 1, 2) the description of Sīmantonnayana ceremony agrees almost *verbatim* with that contained in the Hir. G. S.

The Sankh. G. S. (I, 22, 13-17) lays down that after the singing of song by the lute-players the husband pours rice or barley into a water-pot and causes her to drink it with six verses (R. V. X, 184, 1 ; II, 32, 4-8) ; and that he then touches her belly with a formula and makes her sing merrily with many golden ornaments on her person, if she likes (*supra*, p. 173, n. 44). The Ap. G. S. (VI, 14, 7-8) prescribes that the husband ties sprouted barley to her head ; that she keeps silence until the appearance of stars ; that on the appearance of stars the husband goes out with his wife to the east or north, touches a calf, and recites the *Vyāhṛitis* ; and that then she breaks silence. According to the Bhar. G. S., three dishes of boiled rice sprinkled with ghee, and the fourth dish filled with water are placed in front of the fire ; while she looks at each of them, he asks her, "What do you see ?" ; she answers, "Sons and cattle" ; with one of the dishes of rice he should feed the Brāhmaṇas ; Brāhmaṇa women are fed with another ; and the wife shares the third one with small boys and sits silently until the appearance of stars (*see* n. 32).

The Baudh. G. S. (I, 10, 1-12) describes the Sīmantonnayana as follows : Brāhmaṇas are entertained with food and caused to pronounce auspicious blessings. The husband performs the sacrifice of cooked food and Ājya (clarified butter). Then he parts

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upwards the hair of the wife with a porcupine-quill having three white spots, with three bunches of Darbha grass, and with the young shoots of Udumbara and barley. Then he ties the young shoots of barley to her neck. Two lute-players are then ordered to sing ; and they sing the *Gāthā* (which nearly agrees with that of Bhāradvāja, *vide* n. 32), inserting in it the name of the river near which they are dwelling.

PHALA-SNĀNA

The Man. G. S. (I, 16, 1-4) prescribes the performance of the following rite in the eighth month of pregnancy :

Having offered a sacrifice into the fire with *Jaya* and other Mantras, the husband causes the wife to wash herself with fruits (*i. e.* with water mixed with fruits). Then he makes her put on a brand-new garment, adorns her with fragrant substances and flowers, puts a garland of fruits round her neck, circumambulates the fire clock-wise, and worships it with a Mantra. Then he feeds the virtuous Brāhmaṇas and gives fruits to them by way of *Dakshiṇā* (sacrificial fee) ; and they pronounce auspicious blessings. Some scholars construe this rite as *Puṁsavana*.[33]

VISHṆU-BALI

The Baudh. G. S. says that in the eighth month of pregnancy oblations are sacrificed to Vishṇu with the Vishṇu-hymn (R. V. I, 154) and a *Bali* is also offered to Vishṇu ; for this month of pregnancy is said to belong to Vishṇu who is the presiding deity of pregnancy.[31] The Vaikh. G. S. (III, 13) also prescribes that the offerings of clarified butter and milk-rice (*Pāyasa*) should be offered to Vishṇu with certain Mantras ; that Vishṇu should be praised with Mantras addressed to Him in the R. V., Y. V., S. V., and the A. V. ; and that the remainder of the milk-rice should be given to the wife to eat.

3. JATA-KARMAN (Rites at Birth)

Preparation of Lying-in-Chamber (Arishṭāgāra)

The Sankh. G. S. lays down that in order to drive away goblins the roots of the plants *Kākātanī*, *Machakachātanī*, *Kośātakī*, *Bṛihatī* and *Kālaklītaka* should be pounded, and that the lying-in-chamber should be besmeared with the pounded substance.[35] In this connection the Vaikh. G.S. says, "Now we shall explain the rites at birth. Having prepared, according to the precepts, the lying-in-chamber (*Arishṭāgāra*) incensed with *Vṛishabha*, and having

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fumigated it with sesame and mustard seeds, he (the husband) makes her (the wife) enter it."[36] The Var. G.S. (II, 1) prescribes a lying-in-chamber (*Sūtikālaya*) with its door to the east or north and adds that the parturient woman should be caused to enter it with a Mantra.

Soshyantī-homa, Kshipra-prasavana (The Rite for Quick Delivery) : The Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (33, 1-3) says that when the wife is about to be delivered of a child, the husband should place her hand dripping with water on her head and touch her with the dripping wet hand from the head to the heart downwards with the Mantra : "As the wind blows, as the ocean trembles, so may thy foetus move ; may it come out together with the afterbirth ; " and thus she is soon delivered of the child. Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin who describe the *Kshipra-prasavana* (the rite to secure a quick delivery) lay down that in a shallow dish, which has not been used before, the husband should draw water in the direction of the stream of the river, place the *Tūryantī* plant under her feet (and the *Soshyantī* plant on her head), and touch her on the head with both the hands, reciting the Mantra : "I touch you with ten fingers for the delivery of a child of ten months" ; and that then he should sprinkle her with that water, with the three verses.[37] Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, and Hiraṇyakeśin state that if the afterbirth does not come out the husband should sprinkle her with water on the head with the two verses.[38] In this connection the Par. G. S. (I, 16, 1-2) also speaks of the sprinkling of the wife with two Mantras (Vaj. Samh. VIII, 28-29) and prescribes the recitation of a Mantra (A. V. I, 11, 4) for the removal of the afterbirth. The Gobh. G. S. (II, 7, 13-14) says that when the wife is in parturition the husband strews Darbha grass round the fire and sacrifices two *Ājya* oblations with the Mantra : "She who athwart" (M. Br. I, 5, 6) and with the Mantra, "Vipaścit has taken away" (M. Br. I, 5, 7).

The Vaikhānasa Gṛihya which gives a vivid account of this rite describes it as follows :

When the wife is about to be delivered of a child, three or four women who are expert in midwifery should hold and massage her. When her womb has become loose, her bodice (*Hṛidayabandha*) should be removed ; and pang in her hip and loins indicates that she will soon be delivered of the child. If the foetus clings to the womb, a *Viśalyā* herb or *Suvarchalā* (Ruta Graveolens) should be squeezed out and placed on her secret parts ; the secret parts should be fumigated with *Piṇḍītaka*, or with a serpent's slough pounded to powder ; and on her feet and hands should be placed the root of a

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Hiraṇyapushpī. As soon as the point of the nose of the child becomes visible, he should, observing the position of the planets, prognosticate the weal and woe that awaits the newly-born child, so that he may endeavour to increase that aspect of the child's future which is endowed with good qualities. At the time of parturition he should place a pitcher of water on the right side of the mother, towards her head, and a *Tūryantī* plant, under her feet and should stroke her belly, reciting a Mantra.[39]

The Gṛihyasūtras differ a great deal with regard to the description of rites to be performed at the birth of a child. The main rite which is called *Jātakarman* comprises a number of subsidiary acts; important of them are *Homa, Āyushya, Prāśana, Aśmābhimarśana, Medhā-janana, and Stana-pradāna*. Some Gṛihyas describe in this connection the rite of keeping off evil spirits and prescribe the reciting of certain Mantras for the child and the mother. It should, however, be borne in mind that all the Gṛihyas do not describe all these acts, and that the order in which they describe them is also different.

ĀYUSHYA, KUMĀRĀBHIMANTRAṆA, AND PRĀŚANA

The Man. G. S. (I, 17, 1-7) describes the Jātakarman as follows: A gift is given away on the birth of a son. Having kindled fire by the attrition of two fuel sticks (*see* n. 24), the father should perform the *Āyushya-homa* (the sacrifice for the longevity of the son) with that fire. With the Anuvāka "You are the life of Agni, etc.," (Mait. Samh. II, 3, 4) he should offer twenty-one oblations of Ājya into the fire. In the remainder of that Ājya he should mix curds, honey and water, stir it with a piece of gold, and feed the child thrice with this mixture. Then he recites over the child the verse "Be a stone, be an axe, be insuperable gold. Thou indeed art the Veda called son; so live a hundred autumns." Having rolled up the middle leaf of a *Palāśa* tree on the child's ears, he murmurs through this in his ears the words: "*Bhūḥ* I give to thee," in the right ear; "*Bhuvaḥ* I give to thee," in the left ear; "*Svaḥ* I give to thee," in the right ear; "Bhūr Bhuvaḥ Svaḥ I give to thee," in the left ear. He washes the mother's breasts and makes the child suck them.

The Bhar. G. S. (I, 24) also prescribes the recitation of certain Mantras over the boy in the same way as the Man. G. S. prescribes. The Hir. G. S. states that on the birth of a son the father lays an axe on a stone and a piece of gold on that axe; and that after he has turned these things upright down, he holds the boy over them, reciting the two verses.[40] The Asv. G. S. (I, 15, 3) prescribes that

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the father should touch the child's shoulders with the verse, "Be a stone etc.," and with the other two verses (R. V. II, 21, 6 ; III, 36, 10).

As for the *Prāśana*, the Asv. G. S. (I, 15, 1) says that when a son is born the father should, before other people touch him, feed the child with honey and clarified butter, in which gold has been rubbed, by means of a golden (spoon) with the verse, "I give you the Veda (wisdom) of honey and ghee, produced by bountiful Savitṛi ; may you be protected by the gods, enjoy longevity, and live a hundred autumns in this world." The Sankh. G. S. (I, 24, 2-4) lays down that the father should thrice exhale on the newly-born child and then he should thrice draw in his breath over him with the words, "Draw in your breath with the *Ṛik*, breathe within with the *Yajus*, breathe up with the *Sāman*" ; that then he should either mix together clarified butter, honey, curds and water, or pound together rice and barley ; and should give it to the child to eat thrice from gold (*i. e.* from a golden vessel or with a golden spoon) with the verse, "I give you the Veda (wisdom) produced by bountiful Savitṛi, for a honeyed sacrifice ; may you be protected by the gods, enjoy longevity, and live a hundred autumns in this world, N.N. !" ; the name of the child is inserted here (*see* n. 55). According to the opinion of *Māṇḍukeya* cited in the Sankh. G. S. (I, 24, 7-8), black, white and red hairs of a black ox should be pulverized and mixed in the aforesaid mixture of clarified butter, honey, curds and water ; and then the father should give it to the child to eat four times with the following Mantras successively : "*Bhūḥ* ! the Ṛigveda I put into thee, N. N., Svāhā" ; "*Bhuvaḥ* ! the Yajurveda I put into thee, N. N., Svāhā " ; "*Svaḥ* ! the Sāmaveda I put into thee, N. N., Svāhā" ; "Bhūr Bhuvaḥ Svaḥ ! *Vākovākya, Itihāsa, Purāṇa*, and *Om* all the Vedas I put into thee, N. N., Svāhā." According to the Gobh. G. S., when the son's birth is announced to the father, he should say, "Delay cutting off the navel-string and giving him the breast" ; he should then get rice and barley pounded in the same way as the Nyagrodha shoot at the *Puṁsavana* (*supra*, p. 259); holding that pounded substance with the thumb and the ring-finger of his right hand, he should anoint with it the tongue of the boy, reciting the verse, "This order," (M. Br. I, 5, 8).[41]

The Par. G. S., which describes the *Āyushya* after the *Medhājanana*, lays down the following procedure for the performance of *Āyushya* :

Over the navel or right ear of the child the father recites certain Mantras. Having posted five Brāhmaṇas in five directions

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the father says to them, "Breathe ye upon this child." The Brāhmaṇa posted in the east says, "Up-breathing (*Prāṇa*)" ; the one in the south says, "Back-breathing (*Vyāna*)" ; the one in the west says, "Down-breathing (*Apāna*)" ; the one in the north says, "Out-breathing (*Udāna*)" ; the fifth one, looking upwards, says, "On-breathing (*Samāna*)". If Brāhmaṇas are not available, the father himself may do that, going round in these directions. The father then recites a verse over the place where the child is born ; he touches the child with the verse, "Be a stone etc.", and recites another verse over the mother.[42]

The Ap. G. S. gives the following details of this rite :

After the father has touched the newly-born child with *Vātsapra* hymn (Tait. Samh. IV, 2, 2 ; M. P. II, 11, 20) and has taken him in his lap with a Mantra, he addresses a Mantra to the child, kisses him on his head, and murmurs a verse into his right ear. He then gives him a secret name after the Nakshatra under which he is born. He pours together honey and ghee and dips into this mixture a piece of gold which he has tied with a noose to a Darbha blade. With the three formulas, he gives part of the mixture to the child to eat. He bathes him. Then he pours curds and ghee together and feeds the child with this mixtue (called *Pṛishadājya*) out of a brazen vessel with the *Vyāhṛitis* to which the syllable *Om* is added as the fourth. He should mix the remainder with water and pour it out in a cow-stable.[43]

The Baudh. G. S. (II, 1, 2-8) also lays down a similar procedure for the performance of these rites, and the Baudh. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. show no marked difference in the description of these rites.

MEDHĀ-JANANA

Pāraskara (I, 16, 3-4) lays down that when a boy is born, the father performs for him before the navel-string is cut off, the *Medhā-janana* (the rite for the production of intelligence) and the *Āyushya* (the rite for procuring long life). According to Pāraskara, the *Medhā-janana* is performed as follows : With his ring-finger having anything of gold on it the father gives the child honey and ghee or only ghee to eat with the words ; "*Bhūḥ* I put into thee ; *Bhuvaḥ* I put into thee ; *Svaḥ* I put into thee. Bhūr Bhuvaḥ Svaḥ everything I put into thee."

The Hir. G. S. (II, 3, 9) contains the following description of Medhā-janana :

A piece of gold tied with a blade of Darbha-grass is dipped

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into ghee, and that ghee is given to the child to eat keeping his face to the east with the words : "*Bhūḥ* ! I sacrifice the *Ṛichaḥ* over thee ; *Bhuvaḥ* ! I sacrifice the *Yajus* over thee ; *Suvaḥ* ! I sacrifice the *Sāmans* over thee ; Bhūr Bhuvaḥ Suvaḥ ! I sacrifice the *Atharvan* and *Aṅgiras* hymns over thee."

The Gobh. G. S. says that the *Medhā-janana* is performed in the same way (as the *Prāśana* described above) : The father should give the child clarified butter to eat, or he takes clarified butter with gold (*i. e.* with a golden spoon) and offers it in the mouth of the boy with the verse, "May Mitra and Varuṇa bestow intelligence on thee" (M. Br. I, 5, 9), and with the verse, "The lord of the seat, the wonderful" (S. V. I, 171).[44] The Sankh. G. S. (I, 24, 9-10) says that the *Medhā-janana* is performed by saying thrice in the child's right ear, "Speech (*Vāk*)" ; that the father then recites over the child the formula : "May the goddess speech perceiving through mind together with her child breath, uttered by Indra, rejoice in thee for the sake of pleasure ; the great goddess who is sweet-sounding, melodious, fluent and self-produced." According to the Asv. G. S., the father recites near the ears of the child the *Medhā-janana* which is as follows : "May the god Savitṛi bestow intelligence on thee ; may the goddess Sarasvatī bestow intelligence on thee ; may the two gods Aśvins, wearing garlands of lotus, bestow intelligence on thee."[45]

STANA-PRADĀNA

After describing the *Medhā-janana*, the Gobh. G. S. (II, 7, 20) lays down that the father should say, "Cut off the navel-string and give the breast to the child." The Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (34, 4-7) prescribes the following procedure for this rite :

On the birth of a child ordinary fire is set up in the lying-in-chamber and on that fire is performed the sacrifice up to the oblations of the two *Ājya-bhāgas*. The remnants of the oblations are poured into a brazen vessel which has a piece of gold in it. With the verse, "You are the life of Agni etc.", the father consecrates the child's mouth by touching it with a piece of gold, rinses its mouth with his hand wet with water, and washes the breasts of the mother ; then he recites verses over the breasts. Having rubbed together with gold the remnants of oblations, or the remnants of oblations mixed with honey, and having put it into the mouth of the child, the father makes the child suck the mother's breast with the words, "Suck life ; suck old age (it signifies the longevity of the child) ; suck truth ; suck splendour ; suck vigour ; suck prosperity of wealth ; suck

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spiritual brilliance." With the words, "May you live a hundred autumns ; may you see a hundred autumns" he kisses the child on the head and causes auspicious words to be pronounced.

The Par. G. S. (I, 16, 17-21) states that after the father has recited verses over the place of the child's birth, over the child and the mother, he washes her right breast and gives it to the child with the verse, "This breast" (Vaj. Samh. XVII, 87) and the left breast with the verse, "Thy breast which" (*ibid.* XXXVIII, 5). The Ap. G. S. lays down that after the *Prāśana* the father places the child in the mother's lap with a verse (M. P. II, 13, 1) and with another verse (M. P. II, 13, 2) he makes the child suck her right breast.[46] According to the Hir. G. S., the father, having performed the *Medhā-janana*, washes the child with lukewarm water, reciting the Mantras prescribed for it ; he places the child in the mother's lap with a verse and addresses a verse to his wife ; he then washes her right breast and makes her give it to the child with the Mantra : "May this boy suck long life ; may he reach old age. O breast ! you swell up life, glory, renown, splendour and strength for him" ; in the same way the left breast ; and he touches both the breasts with the words : "He does not suffer and does not cry, when we speak to him and when we touch him."[47]

The Rites connected with Sūtikāgni : The Sūtras describe the establishment of the *Sūtikāgni* and the rites to ward off evil spirits from the mother and the child. The Hir. G. S. and the Bhar. G. S. prescribe the following rites in this connection :

On the birth of a child the *Aupāsana* fire (*i. e.* the regular Gṛihya fire) is taken away and the *Sūtikāgni* (the fire of the confinement) is established near the southern side of the door in the lying-in-chamber. This is also called *Uttapanīya* fire. This fire is used for warming dishes etc., and for fumigation ; no other rites being performed with this fire. The husband throws thrice into the *Sūtikāgni* at the time of morning and evening twilight, until the mother of the child gets up from the child-bed, mustard seeds mixed with rice-chaff, pronouncing the formula : "May Śaṇḍa and Marka, Upavīra, Śauṇḍikera (*v.l.* Śaṇḍikera or Tuṇḍikera), Ulūkhala, Malimlucha, Droṇāsa, and Chyavana vanish hence Svāhā !" "May Alikhat, Vilikhat, Animish, Kiṁvadanta, Upaśruti, Haryaksha, Kumbhin, Śatru, Pātrapāṇi, Nṛimaṇi (*v. l.* Nipuṇi), Hantrīmukha, (*v. l.* Āntrīmukha), Sarshapāruṇa vanish hence Svāhā !" "Keśinī, Śvalominī, Khajābojā (*v. l.* Bajābojā or Śvajābojā), Upakāśinī go away, vanish hence Svāhā !" "Wearing variegated garments (*Miśravāsasaḥ* or *Viśvavāsasaḥ*), the servants of Kubera, sent by the

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King of demons, all of one common origin, walk through the village, wishing (to harm) those who are unprotected. Svāhā !" "Kill them ! Bind them !" thus says this messenger of Brahman. Agni has encompassed them. Indra knows them ; Bṛihaspati knows them ; I, the Brāhmaṇa, know them who seize (men), who have prominent teeth, rugged hair, hanging breasts. Svāhā !" "The night-walkers, wearing ornaments on their breasts, with lances in their hands, drinking out of skulls. Svāhā !" "Their father Uchchaiḥśrāvyakarṇaka (walks) at their head ; their mother walks in the rear, seeking *Vidhura* (distress, or *Vikhura*) in the village. Svāhā !" "(Their) sister, the night-walker, looks at the family through the crevice (*Sandhi*) of the door, she who wakes the sleeping (child), whose mind is turned on the wife that has become the mother. Svāhā !" "O god with the black path, Agni, burn the lungs, hearts, and liver of these female demons ; burn their eyes."[48]

The Baudh. G. S., the Kath. G. S., the Jaim. G. S., and the Vaikh. G. S. also prescribe similarly the sacrifice of mustard seeds for ten days with similar formulas.[49] The Par. G. S. (I, 16, 22-23) lays down that a water-pot should be placed near the head of the child's mother with a Mantra, and that mustard seeds mixed with rice-chaff should be thrown into the *Sūtikāgni* with certain formulas (which are, to some extent, similar to those of the Hir. G. S.). In this connection the Ap. G. S. says, "With the next Yajus (M. P. II, 13, 6) he (the husband) places a water-pot near the (mother's) head, sacrifices mustard seeds and rice-chaff with his joined hands three times with each of the next formulas (M. P. II, 13, 7-14. 2), repeating each time the word *Svāhā*, and instructs those (who enter the lying-in-chamber), 'Whenever you enter, strew silently (mustard seeds with rice-chaff) on the fire.' This should be done for ten days."[50] The Sankh. G. S. (I, 24, 11-14) lays down that a piece of gold should be tied to the right hand of the child with a hempen string ; and that after the tenth day it should either be given to a Brāhmaṇa or kept for the child.

UTTHĀNA

For a period of ten days after the birth the mother of the child is considered to be impure. So Gobhila lays down that from the time of confinement the wife should not be touched until ten nights have passed.[51] The Jaimini Gṛihya states that for a period of ten days the husband and wife are impure on account of childbirth ; and that at the end of this period the wife takes

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a bath and rises from the child-bed.[52] Śāṅkhāyana (I, 25, 1-7) lays down the performance of the following rite on the eleventh day when the period of impurity is over and when the child's name is announced.

After ten days the mother should get up from the child-bed. The father and mother along with the child should wash their whole body including the head and should wear new clothes still unused. Then a *Sthālīpāka* should be cooked on the *Sūtikāgni* and sacrificed to the *Tithi* (lunar day) of the child's birth and also to the three Nakshatras (*i.e.* the Nakshatra of the child's birth together with the preceding and the following Nakshatra) along with their presiding deities. The oblation to the Nakshatra under which the child is born should be placed in the middle ; the deity must, however, always precede the corresponding Nakshatra. After these seven oblations, two oblations are offered with the Mantras and the tenth oblation is offered with the R. V. I, 91, 7. Then the name of the child is announced and Brāhmaṇas are caused to pronounce blessings. According to the Sankh. G. S. (I, 25, 10), a sacrifice in the same way should be offered every month to the *Tithi* of the child's birth.

Similarly the Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (36, 1) lays down that after ten days a *Sthālīpāka* is cooked on the *Sūtikāgni* ; that a bath is taken in water mixed with fragrant substances and fruits ; that a new garment still unused is put on ; that oblations are offered into the fire ; and then the name is announced.

The Hir. G.S. describes this rite as follows :

The mother and the son take a bath on the twelfth day. The house is cleaned. The *Sūtikāgni* is removed from the house and the *Aupāsanāgni* (the regular Gṛihya fire) restored to its normal place. Having put wood on this fire and having performed the rites down to the *Vyāhṛiti* oblations, they sacrifice twelve oblations with the verses, "May Dhātṛi give us wealth" (Tait. Samh. III, 3, 11, 2-5), thirteen oblations, according to some teachers.[53] But the Bhar. G.S. (I, 26) which enjoins the performance of this rite after the tenth night, prescribes eight oblations for this sacrifice.

4. NAMAKARANA (Name-Giving)

The ceremony of naming the child occurs twice in some of the Gṛihyasūtras. However, the name that is given to the child immediately after birth is usually a secret name known to the parents only. The name to be used in public is given generally on the tenth or twelfth day after the birth when the rite marking the end

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of impurity occasioned by the confinement is performed, as discussed above.

As for the first name, the Gobh. G.S. lays down that at the time of *Soshyantī-homa* (*supra*, p. 265) the father pronounces a name in the formula : "A male will be born, such-and-such by name" ; and that name is kept secret.[54] Similarly the Ap. G.S. (VI, 15, 2-3) says that at the time of birth the father gives the child a Nakshatra-name which is secret. The Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (34, 1) prescribes that at the birth of a son a name is given to him. The Sankh. G.S. enjoins that a name should be given to the child at the time of the *Prāśana* (*supra*, p. 267) with the words : "I give you the *Veda* (wisdom) produced by bountiful Savitṛi, for a honeyed sacrifice ; may you be protected by the gods, enjoy longevity, and live a hundred autumns in this world, N.N. ;" here the name of the child is inserted, and only the father and mother should know this name.[55]

As regards the second name, the Sankh. G.S. states that on the eleventh day the child should be given a name for common use, which is pleasing to the Brāhmaṇas (*see* n. 55). The Gṛihyasūtras of Bhāradvāja, Mānava, Pāraskara, and Āpastamba also prescribe the performance of Nāmakaraṇa on the eleventh day after the birth of the child.[56] The Kath. G.S. says that the same name (as was given on the birthday) is given on the eleventh day ; or another name, according to some teachers.[57] The Jaimini Gṛihya (I, 9) says that the ceremony of Nāmakaraṇa should take place in the first half of the month under an auspicious Nakshatra, or on the expiry of the twelfth night after the birth. The Baudh. G.S. lays down that a name should be given to the child on the expiry of the tenth or twelfth night after the birth.[58] According to the Gobh. G.S. and the Kh. G.S., a name should be given to the child after a period of ten or a hundred nights, or a year from its birth.[59]

The Quality of the Name : Śāṅkhāyana prescribes that the father should give the son a name beginning with a sonant, with a semivowel in it, consisting of two, four, or six syllables ; the name should end in a *Kṛit* termination and it must not be a *Taddhita* (*see* n. 55). *Āśvalāyana* lays down that the son should be given a name beginning with a sonant, with a semivowel in it, with a *Visarga* at its end, consisting of two or four syllables ; of two syllables if he is desirous of firm position, of four syllables if he is desirous of spiritual brilliance ; and that in every case the name of men must consist of an even number of syllables, and that of women of an uneven number of syllables.[60] Āśvalāyana (I, 15, 10) adds that the father should thoughtfully give his son a name to be used at

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respectful salutations (at the time of Upanayana etc.) ; and that this name should be kept secret by his parents till his Upanayana.

So far as the letters of the name are concerned, Pāraskara, Mānava, Gobhila, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Hiraṇyakeśin, Jaimini, and Vaikhānasa lay down that the son should be given a name of an even number of syllables, *i. e.* of two or four or six or eight syllables, beginning with a sonant, having a semivowel in it, and ending with a long vowel or a *Visarga* ; to these qualities Pāraskara and Gobhila add that the name should be formed with a *Kṛit*-suffix and not with a *Taddhita*-suffix.[61] Pāraskara states that the name of a Brāhmaṇa should end in *Śarman*, that of a Kshatriya in *Varman*, and that of a Vaiśya in *Gupta* (*supra*, p. 129, n. 33). The Mānava Gṛihya adds that a name should be given for the purpose of salutation, excepting the father's own name ; that it should be a glorious name derived from a deity or a Nakshatra, but the direct name of a deity is forbidden.[62] Similarly the Vārāha Gṛihyasūtra (III, 1) lays down that the father's name should be avoided, and that a name derived from a Nakshatra or a deity, or any other desirable name should be given ; and that a Brāhmaṇa should have two names. Baudhāyana says, "A name having the Upasarga *Su* may be given, for such a name is regarded as firmly established ; the name may be indicative of the fact that the child is a descendant of a Ṛishi or connected with a deity ; or he may have the name of one of his ancestors."[63] This rule of Baudhāyana evidently refers to the giving of a *Gotra* name to the child ; in the Upanayana rite the Gobh. G. S. speaks of a *Gotra* name alongside of a name derived from a deity or a Nakshatra.[64] Āpastamba lays down that on the eleventh day when the mother has taken a bath, the father and mother should give their son a name of two or four syllables, the first part of the name being a noun and the latter part a verbal derivative (*Ākhyāta*) ; that it should have a long vowel or a *Visarga* at the end ; that it should begin with a sonant and contain a semivowel ; or it may contain the Upasarga *Su*, since such a name has a firm basis—thus it is said in a Brāhmaṇa.[65] The Bhar. G. S. and the Hir. G. S. say, "The father and the mother should pronounce the name first, since it is known (*cf.* Tait. Samh. I, 5, 10, 1) : 'My name first, O Jātavedas ! ' He should give him two names, for it is known (*cf.* Tait. Samh. VI, 3, 1, 3) : 'Therefore, a Brāhmaṇa having two names becomes prosperous.' The second name should be a Nakshatra name. Either of the names should be secret, and he should be publicly known by the other name."[66] The Hir. G. S. adds, "It is known (from the scriptures) that '*Somayājin*' (*i. e.*

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the performer of the Soma sacrifices) may be made as the third name (or may assume a third name)."[67] The Vaikhānasa Gṛihya which follows the Hir. G. S., to some extent, adds that on the establishment of the three sacred fires '*Āhitāgni*' etc., signifying the sacred act accomplished by a man, may be used by him as his surname.[68]

As for the name of a girl, Pāraskara prescribes that she should be given a name consisting of an odd number of syllables, ending in '*ā*', with a *Taddhita*-suffix.[69] The Gobhila Gṛihya lays down that a girl's name should consist of an odd number of syllables and should end in '*dā*'.[70] According to the Mānava Gṛihya (I, 18, 1), the names of girls should have three syllables and end in '*dā*'. The Vārāha Gṛihya remarks, "The name of a girl should end in '*ā*', have an '*ā*' interposed, and contain an odd number of syllables ; it should not be the name of a river, a Nakshatra, the moon, the sun, or Pūshan ; nor should it end in '*dattā*' or '*rakshitā*' preceded by the name of a deity etc."[71] That a girl bearing the name of a river etc. is not regarded as a good bride has been discussed above (p. 213).

The rite of *Nāmakaraṇa* as prescribed by Śāṅkhāyana etc. has been described under *Utthāna* (*supra*, p. 271). The Gobh. G. S. and the Kh. G. S. describe it as follows :

The performer of the rite (the father or his representative) sits to the west of the fire on northward-pointed Darbha grass, facing the east. The mother, having dressed the son in a clean garment, hands him to the performer of the rite, from the south to the north, keeping the face of the child northward. She then passes behind the performer and sits down to his left on northward-pointed Darbha grass. The performer of the rite then sacrifices to Prajāpati, to the *Tithi* (lunar day) of the child's birth, to the Nakshatra of the child's birth, and to the presiding deity of that Nakshatra. Then he recites the Mantra, "Who art thou ? What person art thou ?" (M. Br. I, 5, 14-15), touching the sense organs of the child. In the Mantra : "Enter upon the month that belongs to *Ahaspati* (*i. e.* the lord of days), N. N." (M. Br. I, 5, 15) and at the end of this Mantra the performer of the rite should pronounce the name of the child. He should first announce it to the mother, and then the rite concludes.[72]

5. SOME MINOR SAMSKARAS

PRAVĀSĀGAMANA

The Gṛihyasūtras of Gobhila, Khādira, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, Mānava, Pāraskara, and Āśvalāyana prescribe that on his return from a journey the father should

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kiss the son by smelling at his head and recite the verse : "From every limb art thou produced ; out of the heart art thou born ; thou indeed art the self called son ; so live a hundred autumns ;" and according to some of these Gṛihyas, he recites certain other Mantras also and murmurs certain formulas in the ear of the son, but in the case of a girl, the father should perform it silently.[73] The Bhar. G.S. and the Ap. G.S., however, prescribe the Mantra which the father should recite at the time of performing this rite for his daughter ; the Mantra reads : "Thou art born from all my vital breaths, so live a hundred autumns" (*see* p. 42, n. 121). The Bhar. G.S. (I, 27) states that the husband should recite a Mantra when he meets his wife after returning home from a journey.

Abstinence from Meat : The Man. G.S. (I, 18, 7-8) prescribes that after the birth of a son the father should abstain from meat and honey for a year till an animal-sacrifice is offered ; and that at the end of a year a goat and a sheep should be sacrificed to Agni and Dhanvantari. Similarly the Kath. G.S. (36, 13-14) lays down that the parents should abstain from meat ; and that at the end of a year a goat and a sheep, or a *Sthālīpāka* should be sacrificed to Agni and Dhanvantari, and Brāhmaṇas should be regaled with food rich in clarified butter.

CHANDROPASTHĀNA

Gobhila and Khādira describe the rite of moon-worship. They lay down that on the third *Tithi* of the third bright fortnight after the child's birth, the father should have the child bathed in the morning, and after sunset when the evening twilight has disappeared, he worships the moon, holding up his joined hands. Then the mother, having dressed the son in a clean garment, should hand him over to the father from the south to the north, keeping the child's face turned to the north. She then passes behind her husband and stations herself to his left. When he has recited the three verses (M. Br. I, 5, 10-12), he hands over the son to his mother from the south to the north. Then in the following bright fortnights the father, filling his joined hands with water and facing the moon, worships and pours water out of his joined hands once with the verse, "What in the moon" (M. Br. I, 5, 13), and twice silently.[74]

ĀDITYA-DARŚANA AND CHANDRA-DARŚANA

The Man. G.S. (I, 19, 1-6) lays down that in the fourth month after the child's birth a *Sthālīpāka* is prepared and sacrificed to the sun ; that, having worshipped the sun with a Mantra (Mait. Saṃh.

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I, 3, 37), the father shows the sun to the son with another Mantra; and that Brāhmaṇas are then regaled with food, and a bull is given away as sacrificial fee. According to the Kath. G.S. (37, 1-6), the sun should be shown to the child during the first half of the third month after the birth; on an auspicious day after sunrise a place having the dimensions of a chariot-wheel should be smeared; on that place the fire should be established with due rites and a sacrifice of *Ājya* and the *Sthālīpāka* should be performed with certain Mantras; with a Mantra the boy is lifted up with his face towards the sun; then the father worships the sun with Mantras; and Brāhmaṇas should be regaled with food having clarified butter in it. Regarding the *Chandra-Darśana*, the Kath. G.S. ((38, 1-5) adds that it should be performed in the same way as the preceding rite; however, it prescribes different Mantras to be recited at the performance of this rite, and says that a looking-glass (*Prakāśa*) constitutes sacrificial fee on this occasion.

NISHKRAMAṆIKĀ OR UPANISHKRAMAṆA

A few of the Gṛihyasūtras prescribe the performance of a rite when the child is first taken out of the house. The Kaush. G.S. (I, 18) says that the *Nishkramaṇikā* rite should be performed in the fourth month after the child's birth; that the child is bathed and adorned with fragrant substances and garlands; that the mother or any other woman representing her should hold the child in the lap; that the child holding *Kuśa* blades in the hand should touch the sacrificer with them; that a *Sthālīpāka* is sacrificed and Brāhmaṇas are caused to pronounce auspicious words; that the child with an umbrella then goes to a temple and the houses of friendly people; and that Brāhmaṇas are given a feast on his returning home. Pāraskara (I, 17, 5-6) lays down that the rite of the child going out (*Nishkramaṇikā*) for the first time takes place in the fourth month when the father makes the child look at the sun with a Mantra (Vaj. Samh. XXXVI, 24). The Baudh. G.S. (II, 2, 1-13) calls this ceremony *Upanishkramaṇa* and prescribes that it should be performed in the fourth month after the child's birth; that Brāhmaṇas are fed; that a sacrifice is performed; and that the child is taken out. The Kaus. S. (58, 18) lays down that the boy is first led out with the recitation of a Mantra (A.V. VIII, 2, 14).

KARṆA-VEDHANA

Though the Sūtras mention ear-rings (*supra*, p. 159) and thus allude to the custom of piercing ears, the rite of piercing the ears

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of a child is not described in them. Only the Kaush. G. S. (I, 20) contains a description of the *Karṇa-Vedhana* which is set out below.

It should be performed in the seventh or eighth month after the birth of the child ; or in accordance with the custom of the family ; under the Nakshatras *Tishya* and *Punarvasu*, or under *Śravaṇa* and *Dhanishṭhā*, or under *Pūrvas* and *Uttaras* (*e.g.*, Pūrva-Phalgunī, Uttara-Phalgunī, Pūrvāshāḍhā, Uttarāshāḍhā, etc.), or under such Nakshatras as are considered auspicious for the child. A mixture of three sweet substances, *viz.* sugar, honey and ghee, should be sacrificed, and the ears of the child pierced with a needle of gold or any other metal ; the right ear should be pierced first. A ring or thread of red colour should be put in each hole. Brāhmaṇas should be given a mixture of three sweet substances (*Trimadhura*), caused to pronounce auspicious words, and then saluted by the child.

6. ANNA-PRASANA

The feeding of the child with solid food is commenced with the performance of a rite called *Anna-Prāśana*. The Gṛihyasūtras of Śāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana, Pāraskara, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Hiraṇyakeśin, Āpastamba, Kāṭhaka, and Vaikhānasa prescribe that the ceremony of feeding the child with solid food should take place in the sixth month after the birth of the child.[75] The Kath. G. S. (39, 1) allows the option that it may be performed after the child has cut teeth. According to the Man. G.S. (I, 20, 1-2), this ceremony may be performed in the fifth or sixth month after the birth of the child. The Gobh. G. S. and the Kh. G. S., however, do not mention the ceremony of *Anna-Prāśana*.

Śāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana and Pāraskara allow a number of options regarding the food with which the child may be fed on this occasion. Śāṅkhāyana and Āśvalāyana prescribe that the child should be fed with a goat's meat, if nourishment is desired ; with the meat of a partridge, if holy lustre is desired ; with fish if swiftness is desired (it is not given in the Asv. G. S.) ; with boiled rice mixed with ghee, if (physical) splendour is desired.[76] In this connection Pāraskara (I, 19, 7-12) lays down that the father should feed the child with the meat of the bird *Bhāradvājī*, if he desires fluency of speech for the child ; with the meat of a partridge, if abundance of nourishment is desired ; with fish, if swiftness is desired ; with the meat of the bird *Kṛikashā*, if long life is desired ; with the meat of the bird *Āṭi*, if holy lustre is desired ; with all, if all these qualities are desired ; or each sort of food may be served to the child one by one. The Kauśika Sūtra

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(58, 19) enjoins that the father should feed the child with (boiled) rice and barley, reciting Mantras (A.V. VIII, 2, 18-19). Āpastamba (VI, 16, 1-2) states that the father, having fed Brāhmaṇas and having caused them to pronounce auspicious blessings, should pour together curds, honey, ghee and boiled rice, and should give the mixture to the child to eat with the four verses (M.P. II, 4, 7-10); and that, according to some teachers, he should feed the child with the meat of a partridge.

The Asv. G. S. (I, 16, 5-6) lays down that food mixed with curds, honey and ghee should be given to the child to eat with the verse: "O Lord of food, give us food free from disease and full of strength; increase the giver; bestow vigour on our men and animals;" and that the rite only (without Mantras) should be performed in the case of a girl. Śāṅkhāyana (I, 27) who agrees with Āśvalāyana, to some extent, prescribes that after the oblations have been offered into the fire and after the child has been seated on the northward-pointed Kuśa grass, the act of feeding is performed with the *Mahāvyāhṛitis*; and that the mother should eat the remaining food. According to the Bhāradvāja Gṛihya (I, 27), the child is given food first with the word *Bhūḥ*, secondly with *Bhuvaḥ*, and thirdly with *Suvaḥ*. The Jaim. G.S. (I, 10) prescribes that after feeding Brāhmaṇas the father should feed the child with food fit for sacrifice with a verse (which is the same as given by the Asv. G.S. above). We have seen that the Asv. G.S., the Kaus. S., the Ap. G.S., the Bhar. G.S., and the Jaim. G.S. do not prescribe the performance of a sacrifice with the fire on this occasion.

According to the Hir. G.S., the father, having performed a sacrifice with the fire, gives threefold food, *i.e.* curds, honey and ghee, to the child to eat with the words: "*Bhuḥ* I lay into thee; *Bhuvaḥ* I lay into thee! *Suvaḥ* I lay into thee;" and then the father gives him the other food to eat with the formula: "I give thee the essence of water and plants to eat; may water and plants be kind to thee; may water and plants do no harm to thee."[77] Pāraskara (I, 19, 2-6) states that after the father has cooked a *Sthālīpāka* and sacrificed two *Ājyabhāgas*, he offers two Ājya oblations—the first oblation with the verse: "The gods created the goddess speech; creatures of all kinds speak it; may that, eloquent, highly praised, speech like a milch cow yielding food and strength for us, come to us, *Svāhā*!" (R.V. VIII, 100, 11); and the second with another verse (Vaj. Samh. XVIII, 33); that then he sacrifices four oblations of the *Sthālīpāka* with certain formulas; and that after partaking of the remnants of the oblations, he should

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set apart the food of all kinds of preparations and flavours and feed the son silently or with the word *Hanta* (*i.e.*, well !).

The Mānava Gṛihya (I, 20) enjoins that in the fifth or sixth month a *Sthālīpāka* should be cooked in milk ; that the boy who has been bathed and adorned should be dressed in a new garment still unused ; that the oblations should be offered into the fire with the verse, "O Lord of food, etc." ; that then the boy should be given food to eat with gold (*i. e.* with a golden spoon, plate, etc.) ; that jewels, golden articles and weapons should be shown ; and that Brāhmaṇas should be given feast, and a garment is given away as sacrificial fee.

According to the Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (39, 2), all kinds of food fit for sacrifice should be mixed together and the oblations should be offered into the fire with the Mantras ; and then the boy should be fed with the Mantra, "O Lord of food, etc."

7. CHUDAKARANA

The rite of cutting the hair of the child for the first time is known under different names, such as *Chūḍākaraṇa*, *Chūḍākarman*, *Chaulakarman*, *Chaula*, and *Chauḍa*.

Time of performance : The Gobh. G. S., the Kh. G. S., the Ap. G. S., the Hir. G. S., the Man. G. S., the Kath. G. S., and the Jaim. G. S. prescribe the performance of the *Chūḍākarman* in the course of the third year from the birth (or from the conception according to a view quoted in the Jaim. G. S.).[78] The Baudh. G. S., the Par. G. S., and the Vaikh. G. S. allow the option that the *Chūḍākarman* may be performed in the first or in the third year after the birth of the child.[79] According to the Bhar. G. S. (I, 28), the *Chauḍa* should be performed when the child is one year old. The Asv. G. S. (I, 17, 1) prescribes that the *Chaula* should be performed in the third year, or according to the custom of the family. The Sankh. G. S. (I, 28, 1-4) lays down that the *Chūḍākarman* should be performed after one year or in the third year ; in the fifth year for a Kshatriya ; and in the seventh year for a Vaiśya.

Hair-fashions : As for the fashion of arranging the hair of the child, the Gṛihyasūtras lay down divergent rules. The Asv. G. S. says that the hair of the child may be arranged according to the custom of the family (*supra*, p. 174, n. 60). The Gobh. G. S. and the Kh. G. S. state that the locks of the child should be arranged according to *Gotra* and family usage (*supra*, p. 174, n. 61). The Bhar. G. S. puts forward the view that the

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locks are arranged in accordance with the *Ṛishi* (to whom the child traces its descent) or the family usage, and the same Gṛihya refers to a Vedic Mantra (Tait. Samh. IV, 6, 4, 5 or R. V. IV, 75, 17) in connection with the custom of wearing many tufts of hair in ancient times.[80] The Vaikh. G. S. says that one, two, three, five, or seven top-knots may be kept in accordance with the *Ṛishi*-ancestors (*i. e. Pravaras*) of the family.[81] Similarly the Baudh. G. S. also lays down that the boy may keep one *Śikhā*, or three *Śikhās*, or five *Śikhās*, as the custom of the family permits ; and some teachers opine that the boy should keep the *Śikhā* according to the *Ṛishi* to whom he belongs.[82] As regards differences in the customs of various families, the Kath. G. S. remarks as follows : "The descendants of Vasishṭha wear their hair in a plait on the right side of the head. The descendants of Atri and Kaśyapa keep their hair in braids on both sides of the head. The descendants of Bhṛigu keep their head clean shaved ; those of Aṅgiras wear five top-knots ; and some keep a row of hair. Others wear a top-knot, (*Śikhā*) considering it auspicious, or follow the custom of their own family" (*supra*, p. 174, n. 62). Pāraskara (II, 1, 21) lays down that the locks of hair, which are left over, should be so arranged as is considered auspicious.

Performance of the Rite : The Par. G. S., the Bhar. G. S., and the Ap. G. S. prescribe the feeding of *Brāhmaṇas* in the beginning of this rite.[83] Some of the Gṛihyas lay down that when the sacred fire has been established, fuel sticks should be placed on it and the oblations of clarified butter offered into it.[84] The Sankh. G. S., the Asv. G. S., the Gobh. G. S., and the Jaim. G. S. enjoin that the four vessels filled with rice, barley, beans, and sesame seeds separately should be placed near the fire—to the east according to Gobhila, to the north according to Āśvalāyana, to the south of the fire according to the Jaim. G. S.[85] The Sankh. G. S. (I, 28, 7) enjoins that a bull's dung and a layer of Kuśa grass for receiving the hair, a mirror, fresh butter, and a razor of copper should be placed to the north of the fire. According to the Gobh. G. S., to the south of the fire should be placed twenty-one Darbha blades, a brass vessel with hot water, a razor of Udumbara wood or a mirror ; and a barber sits with a razor in his hand ; and to the north of the fire should be placed the dung of a bull, and a *Sthālīpāka* of rice with sesame cooked without any rites.[86] The Asv. G. S. (I, 17, 3-5) says, "The child for whom the rite is to be performed should be in the mother's lap to the west of the fire ; a bull's dung contained in a new vessel and Śamī

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leaves are placed to the west of the fire ; to the south of the mother sits the father holding twenty-one bunches of Kuśa grass in his hand, or a Brāhmaṇa may hold them." The Hir. G. S. lays down that the boy sits down to the west of the fire, facing the east ; to the north of the fire his mother or a Brahmachārin holds a lump of a bull's dung for receiving the shorn hair.[87]

The father pours hot and cold water together with the words, "O Vāyu, come hither with hot water ; O Aditi, shave the hair" ; or he recites certain verses over the hot water ; according to the Par. G. S., he throws a piece of fresh butter, or ghee, or some curds into the mixed water.[88] Then he takes out water from the vessel with his right hand and moistens thrice the patch of hair on the right side of the child's head, reciting a Mantra ; the Asv. G.S. enjoins that he moistens thrice the child's head, from left to right, with water and fresh butter or with some drops of curds.[89] The Sankh. G. S., the Par. G.S., and the Bhar. G.S. lay down that after moistening the hair, the father should unravel the locks of hair with a porcupine's quill, and anoint them with fresh butter, according to Śāṅkhāyana.[90] The Ap. G.S. (VI, 16, 6-7) says that the father combs the boy's hair silently with a porcupine's quill which has three white spots, with three Darbha blades, and with a bunch of unripe Udumbara fruits. The Gobh. G. S. and the Kh. G. S. state that the father looks at the razor of Udumbara wood or at the mirror with a Mantra : "Vishṇu's tusk art thou" (M. Br. I, 6, 4).[91]

Then the father puts into the patch of the hair on the right side of the child's head, one blade, or three blades or seven blades of Darbha grass with their points upwards, as prescribed by his particular Gṛihya, with the verse : "Herb, protect him" (Tait. Samh. I, 2, 1, 1 ; Vaj. Samh. IV, 1).[92] The Sankh. G. S. and the Jaim. G. S. state that the performer then touches the hair and the Kuśa blades with a mirror, and that after this he takes up the copper razor and cuts the tips of the hair and the Kuśa shoot three times.[93] Gobhila and Khādira prescribe that the performer of this ceremony should touch the hair and the Darbha blades with a mirror or with the razor of Udumbara wood, and that then he should move forward this razor or the mirror three times towards the east without cutting the hair, once with a Mantra and twice silently.[94] The Asv. G. S., the Par. G. S., the Bhar. G. S., the Baudh. G. S., the Hir. G. S., and the Vaikh. G. S. prescribe that he should take up the copper razor, touch the hair and the Darbha blades with it, and then shave the hair.[95] The Mānava Gṛihya (I, 21, 5-8) states that the hair and the Darbha blades are

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pressed with the razor ; that the hair is cut thrice ; and that a copper razor is then handed to the barber who shaves the hair, a Mantra being recited at the time of shaving. Similarly the Kāṭhaka Gṛihya (40, 11-13) prescribes that with the razor the hair and the Darbha blades are pressed from left to right, *i. e.* first on the right side of the boy's head, then on the back, then on the left, and then on the front side, with certain Mantras ; that the copper razor is then handed to the barber ; and that a Mantra is recited, while the shorn hair falls down.

The hair of the child should be cut off first on the right side, then on the back, then on the left, and then on the front side of the head. The hair is arranged in accordance with the custom of the family, as we have discussed above. The shorn hair is deposited by a person affectionate towards the child—the mother etc.—in the fresh dung of a bull.[96] The shorn hair is then buried in a cow-stable, or at the root of an Udumbara tree, or in a clump of Darbha grass, or in a small pond, or in the vicinity of water.[97]

The boy is then washed and adorned.[98] The Jaim. G. S. and the Vaikh. G. S. prescribe the offering of *Prāyaśchitta* (expiatory) oblations into the fire.[99] The Gobh. G. S., the Kh. G. S., and the Jaim. G. S. lay down that the father should hold the boy's head in his hand and recite the verse : "The threefold age of Jamadagni, the threefold age of Kaśyapa, the threefold age of Agastya, the threefold age that belongs to the gods ; may that threefold age belong to thee."[100] A cow is the sacrificial fee for the priest ; the barber should be given boiled rice, and the vessels of food grains placed round the fire.[101]

The Asv. G. S., the Gobh. G. S., and the Sankh. G. S. prescribe that this rite should be performed without the use of Mantras in the case of a girl ; the sacrifice of oblations into the fire should, however, be performed with Mantras.[102]

8. GODANA OR KESANTA

This ceremony consists mainly in shaving the beard of a boy for the first time, though hair on other parts of the body, such as arm-pits and head, is also shaved on this occasion. Though most of the Sūtras name it *Godāna*, some of the Sūtras employ the word *Keśānta* for this rite.[103] Furthermore, most of the Gṛihyas use the word *Godāna* as well as *Keśānta* in the sense of a portion of hair (on the head).[104]

Though the *Godāna* rite comes after the Upanayana in point of time, yet most of the Gṛihyas describe the Godāna after the

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Chūḍākaraṇa and say that the former is performed mainly in the same way as the latter except for a few changes in the Mantras here and there.[105] The Baudh. G. S., the Kath. G. S., the Gobh. G. S., and Kh. G. S. describe the Godāna among the *Vratas* (observances) that are enjoined upon a Brahmachārin (*infra*, Chap. XIV). In view of close similarities between the Chūḍākaraṇa and the Godāna, we are giving below a brief description of the Godāna.

Most of the Gṛihyas prescribe that the Godāna should be performed in the sixteenth year of the boy's age. The Sankh. G.S. (I, 28. 20) says that the Godāna may be performed in the sixteenth or eighteenth year of the boy's age. The Asv. G. S., the Par. G. S., and the Man. G. S. declare that the performer of the Godāna should substitute the word 'beard' for 'hair' in the Mantras and formulas prescribed at the Chūḍākaraṇa.[106] The Ap. G. S., the Hir. G. S., the Bhar. G.S., and the Man. G. S. allow the option that the student may perform the Godāna sacred to Agni instead of this Godāna.[107] Āpastamba (VI, 16, 15) states that the difference between the Chūḍākaraṇa and the Godāna consists in that the entire hair is shaved at the Godāna. The Hir. G. S. also mentions the same view and refers to an alternative view that the top-knot should not be shaved (*supra*, p. 174, n. 66).

A cow or a cow and an ox constitute the sacrificial fee at this rite.[108] The Gobh. G. S. and the Kh. G. S. lay down that the sacrificial fee to be given by a Brāhmaṇa at the Godāna consists of an ox and a cow ; that to be given by a Kshatriya consists of a pair of horses ; and that to be given by a Vaiśya consists of a pair of sheep ; or a cow may be given by persons of all castes ; and that a goat should be given away to the barber.[109]

Various observances are enjoined upon the young man whose Godāna has been performed. Pāraskara states that after the *Keśānta* has been performed the young man should observe chastity and should not be shaved through one year, or twelve nights, or six nights, or at least three nights.[110] The Ap. G. S. (VI, 16, 14) mentions the view that some teachers prescribe the observance of a vow through one year in connection with the Godāna.

In this connection Gobhila and Khādira prescribe certain observances which are almost the same as those enjoined upon a Brahmachārin. Those observances, for example, include abstinence from sexual intercourse, shaving, pleasure-bath, flesh and honey ; obedience to the teacher ; avoidance of anger and falsehood ; the wearing of a girdle ; going for alms, the carrying of a staff, the putting of fuel on the fire, and ablutions.[111]

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Notes and References

1. Kat. S.S. I, 8, 34 ; Ap. S.S. I, 10, 21 ; Asv. S.S. IV, 1 ; Bhar. G.S. II, 15 : 47, 11 ; *ibid.* III, 18 : 86, 13 ; Ap. G.S. I, 1, 19 ; Ap. D.S. II, 2, 3, 15.

2. त्रिपुरुषं पतित-सावित्रीकाणामपत्ये संस्कारो नाध्यापनं च। तेषां संस्कारेष्वुर्व्रात्यस्तोमेनेष्ट्वा काममधीयीरन् 'व्यवहार्या भवन्तीति वचनात् ॥ पा० गृ० II, 5, 42-43.

3. उपनयनं विद्यार्थस्य श्रुतिः संस्कारः ॥ आप० ध० I, 1, 1, 9 ; *Cf.* I, 1, 2, 9.

4. संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वाद् विद्यायां पुरुषश्रुतिः ॥ पूर्वमीमांसा VI, 1, 35.

गर्भाधान-पुंसवन-सीमन्तोन्नयन-जातकर्म-नामकरणान्नप्राशन-चौलोपनयनम् ॥ चत्वारि वेदव्रतानि ॥ स्नानं सहधर्मचारिणी-संयोगः पञ्चानां यज्ञानामनुष्ठानं देव-पितृ-मनुष्य-भूत-ब्रह्मणामेतेषां च ॥ अष्टका पार्वणः श्राद्धं श्रावण्याग्रहायणी चैत्र्याश्वयुजीति सप्त पाकयज्ञ-संस्थाः ॥ अग्न्याधेयमग्निहोत्रं दर्श-पौर्णमासावाग्रयणं चातुर्मास्यानि निरूढपशुबन्धः सौत्रामणीति सप्त हविर्यज्ञ-संस्थाः ॥ अग्निष्टोमोऽत्यग्निष्टोम उक्थ्यषोडशी वाजपेयोऽतिरात्रोऽप्तोर्याम इति सप्त सोम-संस्थाः ॥ इत्येते चत्वारिंशत् संस्काराः ॥

गौ० ध० VIII, 13-19.

6. अथ निषेकादिसंस्कारान् व्याख्यास्यामः। ऋतुसंगमन-गर्भाधान-पुंसवन-सीमन्त-विष्णुबलि-जातकर्मोत्थान-नामकरणान्नप्राशन-प्रवासागमन-पिण्डवर्धन-चौडकोपनयन - पारायणव्रतबन्ध-विसर्गोपाकर्म-समावर्तन-पाणिग्रहणानीत्यष्टादश संस्काराः शारीराः । यज्ञाश्च द्वाविंशत्। ब्रह्मयज्ञो देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञश्चेति पंचानामहरहरनुष्ठानम्। स्थालीपाक आग्रयणमष्टका पिण्डपितृयज्ञो मासिकश्राद्धं चैत्र्याश्वयुजीति सप्त पाकयज्ञाः। अग्न्याधेयमग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासावाग्रयणेष्टिश्चातुर्मास्यो निरूढपशुबन्धः सौत्रामणीति सप्त हविर्यज्ञाः। अग्निष्टोमोऽत्यग्निष्टोम उक्थ्यः षोडशी वाजपेयोऽतिरात्रोऽप्तोर्याम इति सप्त सोमयज्ञा इत्येते चत्वारिंशद् भवन्ति ॥ वै० गृ० I, 1,

7. Manu II 26-28 ; *cf.* Yaj. I, 10-13.

8. Baudh. G.S. IV, 6, 1 ; Kath. G.S. 30, 1.

9. Manu II, 16 and 26 ; Yaj. I, 10-11 ; Vishnu. D.S. II, 3 ; *ibid.* XXVII, 1.

10. ऋतौ संगमनं निषेकमित्याहुः ॥ वै० गृ० VI, 2.

11. Brih. Up. VI, 4, 13 22 ; R.V.X, 184, 1-2 and the A.V. V, 25, 3. 5.

12. उपनिषदि गर्भलम्भनं पुंसवनमवलोभनं च ॥ आ० गृ० I, 13. 1.

13. Asv. G.S. I, 13, 2 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 20, 1-2 ; Kaus. S. 35, 1-2 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 5 : 6, 3 ; Hir. G.S. II, 2, 1-2 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 6, 1 ; Kh. G.S. II, 2, 17.

14. Baudh. G.S. I, 9, 1 ; Ap. G.S. VI, 14, 9.

15. Bhar. G.S. 1, 22 : 22, 5 ; *cf.* Vaikh. G.S. III, 11 : 44, 1.

16. Asv. G.S. I, 13, 2-4 ; *cf.* Kaus. S. 35, 4.

17. Hir. G,S. II, 2, 2-5 ; *cf.* Vaikh. G.S. III, 11 ; Agni. G.S. II, 1, 1.

18. न्यग्रोधशुंगं वा घृतेन कोशकारीं वा प्रैयंगवेण संयावेन यूपशकलं वोत्तरपूर्वस्याभिष्टेरग्निं वा निर्मन्थ्य मूरुमूलोपधानायै दक्षिणे नासिकाच्छिद्र प्रणयेत् ॥ हि० गृ० II, 2, 6,

पुरा स्पन्दत इति मासे द्वितीये तृतीये वा ॥ यदद्दः पुंसा नक्षत्रेण चन्द्रमा युज्येत तदहरुपवास्याप्लाव्याहते वाससी परिधाप्य न्यग्रोधावरोहाञ्छुङ्गाश्च निशायामुदपेषं पिष्ट्वा पूर्ववदासेचनं 'हिरण्यगर्भो' 'अद्भ्यः संभृत' इत्येताभ्याम् ॥ कुशकण्टकं सोमांशुं चैके ॥

पा० गृ० I, 14, 2-4.

19. Par. G.S. I, 14, 5. The commentators Jayarāma, Harihara, Karka, and Gadādhara explain *Kūrmapitta* as a dish full of water. The commentator Viśvanātha explains it as a vessel made of the shell of a tortoise.

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20. न्यग्रोधशुंगं फलाभ्यामुपहितं शुक्लरक्ताभ्यां सूत्राभ्यां ग्रथित्वा कण्ठे धारयेद् ध्रुवकुमारायेत्याचक्षते वासो दक्षिणा ॥ जै० गृ० I, 5.

21. Bhar. G.S. I, 22 : 22, 6 ; Ap. G.S. VI, 14, 10-12.

22. Asv. G.S. 1, 13, 5-7. Nārāyaṇa, the Āśv. Gṛihya-Pariśishṭa, and the Āśv. Gṛihya-Kārikā hold that these sūtras treat of a separate rite called *Anavalobhana*. But the act of instilling juice into the nostril is peculiar to the *Puṁsavana*. *Cf.* SBE, XXIX, p. 180, f. n. 5.

23. Asv. G.S. I, 14, 1-2 ; Hir. G.S. II, 1, 1-2 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 21 : 21, 7 ; Ap. G.S. VI, 14, 1 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 10, 1 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 7 : 6, 20 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 7, 1-2 ; Par. G.S. I, 15, 3 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 12 : 44, 8 ; Sankh. G.S. 1, 22, 1.

24. Man. G. S. I, 15, 1. The construction of the sūtra "तृतीये गर्भमासे अरणी आहृत्य षष्ठे ऽष्टमे वा....." is rather ambiguous. The sūtra may be interpreted that only *Araṇis* should be fetched in the third month and that the rest of the rites should be performed in the sixth or eighth month. The sūtra I, 17, 2 seems to support this view. *Cf.* Ashṭāvakra's commentary, p. 77. However, Dresden translates it : "Having taken, in the third, sixth or eighth month of the pregnancy, the two araṇis....." *Op. cit.*, p. 76.

25. Par. G. S. I, 15, 4 ; Sankh. G. S. I, 22, 4-5 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 21 : 21, 7.

26. Sankh. G. S. I, 23, 2-3 and 7 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 21 : 21, 7 ; Ap. G. S. VI, 14, 2 ; Hir. G. S. II, 1, 2-3 ; Par. G. S. I, 15, 4 ; Asv. G. S. I, 14, 3.

27. Sankh. G. S I, 22, 8 ; Asv. G. S. I, 14, 4 ; Hir. G. S. II, 1, 3 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 21 : 21, 11.

28. Par. G. S. I, 15, 4-6 ; cf. Ap. G. S. VI, 14, 3.

29. Sankh. G. S. I, 22, 9-10 ; Par. G. S. I, 15, 6. The commentators of Pāraskara explain '*Triviṛit*' as the wife's *Veṇī* (braid of hair), but Nārāyaṇa, Bhavatrāta and Vāsudeva interpret it as a string of three twisted strands. Cf. SBE, XXIX, p 48 f.n.

30. Gobh. G. S. II, 7, 9-12 ; cf. Kh. G. S. II, 2, 26-28.

31. Par. G. S. I, 15, 7 ; Kaush. G. S. I, 14, 9. The Sankh. G. S. I, 22, 11-12 prescribes more than two lute-players for this rite.

32. सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः । विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तवेति तीरेणासौ तवेति वा यस्यास्तीरे वसति । पुरस्तादग्नेरेतानि निधाय त्रीनोदनानुद्धृत्य सर्पिषोपसिच्योपनिदधात्युदशरावं चतुर्थम् । तेषामेकैकमवेक्षमाणां पृच्छति 'किं पश्यसी'ति 'पुत्रांश्च पशूंश्चे'ति प्रत्याह । तेषामेकं ब्राह्मणान् भोजयेदेकं ब्राह्मणीरेकं सह कुमारैः सा प्राश्नाति । वाग्यत आस्त आ नक्षत्राणामुदयाद् । उदितेषु नक्षत्रेष्विति समानम् ॥ भा० गृ० I, 21.

33. Chintāmaṇi Bhaṭṭāchārya, Gobh. G. S., p. 377 ; Dresden, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

34. अष्टमे मासि विष्णव आहुतीर्जुहोति - 'विष्णोर्नु कम्' इत्येतेन सूक्तेन । विष्णवे बलिमुपहरति वैष्णवो ह्येष मासो विज्ञायते । विष्णुर्हि गर्भस्य देवता ॥ बौ० गृ० I, 10, 13-16.

35. काकातन्या मचकचातन्याः कोशातक्या बृहत्याः कालक्लीतकस्येति मूलानि पेषयित्वोपलेपयेद् दे शं यस्मिन् प्रजायेत रक्षसामपहत्यै ॥ शां० गृ० I, 23, 1.
The Sāṅkhyāyana-Gṛihya-Saṅgraha (pp. 22-23) explains these terms as follows : काकातनिका बृहत्कलञ्जनिका लोहितैः शोभनैर्मूलैर्भिः फलैर्विकचा अञ्जलौ मृद्यमाना पिच्छिला भवति । पाठकिकेति च प्रसिद्धा । कोशातकी घोषाटकीति प्रसिद्धा कालक्लीतकं कालाधकलिकेति प्रसिद्धा ॥

36. अथ जातकर्म व्याख्यास्यामः । अरिष्टागारं यथोक्तं कृत्वा वृषभोक्षितं तिलसर्षपैर्धूपयित्वा तां प्रवेशयेत् । वै० गृ० III, , 14. The meaning of *Vṛishabhoshitam* is uncertain.

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According to the commentator, it signifies the place where cows have stayed. Prof. Caland in his English translation (p. 83, n. 3) suggests that *Vrishabha* in this context maymean a kind of herb.

37. Bhar. G. S. I, 22 : 22, 12 ; Ap. G. S. VI, 14, 13-14 ; Hir. G. S. II, 2, 8 ; *ibid.* II, 3, 1. Commenting on the Ap. G. S. VI, 14, 14, Haradatta interprets *Soshyantī* as a plant, but Sudarśanāchārya construes it as the woman in parturition.

38. Bhar. G. S. I, 22 : 23, 1 ; Ap. G. S. VI, 14, 15 ; Hir. G. S. II, 3, 3.

39. तज्जाः स्त्रियस्तिस्रश्चतस्रो वा परिगृह्यैनां संवाहयेयुः । कुक्षौ शिथिले हृदयबन्धं मुक्त्वा सशले जघने प्रजायत इत्यवधारयेत् । गर्भसंगे विशल्यां सुवर्चलां वा योनौ निष्पीड्य निदध्यात् । धूपयेत्पिण्डीतकेनाहिकृत्या वा योनिम् । हिरण्यपुष्पा मूलं हस्तपादयोरादधाति । यदा नासाग्रं दृश्यते तदास्य ग्रहस्थितिं ज्ञात्वा शुभाशुभं परीक्षेत । यस्मात् तद्गुणान्वितं वर्धयेत् ॥ वै० गृ० III, I4.

40. Hir. G. S. II, 3, 2 ; *cf.* Agni. G. S. II, 1, 3 ; Vaikh. G. S. III, 14 : 45, 16.

41. Gobh. G. S. II, 7, 16-18 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. II, 2, 32-33 ; Jaim. G. S. I, 8:7, 7.

42. Par. G. S. I, 16, 5-19 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. XI, 8, 3, 6.

43. Ap. G. S. VI, 15, 1-4 ; *cf.* Bhar. G. S. I, 25.

44. Gobh. G. S. II, 7, 19 ; *cf.* Kh. G. S. II, 2, 35.

45. Asv. G. S. I, 15, 2 ; *cf.* Bhar. G. S. I, 24 : 25, 4 ; Kaus. S. 10, 1-24, contains different rites called *Medhājananāni.*

46. Ap. G. S. VI, 15, 5 ; Baudh. G. S. II, 1, 9-11, lays down similar rules in this connection.

47. Hir. G. S. II, 3, 10-11 ; II, 4, 1-5 ; *cf.* Bhar. G. S. I, 25 : 26, 4 ; Vaikh. G. S. III, 15 : 46, 16 ; Agni. G. S. II, 1, 4.

48. Hir. G. S. II, 3, 4-8 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 23 : 23, 7 ; *ibid.* I, 26 : 27, 6 ; Agni. G. S. II, 1, 3.

49. Vaikh. G. S. III, 15 : 46, 5 ; Baudh. G. S. II, 1, 17-20 ; Kath. G. S. 35, I-2 ; Jaim. G. S. I, 8 : 7, 19.

50. Ap. G. S. VI, 15, 5-7 ; *cf.* Baudh. G. S. II, 1, 12 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 25:26,8.

51. Gobh. G. S. II, 7, 21 ; *cf.* Manu V, 62 ; Vas. D. S. IV, 20-21 ; Gaut. D. S. XIV, 13-15.

52. Jaim. G.S. I, 8 : 8, 3 ; *cf.* Baudh. G.S. II, 1, 22.

53. Hir. G.S. II, 4, 6-9 ; *cf.* Agni. G.S. II, 1, 5 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 18 : 49, 1.

54. Gobh. G.S. II, 7, 15 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. II, 2, 31-32.

55. जातं कुमारं त्रिरभ्यपान्यानुप्राण्याद् 'ऋचा प्राणिहि यजुषा समनिहि साम्नोदनिहि' इति ॥ ऋषिर्मधुनी दध्युदके च सन्नीय व्रीहियवौ वा संनिधृष्य त्रिः प्राशयेज्जातरूपेण ॥ 'प्र ते यच्छामि मधुमन्मखाय वेदं प्रसूतं सवित्रा मघोना । आयुष्मान् गुपितो देवताभिः शतं जीव शरदो लोके अस्मिन्नित्यसाविति' नामास्य दधाति घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थं द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वापि वा षडक्षरं, कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम् ॥ तदस्य पिता माता च विद्याताम् ॥ दशम्यां व्यावहारिकं ब्राह्मणजुष्टम् ॥ शां० गृ० I, 24, 2-6

56. Bhar. G.S. I, 26 : 27, 11 ; Man. G.S.I, 18, 1 ; Par. G.S.I, 17, 1 ; Ap. G.S. VI, 15, 8.

The term '*Daśamyām*' which is generally employed in the Sūtras to indicate the time of this rite is interpreted by Haradatta, Harihara and a few other commentators as 'the tenth day,' but most of the commentators explain '*Daśamyām*' as the 'eleventh day on the expiry of the tenth night after the birth'. Gobhila (*see* n. 59), Patañjali (*Paspaśāhnika*), Yaj. (I, 12), and other authorities clearly support the latter explanation.

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57. तदेव नाम धीयते । अन्यदित्येके ॥ काठ० गृ० II, 36, 3-4.

58. Baudh. G. S. II, 1, 23 ; *cf.* Manu II, 30.

59. जननाद् दशरात्रे व्युष्टे शतरात्रे संवत्सरे वा नामधेयकरणम् ।
गो० गृ० II, 8, 8 ; खा० गृ० II, 3, 6.

60. नाम चास्मै दद्युः । घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थमभिनिष्ठानान्तं द्व्यक्षरम् । चतुरक्षरं वा। द्व्यक्षरं प्रतिष्ठाकामश्चतुरक्षरं ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः । युग्मानि त्वेव पुंसाम् ॥ आ० गृ० I, 15, 4-8.

61. Par. G.S. I, 17, 2 ; Man. G.S.I, 18, 1 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 8, 14 ; Baudh. G.S. (*see* n. 63) ; Bhar. G.S.I, 26 : 27, 11 ; Hir. G.S. II, 4, 10 ; Jaim. G.S.I, 9: 8, 7 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 19 : 49, 10.

62. तेनाभिवादयितुं त्यक्त्वा पितुर्नामधेयं यशस्यं नामधेयं देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं देवतायाश्च प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिषिद्धम् ॥ मा० गृ० I, 18, 2.

63. द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं षडक्षरमष्टाक्षरं वा । घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थं दीर्घाभिनिष्ठानान्तम् । अपि वा यस्मिन् स्वित्युपसर्गः स्यात्तद्धि प्रतिष्ठितं विज्ञायते । ऋष्यार्षकं देवताार्षकं वा । यथैवैषां पूर्वपुरुषाणां नामानि स्युः ॥ बौ० गृ० II, 1, 25-29

64. अभिवादनीयं नामधेयं कल्पयित्वा देवताश्रयं वा नक्षत्राश्रयं वा गोत्राश्रयमप्येके ॥
गो० गृ० II, 10, 21. *Cf.* Chh. Up. IV, 4, 4 ; Brih. Up. III, 7, 2 ; Kaush. Up. I, 17.

65. द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वमाख्यातोत्तरं दीर्घाभिनिष्ठानान्तं घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थम् । अपि वा यस्मिन् स्वित्युपसर्गः स्यात् तद्धि प्रतिष्ठितमिति ह ब्राह्मणम् ॥
आप० गृ० VI, 15, 9-10. *Cf.* Hir. G. S. II, 4, 10 ; note 63.

66. पिता मातेत्यग्रेभिव्याहरेयाताम् । विज्ञायते च 'मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेद' इति । द्वे नामनी कुर्यात् । विज्ञायते च 'तस्माद् द्विनामा ब्राह्मणोर्धुकं' इति । नक्षत्रनाम द्वितीयं स्यादन्यतरद् गुह्यं स्यात् । अन्यतरेणैनमामन्त्रयीरन् ॥
हि० गृ० II, 4, 11-14 ; भा० गृ० I, 26.

67. सोमयाजी तृतीयं नाम कुर्वीतेति विज्ञायते । हि० गृ० II, 4, 15.

68. यथोक्तं 'मम नाम प्रथममिति' गोत्रनामयुक्तं तदर्हं नाम कुर्याद् द्वे नामनी तु नक्षत्रनाम रहस्यम् । अग्न्याधानात् परमाहिताग्न्यादिस्वकर्मान्तं प्रकाशं नाम भवेत् ॥
वै० गृ० III, 19.

69. अयुजाक्षरमाकारान्तं स्त्रियै तद्धितम् ॥ पा० गृ० I, 17, 9.

70. Gobh. G.S. II, 8, 16 ; *cf.* Asv. G.S.I, 16, 9 ; Ap. G.S. VI, 15, 11 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 1, 30.

71. नामैवं कन्याया (Baroda Ed.) अकारव्यवधानमाकारान्तमयुग्माक्षरं नदीनक्षत्रचन्द्रसूर्यपूषदेवदत्तरक्षितावर्जम् ॥ वा० गृ० III, 3. *Cf.* Jaim. G. S. I, 9.

72. Gobh. G.S. II, 8, 9-18 ; Kh. G.S. II, 3, 7-12.

73. Asv. G.S.I, 15, 11-12 ; Par. G.S.I, 18, 1-6 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 8, 21-24 ; Kh. G.S. II, 3, 13-15 ; Hir. G.S. II, 4, 16-19 ; Man. G.S.I, 18, 6 ; Kath. G.S. 6, 11-12.

74. Gobh. G.S. II, 8, 1-7 ; Kh. G.S. II, 3, 1-5.

75. Sankh. G.S.I, 27, 1 ; Asv. G.S.I, 16, 1 ; Par. G.S.I, 19, 1 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 3, 1 ; Bhar. G.S.I, 27 : 29, 8 ; Hir. G.S. II, 5, 1 ; Ap. G.S. VI, 16, 1 ; Kath. G.S. 30, 1 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 22 : 51, 16.

76. Sankh. G.S.I, 27, 2-5 ; Asv. G.S.I, 16, 2-4.

77. Hir. G.S. II, 5, 2-3 ; *cf.* Vaikh. G.S. III, 22 : 51, 16 ; Agni. G. S. II, 2, 4.

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78. Gobh. G.S. II, 9, 1 ; Kh. G.S. II, 3, 16 ; Ap. G. S. VI, 16, 3 ; Hir. G.S. II, 6, 1 ; Man. G.S. I, 21, 1 ; Kath. G.S. 40, 1 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 11 : 8, 16.

79. Baudh. G.S. II, 4, 1 ; Par. G.S. II, 1, 1-2 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 23 : 52, 12.

80. अथास्य सांवत्सरिकस्य चौडं कुर्वन्ति यथर्षि यथोपन्नं वा। विज्ञायते च 'यत्र बाणाः संपतन्ति कुमारा विशिखा इवेति' बहुशिखा इवेति ॥ भा० गृ० I, 28. *Cf.* Hir. G. S. II, 6, 11 ; Ap. G. S. VI, 16, 6-7.

81. 'ज्योक् च सूर्यं दृश' इति चूडां विभजेद । ऋषिक्रमेण स्वस्यैकार्ष-द्व्यार्ष-त्र्यार्ष-पंचार्ष-सप्तार्षाच्चूडा विभजेद् ।। वै० गृ० III, 23.

82. अथैनमेकशिखस्त्रिशिखः पंचशिखो वा यथैषां कुलधर्मस्स्यात् । यथर्षि निदधातीत्येके ॥ वै० गृ० II, 4, 17-18.

83. Par. G.S. II, 1, 5 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 28 : 29, 13 ; Ap. G.S. VI, 16, 4.

84. Par. G.S. II, 1, 6 ; Ap. G.S. VI, 16, 5 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 28 : 29, 14 ; Man. G.S. I, 21, 2 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 9, 2 ; Kh. G.S. II, 3, 20 ; Kath. G.S. 40, 9 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 11 : 8, 17 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 23.

85. Sankh. G.S. I, 28, 6 ; Asv. G.S. I, 17, 2 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 9, 6 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 11 : 8, 18.

86. Gobh. G.S. II, 9, 4-5 ; Kh. G.S. II, 3, 17-18.

87. Hir. G.S. II, 6, 2-4 ; *cf.* Vaikh. G.S. III, 23.

88. Par. G.S. II, 1, 6-8 ; Man. G.S. I, 21, 2 ; Kath. G.S. 40, 9-10 ; Kh. G.S. II, 3, 21 ; Asv. G. S. I, 17, 6 ; Sankh. G. S. I, 28, 8 ; Gobh. G. S. II, 9, 11 ; Jaim. G. S. I, 11 ; Baudh. G. S. II, 4, 8.

89. Sankh. G.S. I, 28, 9 ; Asv. G.S. I, 17, 7 ; Par. G.S. II, 1, 9 ; Kh. G. S. I, 28, 9 ; Gobh. G. S. II, 9, 12 ; Hir. G. S. II, 6, 6 ; Vaikh. G. S. III, 23 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 28 ; Baudh. G. S. II, 4, 9 ; Man. G. S. I, 21, 3 ; Kath. G. S. 40, 10.

90. Sankh. G. S. I, 28, 10-11 ; Par. G. S. II, 1, 10 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 28 : 30, 3.

91. Gobh. G. S. II, 9, 13 ; Kh. G. S. II, 2, 23.

92. Sankh. G. S. I, 28, 12 ; Asv. G. S. I, 17, 8 ; Par. G. S. II, I, 10 ; Gobh. G. S. II, 9, 14 ; Kh. G. S. II, 3, 24 ; Hir. G. S. II, 6, 7 ; Vaikh. G. S. III, 23 ; Jaim. G. S. I, 11 ; Man. G. S. I, 21, 4 ; Kath. G. S. 40, 11 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 28 ; Baudh. G. S. II, 4, 10.

93. Sankh. G. S. I, 28, 13-16 ; Jaim. G. S. I, 11 : 9, 9.

94. Gobh. G. S. II, 9, 15-16 ; Kh. G. S. II, 3, 25-26.

95. Asv. G. S. I, 17, 9-10 ; Par. G. S. II, 1, 11 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 28 : 29, 6 ; Baudh. G. S. II, 4, 11-14 ; Hir. G.S. II, 6, 8-10 ; Vaikh. G. S. III, 23 : 52, 19.

96. Man. G. S. I, 21, 6 ; Kath. G. S. 40, 14 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 28 : 30, 11 ; Gobh. G. S. II, 9, 17 ; Kh. G. S. II, 3, 27 ; Par. G. S. II, 1, 12 ; Asv. G. S. I, 17, 11 ; Jaim. G. S. I, 11 : 9, 15.

97. Par. G. S. II, 1, 23 ; Gobh. G. S. II, 9, 24-25 ; Kh. G. S. II, 3, 31-32 ,; Sankh. G. S. I, 28, 23 ; Hir. G. S. II, 6, 13 ; Baudh. G. S. II, 4, 15 ; Vaikh. G. S. III, 23 : 53, 4 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 28 : 30, 12.

98. Baudh. G. S. II, 4, 16 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 28 : 30, 13 ; Vaikh. G. S. III, 23 : 53, 5.

99. Jaim. G. S. I, 11 : 9, 18 ; Vaikh. G. S. III, 23 : 53, 5.

100. Gobh. G. S. II, 9, 20 ; Kh. G. S. II, 3, 29 ; Jaim. G. S. I, 11 : 9, 19.

101. Sankh. G. S. I, 28, 24 ; Gobh. G. S. II, 9, 7 and 26 ; Kh. G. S. II, 3 33 ; Hir. G. S. II, 6, 14 ; Jaim. G. S. I, 11 : 10, 3 ; Vaikh. G. S. III, 23 : 53, 6.

102. Asv. G.S. I, 17, 18 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 28, 22 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 9, 21-22.

103. Par. G.S. II, 1, 3 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 5, 2 ; Kaush. G.S. I, 1, 5.

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104. *Godāna* : Hir. G.S. I, 9, 12 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 28 : 30, 4 ; Par. G. S. II, 1, 9 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. III, 1, 2, 4. Commenting on the Par. G.S. II, 1, 9, Jayarāma explains '*Godāna*' as 'braid of hair' (Keśasaṭā). Harihara, another commentator of the Par. G.S., explains 'Godāna' as 'bunch of hair' (Keśa-samūha). *Keśānta* : Man. G.S. I, 21, 4 ; Var. G.S. IV, 9 ; Kath. G. S. 40, 11.

105. Asv. G.S. I, 18, 1 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 28, 19 ; Par. G.S. II, 1, 3 ; Hir. G.S. II, 6, 16 ; Ap. G.S. VI, 16, 12 ; Man. G.S. I, 21, 13.

106. Asv. G.S. I, 18, 3 ; Par. G.S. II, 1, 7 ; Man. G.S. I, 21, 14.

107. Ap. G.S. VI, 16, 13 ; Hir. G.S. II, 6, 18 ; Bhar. G. S. I, 10 : 10, 5 ; Man. G.S. I, 21, 13.

108. Asv. G.S. I, 18, 8 ; Par. G.S. II, 1, 23 ; Hir. G.S. II, 6, 19 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 18 : 17, 2.

109. Gobh. G.S. III, 1, 5-7 ; Kh. G.S. II, 5, 3-5.

110. Par. G.S. II, 1, 24 ; Asv. G.S. I, 18, 9.

111. Gobh. G.S. III, 1, 12-25 ; Kh. G.S. II, 5, 10-16.

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CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATIONAL SAMSKARAS

The Gṛihyasūtras describe a number of rituals connected with education. The most important of these rituals are *Upanayana, Veda-Vratas, Upākarman, Utsarjana,* and *Samāvartana.* All these rituals have been included in the list of *Saṁskāras* by the Gaut. D. S., the Vaikh. G. S., and the Smṛitis' (*supra,* p. 255). A detailed and systematic account of these Saṁskāras is given below.

1. UPANAYANA

The Upanayana stands at the head of all the rituals relating to education. The connotation of the word *Upanayana* is that an *Āchārya* (teacher) accepts a boy as his pupil. This is clear from the following statement of the Hir. G. S. : "Then the teacher makes the student pronounce the formula : 'I have come for *Brahmacharya.* Kindly take me near. May I be a *Brahmachārin* impelled by the god Savitṛi.' "[1] In other words, the Upanayana signifies 'the admission of a person to Vedic studies.' In this connection the Ap. D. S. says, "The Upanayana is a *Saṁskāra* enjoined by the Śruti for that person who is desirous of acquiring knowledge ; a Brāhmaṇa-text declares that the *Sāvitrī* is learnt for (the study of) all the Vedas."[2] The Man. G. S. (I, 22, 1) and the Kath. G. S. (41, 1) employ the word *Upāyana* in the same sense in which the word Upanayana is used by the other Gṛihyas ; and the Ap. D. S. (I, 1, 1, 6) also uses the word Upāyana for Upanayana. Manu (II, 36) and Yaj. (I, 14) use the term *Upanāyana* instead of Upanayana ; and in the Vas. D.S. the word *Mauñjibandhana* is used in this sense (*supra,* p. 128, n. 4). Commenting on the Kath. G.S. (41, 1), Ādityadarśana remarks that *Upāyana, Upanayana, Mauñjībandhana, Baṭukaraṇa,* and *Vratabandha* are all synonyms.

AGE FOR UPANAYANA

There is some divergence of opinion in the Gṛihyasūtras with regard to the proper age for Upanayana. According to the general view expressed by Śāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Gobhila, Pāraskara, Khādira and Āpastamba, the Upanayana should be performed in the eighth year for a Brāhmaṇa, in the eleventh year for a Kshatriya, and in the twelfth year for

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a Vaiśya ; according to these Gṛihyas, years are to be counted from the time of the conception of the child.[3] But Āśvalāyana and Pāraskara hold that years for the Upanayana may be counted from the time of the conception or the birth of the child.[4] The Sankh. G. S. (II. 1, 3) allows the option that the Upanayana of a Brāhmaṇa may be performed in the tenth year after the conception instead of in the eighth year. The Bhar. G.S. (I, 1) refers to the view that the Upanayana of a Brāhmaṇa boy may be performed in the ninth year after the conception. The Hir. G. S. (I, 1, 1-3) lays down that the Upanayana of a Brāhmaṇa should be performed at the age of seven, that of a Rājanya at the age of eleven, and that of a Vaiśya at the age of twelve ; commenting on these sūtras Mātṛidatta remarks that the injunction of age given in these sūtras refers to the seventh, eleventh, or twelfth year after the birth of the child. The Kath. G. S. (41, 1-3) states that the Upāyana of a Brāhmaṇa takes place in the seventh year, that of a Rājanya in the ninth year, and that of a Vaiśya in the eleventh year. In this case also the age of the boy is to be counted from his birth and not from conception.

Some of the Sūtras put forward the view that a particular age should be chosen for Upanayana if the fulfilment of certain desires is aimed at. The Jaim. G. S., for example, states that one should initiate (*i. e.* perform Upanayana for) a Brāhmaṇa desirous of spiritual lustre in his fifth year and a Brāhmaṇa desirous of long life in his ninth year.[5] The Baudh. G. S. and the Ap. D. S. prescribe that one should initiate a person desirous of spiritual lustre in his seventh year, a person desirous of long life in his eighth year, a person desirous of manly vigour in his ninth year, a person desirous of food in his tenth year, a person desirous of strength in his eleventh year, a person desirous of cattle in his twelfth year (Āpastamba stops here, while the Baudh. G. S. adds), a person desirous of intelligence in his thirteenth year, a person desirous of prosperity in his fourteenth year, a person having a *Bhrātṛivya* (a rival) in his fifteenth year, and a person desirous of all these objects in his sixteenth year.[6] The Par. G. S. (II, 2, 4) allows the option that the Upanayana of the members of all the (three higher) castes may be performed at an age which is considered to be auspicious.

Unlike the other Gṛihyas, the Man. G. S. recognizes no caste-distinctions in regard to the Upanayana ceremony and lays down the general rule that the Upāyana should be performed in the seventh or ninth year.[7] The Kauśika Sūtra is absolutely silent on the age for Upanayana.

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Rules regarding the maximum age for the Upanayana are also laid down in the Gṛihyasūtras. The Sankh. G. S., the Asv. G. S., the Baudh. G. S., the Ap. D. S., the Gobh. G. S., the Kh. G. S., and the Kath. G. S. enjoin that the time for the performance of the Upanayana does not expire till the sixteenth year in the case of a Brāhmaṇa, till the twenty-second year in the case of a Kshatriya, and till the twenty-fourth year in the case of a Vaiśya ; and that those who fail to perform the Upanayana up to this age are declared to be *Patita-Sāvitrīkas* (*i. e.* those debarred from the right of learning the *Sāvitrī*).[8] The Jaim. G. S. opines that the Āchārya should not initiate a boy who is on the wrong side of sixteen, for he who has attained adolescence without any schooling is, like a Śūdra, impervious to instruction (*see* n. 5.).

TIME OF PERFORMANCE

Some of the Gṛihyasūtras lay down that the Upanayana for the boys of different castes should be solemnized in different seasons. The Baudh. G. S. states that the Āchārya should initiate a Brāhmaṇa in spring, a Rājanya in summer, a Vaiśya in autumn, a *Rathakāra* (chariot-maker) in the rainy season, or all of them in spring ; and the Bhar. G. S. enjoins that he should initiate a Brāhmaṇa in spring, a Rājanya in summer or winter (*Hemanta*), a Vaiśya in autumn, a *Rathakāra* in the rainy season, or all of them in the *Śiśira* season (*supra*, p. 42, n. 122). Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin, who allow no option and omit the *Rathakāra*, lay down that a Brāhmaṇa should be initiated in spring, a Rājanya in summer, and a Vaiśya in autumn.[9] Most of the other Gṛihyas give no directions regarding the season of performing the Upanayana. The Bhar. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. say that in addition to the seasons prescribed for each caste, a bright fortnight and an auspicious asterism, preferably one bearing a masculine name, should be chosen for the performance of the Upanayana.[10]

UNIFORM OF BRAHMACHĀRINS

It was incumbent upon Brahmachārins to don a proper uniform during the period of studentship. The uniform varied according to the caste of the student. The uniform of the student generally consisted of an animal-skin (*Ajina*), a piece of cloth (*Vāsas*), a girdle (*Mekhalā*), and a staff (*Daṇḍa*). The Gṛihyasūtras lay down that a Brāhmaṇa, a Kshatriya, and a Vaiśya should choose the skin of a black antelope (*Aiṇeyājina*), the skin of a spotted deer (*Rauravājina*), and the skin of a goat or a cow respectively as the

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upper garment.[11] The Kath. G. S. (41, 13) prescribes the skin of a black antelope (*Eṇa*) for a Brāhmaṇa, that of a tiger for a Kshatriya, and that of a spotted deer (*Ruru*) for a Vaiśya. The Par. G.S. (II, 5, 20) opines that if the prescribed skins are not available a cow's skin may be used by students of all the castes. In this matter the Man. G. S. (1, 22, 11) is above caste-considerations and prescribes the skin of a black antelope for the student.

Vāsas : The colour of the piece of cloth (*Vāsas*) to be worn by the student also varied according to his caste. The Asv. G. S. (I, 19, 9) remarks that if they wear clothes, they should wear dyed ones, *i.e.* a Brāhmaṇa should wear a reddish yellow (*Kāshāya*) garment, a Kshatriya's garment should be *Māñjishṭha* (dyed with madder), and a Vaiśya should put on a yellow (*Hāridra*) one. The Par. G. S. (II, 5, 16) prescribes the garments made of hemp (*Śaṇa*), linen (*Kshumā*), and wool for a Brāhmaṇa, a Kshatriya, and a Vaiśya respectively. According to Gobhila (II, 10, 7), a Brāhmaṇa student should put on linen or hempen clothes, a Kshatriya cotton clothes, and a Vaiśya woollen clothes. The Baudh. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. enjoin that at the performance of the Upanayana the student should put on such a cloth as has been lately woven from the yarn spun recently for the purpose of this ceremony.[12]

Mekhalā : Some of the Gṛihyas lay down that the girdle (*Mekhalā*) of a Brāhmaṇa should be made of Muñja grass, that of a Kshatriya should be made of a *Jyā* (a bow-string), and that of a Vaiśya should be made of a woollen thread.[13] Gobhila prescribes a girdle of Muñja grass for a Brāhmaṇa, that of Kāśa grass for a Kshatriya, and that of *Tambala* for a Vaiśya ; *Tambala* is explained by the commentator Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa as a synonym of *Śaṇa* (*supra*, p. 97). The Jaim. G. S. says that the girdle of a Brāhmaṇa should be made of Muñja grass, that of a Kshatriya should be made of *Mūrvā* grass, that of a Vaiśya should be made of *Tamāla* mixed with Muñja grass ; or it may be made of Muñja grass for all.[14] The Par. G. S. (II, 5, 21-24) prescribes girdles of Muñja grass, bow-strings, and *Mūrvā* grass for the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas respectively and adds that in the absence of these materials the girdles of the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas may be made of *Kuśa*, *Aśmantaka*, and *Balbaja* fibres respectively. The Baudh. G. S. (II, 5, 13) allows as an option the girdle made of Muñja grass for the students of all the three castes. The Man. G. S. (I, 22, 7) prescribes the girdle made of Muñja grass for a Brahmachārin without making any reference whatever to his caste.

Daṇḍa : The staffs (Daṇḍas) to be used by students should

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be made of the wood of different trees according to the caste of students. On this point there is a sharp difference of opinion between the Gṛihyasūtras. The Sankh. G. S. (II, 1, 18-24) says, "The staff of a Brāhmaṇa should be made of *Palāśa* or *Bilva* wood, that of a Kshatriya should be made of *Nyagrodha* wood, and that of a Vaiśya should be made of *Udumbara* wood ; the staff of a Brāhmaṇa should reach the tip of his nose, that of a Kshatriya his forehead, and that of a Vaiśya his hair ; or all sorts of staffs may be used by students of all the castes." The Baudh. G. S., the Ap. G. S., and the Jaim. G. S. also lay down similar rules in this connection.[15] The Asv. G. S. (I, 19, 12 *seq.*) prescribes a staff of Palāśa wood for a Brāhmaṇa, that of Udumbara wood for a Kshatriya, and that of Bilva wood for a Vaiśya, and allows the option that staffs of any kind may be made for all. According to the Par. G. S. (II, 5, 25-28), the staff of a Brāhmaṇa should be made of Palāśa wood, that of a Kshatriya should be made of Bilva wood, and that of a Vaiśya should be made of Udumbara wood ; or all sorts of staffs may be used by all. Kauśika and Kāṭhaka prescribe a staff of Palāśa wood for a Brāhmaṇa, that of Aśvattha wood for a Kshatriya, and that of Nyagrodha wood for a Vaiśya.[16] The Man. G. S. (I, 22, 11) lays down the simple injunction that a staff of the wood of any sacrificial tree may be used by students ; no heed being paid to the caste of students. The Gobh. G. S. puts forward the view that if the proper articles prescribed for the students of different castes are not available, any sort of prescribed articles may be used by students of all castes.[17]

No Rigid Caste-Distinctions in Earlier Times : The Man. G.S. recognizes no caste-distinctions with regard to the uniform of students, the mode of teaching the Sāvitrī, and the form of address to be used by students of different castes at the time of begging. Similarly the Kauśika Sūtra makes no caste-distinction in these matters. The 57th Kaṇḍikā of the Kauśika Sūtra, which deals with caste-distinctions, is definitely a later addition, because the ceremony has already been concluded in the last Sūtra of the 56th Kaṇḍikā and 57th simply repeats the rites already described in the previous Kaṇḍikās. We shall see below in this Chapter that caste-distinctions regarding the mode of teaching the Sāvitrī and the manner of begging are not prescribed by many other Gṛihyas also. The A.V. (XI, 5) praises a Brahmachārin and speaks of his garment made of an antelope-skin ; but there is no reference to the caste of a Brahmachārin. Besides, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI, 5, 4, 1-17) which is the earliest work to describe the Upanayana in detail

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takes no notice of caste-distinctions in the matter of Upanayana. This shows clearly that the accentuation of caste-distinctions in various spheres of life is less marked in the earlier works. The later a work, the more caste-ridden it is.

PROCEDURE OF PERFORMANCE

Though the exact details of the Upanayana rite are differently given in the individual Gṛihyasūtras, the following features of the rite are common to all of them : the performance of *Homa* ; a formal interview of the student by the teacher ; the holding of the hand and touching of the heart and navel of the student by the teacher ; the giving of a staff, a girdle, a skin, and a garment to the student ; entrusting the student to the beings ; the teaching of the Sāvitrī to the student ; and the begging of alms by the student.

We are here describing the Upanayana in accordance with the details common to the majority of the Gṛihyasūtras, pointing out, at the same time, the notable peculiarities exhibited by the individual Gṛihyasūtras. So far as the succession of different rites in the Upanayana is concerned, the order accepted in the Gobh. G.S. has been taken as a norm in the following description.

In the morning the boy has his hair dressed, takes a bath, puts on a brand-new garment, and adorns himself according to the fashion.[18] The Baudh. G.S., the Hir. G.S., the Bhar. G.S., and the Man. G.S. lay down that the boy should wear a *Yajñopavīta* also ; the Baudh. G.S. prescribes a Mantra to be recited at the time of wearing a Yajñopavīta.[19] Similarly the Sankh. G.S. states that when the Yajñopavīta has been worn, a Mantra should be recited.[20] Most of the other Gṛihyas make no mention of *Yajñopavīta* in connection with the Upanayana ; a brief note on *Yajñopavīta* and allied terms is subjoined below.[21] The teacher, being touched by the boy, offers oblations into the fire and sits to the north of the fire with his face to the east, and the boy then sits before him, facing the west.[22] The Bhar. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. state that the teacher sits to the west of the fire with his face to the east, and the boy, being *Yajñopavītin* and having sipped water, sits on the right side of the teacher and touches him; and that the teacher then offers oblations into the fire.[23] The Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the Kṛishṇa Yajurveda prescribe that after the Homa the teacher makes the student tread on a stone with the words : "Tread on this stone ; be firm like a stone. Destroy those who seek to harm thee ; and overcome thy enemies."[24] The Jaim. G. S. (I, 12) prescribes this ceremony before the Homa. Some of the Gṛihyas lay down

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that after the Homa and Aśmārohaṇa the teacher makes the student put on a brand-new garment, ties a girdle round his waist, and gives him an animal-skin to wear.[25] According to the Kath. G. S. and the Bhar. G. S., the boy is made to put on the garment before the Aśmārohaṇa.[26] According to some other Gṛihyasūtras, the putting on of the garment etc. takes place before the Homa.[27]

The Gṛihyasūtras prescribe a formal interview between the teacher and the student as follows :[28] The Gobh. G. S. says that a learned Brāhmaṇa standing on the right side fills with water the joined hands of the boy first and those of the teacher afterwards ; and that the teacher looks at the boy with a Mantra, causes him to pronounce, "I have come here for Brahmacharya," and then asks him his name. According to the Kaus. S., the teacher asks the boy his *Gotra* also, and the latter tells the former his name and Gotra. According to the Sankh. G. S., the teacher, having asked the boy's name, puts the question : "Are you a *Samānārsheya* (belonging to the same Ṛishis) ?" ; and the boy replies : "Sir, I am a Samānārsheya." According to the Kaus. S., after the name as well as Gotra has been asked, the boy says, "Sir, having made me an *Ārsheya* (belonging to the same Ṛishis), initiate me who have relations ;" and the teacher replies, "Having made you an *Ārsheya*, I initiate you who have relations." The Gobh. G. S. prescribes that the teacher chooses for the boy an *Abhivādanīya* name (*i. e.* a name to be used at respectful salutations) derived from the name of a deity or a Nakshatra, or from his Gotra, according to some. In answer to the teacher's question the student should pronounce this name. The Hir. G. S. states that when the boy has told his name the teacher says, ' 'Happily, O god Savitṛi, may I attain the goal with him named so-and-so" ; and here he pronounces the two names of the student. The Sankh. G. S. lays down that the teacher says to the boy, "Declare : 'I am a student (*Brahmachārin*), sir !' " and the student then replies, "I am a student, sir !" According to the Par. G. S., after the boy has pronounced his name the teacher says to him, "Whose student are you ?" When the boy has said, "Yours," the teacher says, "You are Indra's student ; Agni is your teacher ; I am your teacher, named so-and-so." After this interview is over, the teacher thrice pours out water from his joined hands into the joined hands of the student, pronouncing the words : "Om Bhūr Bhuvaḥ Svaḥ !" Then with his right hand the teacher takes hold of the right hand of the student together with the thumb, reciting the Mantra : "By the impulse of the god Savitṛi, with the arms of the two Aśvins, with Pūshan's hands I take hold of thy hand, named

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so-and-so." *Vide* Sankh. G. S., "I initiate (*Upanayāmi*) thee, named so-and-so !"

According to some Gṛihyas, the teacher makes the student look at the sun, reciting a Mantra.[29]

Having gradually passed his right hand over the right shoulder of the student, the teacher touches the place of the student's heart with the Mantra : "Thy heart shall dwell in my heart ; thy mind shall follow my mind ; in my word shalt thou rejoice with all thy heart ; may Bṛihaspati join thee to me." He touches the student's navel with the formula : "Thou art the knot of all the vital breaths ; do not loosen thyself." The Baudh. G. S. prescribes the recitation of this formula at the time of making a knot in the girdle on the region of the navel. According to some Gṛihyasūtras, the navel is touched first and the heart afterwards. Some of the Gṛihyasūtras, *viz.* the Sankh. G. S., the Asv. G. S., and the Par. G. S , prescribe the touching of the student's heart only, while the Kaus. S., the Kh. G. S., and the Bhar. G. S. prescribe the touching of the student's navel only.[30]

The Gobh. G. S. lays down that the teacher touches with his right hand the right shoulder of the student from behind and entrusts him to the deities with the formula : "I entrust you to Prajāpati, named so-and-so" ; and, touching with his left hand the left shoulder of the student similarly, the teacher says, "I entrust you to the god Savitṛi, named so-and-so." The other Gṛihyasūtras prescribe different Mantras to be recited on this occasion.[31] The teacher then instructs the student as follows : "A Brahmachārin are you, named so-and-so ! Put fuel (on the fire). Consume water (*i.e.* you should keep purity and cleanliness by using water). Do your duty. Do not sleep in the day time. Study the Veda with devotion to the teacher."[32] The Jaim. G. S. says that the teacher then instructs the student in the following words : "Be a student of the Veda (*Brahmachārin*) in obedience to the teacher with subdued senses ; sleeping on the ground ; bearing the staff, the girdle, and the antelope-skin ; wearing matted hair ; and avoiding women, falsehood, honey, meat, perfume, and garlands."[33] The Bhar. G. S. prescribes that the teacher instructs the student at the time of handing over the staff (Daṇḍa) to him.[34]

Having gone in the northern direction from the fire, the teacher sits down to the east, on the northward-pointed Darbha grass. Turning his face towards the teacher and bending his right knee, the student takes his seat to the west, on the northward-pointed Darbha grass. Then the teacher ties the girdle thrice round

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the waist of the student from left to right, reciting certain Mantras and makes one, three, or five knots in the girdle.[35] Though the Gobh. G. S. does not prescribe the giving of the staff (*Daṇḍa*) to the student immediately after the tying of the girdle, according to some of the Gṛihyasūtras the tying of the girdle is closely followed by the giving of the staff to the student.[36] The Sankh. G. S., the Gobh. G. S., the Hir. G. S., and the Ap. G. S. prescribe that the teacher should give the staff to the student after teaching him the Sāvitrī.[37]

According to the Kauśika Sūtra, the Sankh. G. S., the Bhar. G. S., the Asv. G. S., and the Jaim. G. S., the student puts a piece of wood on the fire before the Sāvitrī is taught to him.[38] The Baudh. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. lay down that in the beginning of the Upanayana ceremony the teacher makes the student put a piece of Palāśa wood on the fire.[39] Some other Gṛihyas describe the performance of this act after the rules regarding the teaching of the Sāvitrī to the student.[40] Now we turn to the ceremony by which the teacher teaches the Sāvitrī to the student.

The Teaching of the Sāvitrī : In this connection some of the Gṛihyasūtras refer to the rule that the teacher should teach the Sāvitrī to the student after a year or three nights, or immediately after the Upanayana.[41] The other Gṛihyasūtras which do not prescribe any interval between the Upanayana and the teaching of the Sāvitrī seem to imply that the teaching of the Sāvitrī forms an integral part of the Upanayana ceremony ; for the Kauśika Sūtra (17, 31-34) contains the following discussion in this respect : "He should initiate the Kshatriya with the verses, 'Indra the power' (A.V. VII, 84, 2). They say that he (*i. e.* the teacher) should not recite the Sāvitrī to the Kshatriya. How can he initiate him if he does not recite it ? He must recite it to him." (*Supra*, p. 129, n. 36). The Baudh. G. S. (II, 5, 41-43) puts forward the view that the student should not eat food before the teaching of the Sāvitrī ; others including Śāṭyāyana maintain that the student may eat food before the Sāvitrī is taught to him. The Sāvitrī is taught to the student in the prescribed manner. To the north of the fire the teacher sits with his face to the east, on Darbha grass with its points turned to the north. The student also sits to the north of the fire with his face to the west. The student touches with his right hand the right foot of the teacher (*vide* Ap. G. S.) and requests him with the words : "Recite, sir ! Recite the Sāvitrī, sir !" The teacher recites the Sāvitrī to him first *Pāda* by *Pāda*, then hemistich by hemistich, and finally the whole verse in the following way :[42]

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(१) भूस्तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यम् ।
भुवो भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।
स्वर्धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

(२) भूर्भुवस्तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।
स्वर्धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

(३) भूर्भुवः स्वस्तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

ऋ० वे० III, 62, 10.

The Kaush. G. S. (II, 3, 8) and some other authorities prescribe that *Om* should be pronounced before the *Vyāhṛitis*, but Gobhila (II, 10, 36) holds that the *Mahāvyāhṛitis* followed by *Om* should be recited to the student.

The Sankh. G. S. and the Par. G. S. lay down the injunction that the teacher should recite the Sāvitrī verse in the *Gāyatrī* metre to a Brāhmaṇa ; the Sāvitrī verse in the *Trishṭubh* metre to a Kashatriya ; and the Sāvitrī verse in the *Jagatī* metre to a Vaiśya.[43] However, this sectarian injunction is rendered effete by the fact that such a caste-distinction is absolutely unknown to a vast majority of the Gṛihyasūtras. Furthermore, the Par. G. S. (II, 3, 10) states that the Sāvitrī verse in the Gāyatrī metre may be taught to the students of all the three castes.

The Begging of Alms : The Gobh. G. S. prescribes that afterwards the teacher hands over a staff to the student who then goes out to beg alms.[44] The Sankh. G. S. (II, 6, 4) states that when the teacher has led the student clockwise round the fire, the student goes to the village to beg alms. As regards the rules of begging, the Gṛihyasūtras lay down that the student should beg first of his mother or of a woman who will not refuse.[45] Some of the Gṛihyasūtras, *viz.* the Par. G. S., the Baudh. G. S., and the Jaim. G. S., prescribe that a Brāhmaṇa should beg a woman for alms with the words : "Madam (*Bhavati*), give alms" ; a Kshatriya with the words : "Give, Madam, alms"; a Vaiśya with the words : "Give alms, Madam"[46] This view is, however, not subscribed to by the majority of the Gṛihyasūtras. Moreover, the Jaim. G. S. (I, 12) allows the option that students of all the castes may beg with the vocative 'Madam' at the beginning of the sentence. The Asv. G. S. (I, 22, 7-8) states that the student begs with the words : "Sir, give alms" or "Sir, give *Anupravachanīya* (food for the study of the Veda)." The student presents the alms to the teacher, saying "These are the alms, sir" ; and the teacher accepts them with the words : "Good alms they are."[47] The Sankh. G. S. says that the student, having announced the alms to his teacher, may partake

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of that food himself with the permission of the teacher.[48] The Gobh. G. S., the Par. G. S., and the Asv. G. S. lay down that after the student has announced the alms to the teacher he stands silently for the rest of the day.[49] "After sunset," adds Gobhila (II, 10, 42), "the student puts a piece of wood on the fire with the Mantra : 'To Agni I have brought a piece of wood.' " Some of the Gṛihyasūtras state that the student observes certain vows for a period of three days ; for example, he does not eat saline or pungent food and sleeps on the ground.[50] According to Gobhila (II, 10, 44), the student offers a mess of boiled rice to the god Savitṛi, after observing the vows for three days. The Baudh. G. S. and the Hir. G. S. lay down that after three days the student feeds Brāhmaṇas with three kinds of food and causes them to pronounce auspicious words.[51] The Baudh. G. S. adds that, according to some teachers, the student throws away after three days the staff, the animal-skin, the girdle, and the piece of cloth and takes new ones.[52]

Medhā-janana : In the description of the Upanayana ceremony some of the Gṛihyas prescribe the performance of the *Medhā-janana* (*i.e.* the rite for the production of intelligence). The Bhar. G.S. (I, 10) describes it as follows : Having wiped and sprinkled with water from left to right a Palāśa tree with one root in the eastern or northern direction, the student, anointing the Palāśa tree with clarified butter, recites the Mantra : "O glorious one (*Suśravas*), make me glorious. O glorious one, as you are glorious, so make me glorious. O glorious one, as you are the protector of the treasure of the Vedas for the gods, so may I be the protector of the treasure of the Vedas for the Brāhmaṇas." The Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S., which describe the Medhā-janana in a similar way, state that the teacher makes the student recite the Mantra in the shade of a Palāśa tree which has been anointed with fresh butter.[53] Describing this ceremony, the Asv. G.S. (I, 22, 18-19) lays down that in the absence of a Palāśa tree a bunch of Kuśa grass may be taken ; that the student should thrice sprinkle water round it from left to the right with a water-pot ; and that the teacher should then make him recite the Mantra (which is almost the same as that of the Bhar. G.S.).

2. UPAKARMAN OR UPAKARAṆA

The *Upākarman* ceremony signifies the inaugural ceremony of the academic session of ancient Vedic Universities.[54] In some Sūtras it is called *Upākaraṇa*.

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TIME OF PERFORMANCE

The Upākarman was generally performed in the rainy season in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* (July-August)[55], or *Praushṭhapada* (August-September).[56] The Sankh. G.S. says that the Upākarman should be performed under the Nakshatra Hasta or Śravaṇa when herbs have appeared.[57] The Asv. G.S. and the Par. G.S. prescribe its performance on the appearance of herbs when the moon stands in conjunction with the Nakshatra Śravaṇa, on the full-moon day of the month Śrāvaṇa, or on the fifth *Tithi* of the month Śrāvaṇa under the Nakshatra Hasta.[58] Some other Gṛihyasūtras also enjoin that the Upākarman should be performed on the full-moon day of the month Śrāvaṇa or Praushṭhapada, or on the full-moon day of the month Āshāḍha according to the Baudh. G.S.[59]

PROCEDURE OF PERFORMANCE

According to the Baudh. G.S. and the Hir. G. S., the teacher puts wood on the fire and performs the usual rites down to the *Vyāhṛiti* oblations ; while the students touch him, he sacrifices the oblations to the deities, to the Ṛishis of the Kāṇḍas of the Yajurveda, to Sadaspati, to Savitṛi, and to the Vedas; and having thus sacrificed, they recite the first three Anuvākas or the beginnings of all the Kāṇḍas.[60] The Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. prescribe that the teacher should offer oblations into the fire pronouncing certain Mantras ; then he should recite certain other Mantras ; with Darbha grass in his hand, he should recite the Sāvitrī thrice, and should recite the first three Anuvākas and a certain other Mantra.[61] According to the Kath. G.S. (9, 4), the teacher and the students should eat curds before the recitation of the Sāvitrī. Gobhila lays down that after the teacher has sacrificed the oblations into the fire with the Vyāhṛitis he should recite the Sāvitrī to the students in the same way as at the Upanayana ; then he should recite the Sāvitrī with its *Sāman* (melody) and other verses of the Sāmaveda ; they should eat fried barley grains and curds, reciting appropriate verses ; and when they have sipped water, the teacher should make them recite certain verses.[62]

The Sankh. G.S. states that the teacher should sacrifice the oblations of groats of unhusked barley and of fried grains mixed with curds and ghee, with the recitation of the whole Veda, verse by verse, according to some authorities ; or with the recitation of the first verses of the Sūktas and Anuvākas ; or with the recitation of the first verses of the Adhyāyas and the sections belonging to

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different Ṛishis, according to Māṇḍūkeya ; or with the recitation of the first and last verses of each Maṇḍala, according to Kaushītaki. The teacher and the students partake of the remnants of the sacrificial food with the verse, "I praised Dadhikrāvan," (R. V. IV, 39, 6). Having sipped water, they sit down and recite the Mahāvyāhṛitis, the Sāvitrī, and auspicious hymns of the Veda from its very beginning. Then the students cause the teacher to pronounce auspicious words.[63]

According to the Asv. G.S., the teacher, having sacrificed the two Ājya portions, should offer Ājya oblations to Savitṛi, Brahman, Śraddhā, Medhā, Prajñā, Dhāraṇā, Sadaspati, Anumati, the metres, and the Ṛishis. Then he sacrifices grains mixed with curds with the recitation of the first and the last verses of each Maṇḍala. When he together with his pupils *intends to study* the Veda, he, being touched by the pupils, should offer the sacrifice to the deities mentioned above and to the deities of the first and last verses of each Maṇḍala, and also to Agni Svishṭakṛit, and should eat barley-meal with curds. After formal purification (*Mārjana*), he should sit to the west of the fire on the eastward-pointed Darbha grass, and put Darbha blades into a water-pot. Having made a *Brahmāñjali* (*i.e.* the joining of hands as a mark of veneration for Brahman), he should thrice recite the Vyāhṛitis preceded by the syllable *Om* and afterwards the Sāvitrī. Then he should commence the recitation of the Veda from its beginning.[64]

The Par. G.S. (II, 10, 3-25) describes the Upākarman as follows :

Having sacrificed the two Ājya portions, the teacher offers the oblations of Ājya to the Earth and the Fire, if he studies the Ṛigveda ; to the Atmosphere and the Wind, if he studies the Yajurveda ; to the Heaven and the Sun, if he studies the Sāmaveda ; to the quarters of the horizon and to the Moon, if he studies the Atharvaveda. In every case he offers the oblations to Brahman and the metres as well. Then he should offer the oblations to Prajāpati, the gods, the Ṛishis, Śraddhā, Medhā, Sadaspati, and Anumati. With a verse (Vaj. Samh. XXXII, 13) the teacher sacrifices unhusked fried grains three times, and all should repeat that verse after him. After each oblation they should put on the fire, reciting the Sāvitrī, three pieces of Udumbara wood, which are fresh branches with leaves and which have been anointed with ghee ; the Brahmachārins should put wood on the fire in the same way as at the Upanayana (*ibid.* II, 4). With a verse (Vaj. Samh. IX, 16) they should eat the unhusked fried grains without chewing them and should eat curds with another verse

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(Vaj. Samh. XXIII, 32 ; *cf.* R. V. IV, 39, 6). With the Sāvitrī or with the Anuvāka (Vaj. Samh. XVII, 80 *seq.*) the teacher should sacrifice by means of a dice-board as many sesame grains as he desires to be the number of his pupils. When they have eaten the remnants of the sacrificial food, the teacher pronounces the word *Om* and repeats the Sāvitrī three times, and then recites the opening verses of the *Adhyāyas* to the students of the Yajurveda, the opening verses of the sections belonging to the different Ṛishis to the students of the Ṛigveda, the *Parvans* to the students of the Sāmaveda, and the *Sūktas* to the students of the Atharvaveda. At this recitation the teacher should sit facing the east and the students facing the west. Then all recite together the Mantra : "May it (*i.e.* the Veda) be ours in common ; may it protect us together ; may this Brahman be powerful for us together. Indra knows (and so may He teach us) that by which we may not hate each other." For a period of three days and nights they should not study the Veda, nor should they cut their hair and nails. Some prescribe this prohibition of cutting hair and nails till the Utsarga ceremony.

3. UTSARGA OR UTSARJANA

The *Utsarga* or *Utsarjana* ceremony was performed at the conclusion of the annual course of Vedic studies.

TIME OF PERFORMANCE

According to the Sankh. G.S. (IV, 6, 1), the Utsarga should be performed on the first day of the bright fortnight in the month of Māgha. Many other Gṛihyasūtras prescribe its performance on the full-moon day in the month of Pausha (which is known as *Taisha* also).[65] The Par. G.S. (II, 12, 1) states that the Utsarga may be performed in the month of Pausha under the Nakshatra Rohiṇī or at the time of the middle Ashṭakā (*infra*, Chap. XVIII). The Asv. G.S. (III, 5, 20) also mentions the middle Ashṭakā in this connection. According to the Baudh. G.S. (III, 9, 2), the Utsarga may be performed either on the full-moon day of Taisha (*i.e.* Pausha) or on the full-moon day of Māgha. The Bhar. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. lay down that the Utsarga should be performed on any *Tithi* of the fortnight which precedes the full-moon of Taisha under the Nakshatra Rohiṇī, or on the full-moon day of Taisha, (or on the full-moon day of Māgha, according to the Bhar. G.S.).[66]

PROCEDURE OF PERFORMANCE

As for the performance of the Utsarga ceremony, the Man. G.S.

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prescribes that the performer of the rites first recites a Mantra and then, holding Darbha blades in his hand, he thrice recites the Sāvitrī preceded by *Om* and the Vyāhṛitis, and repeats the first three *Anuvākas* (of the Mait. Samh.) and certain Mantras.[67] According to the Jaim. G.S. (I, 15), they conclude the annual course of Vedic studies, reciting the formula : "May the metres, that increase by four syllables each, repose duly in the Vedas ; may they think of us propitiously." The Par. G.S. states that they should go to a water-reservoir and offer there libations of water to the deities, the metres, the Vedas, the Ṛishis, the ancient teachers, the Gandharvas, the other teachers, the year with its divisions, and their own ancestors and teachers ; and when they have four times quickly recited the Sāvitrī, they should say, "We have closed."[68] According to the Gobh. G.S. (III, 3, 15), they should go out of the village in the eastern or northern direction, enter water that reaches higher than their secret parts (*i.e.* navel-deep water), take a bath there, and offer the libations of water to the metres, the Ṛishis, and the teachers. The Sankh. G.S. (IV, 6, 1-6) lays down that they should go in the north-eastern direction to a place abounding in herbs, recite the hymns sacred to the sun and other Mantras, and offer the libations of water to the Ṛishis, the metres, the deities, Śraddhā, Medhā, and each of the (three) Pitṛis, after having thrown clods of earth towards the different quarters of the horizon from left to right with a hymn (R.V. X, 152) verse by verse. Śāṅkhāyana (IV, 6, 7-9) adds that then they suspend the study of the Veda for six months and a half or for five months and a half ; and in case they wish to study it, they may do so after a day and a night have passed.

The Baudh. G.S., the Bhar. G.S., and the Hir. G.S. describe the Utsarga as follows :[69]

The teacher accompanied by his students goes out of the village in the eastern or northern direction to a place where they find pleasant water with a good bathing-place. There they dive into it and perform three *Prāṇāyāmas* (*i. e.* the breath-exercises) with the *Aghamarshaṇa* hymn (R.V. X, 190 ; Tait. Ar. X, 1, 13. 14). Holding Darbha blades in their hands, they bathe reciting certain Mantras. They come out of water, wring out the wet garments, put on another garment, sip water, prepare *Sthaṇḍilas* (*i. e.* pieces of ground levelled for the sacrifice) near the water, and give the blades of Darbha to each other. Then they arrange seats of eastward-pointed Darbha grass from south to north, first for the *Devagaṇas* (*i. e.* for the hosts of deities), such as Brahman, Prajāpati, Indra, Soma, and Vaiśravaṇa. Being *Nivītinaḥ* (*vide* n. 21), they arrange,

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towards the north at a northward-inclined place, the seats of northward-pointed Darbha grass from the west to the east for the seven Ṛishis, namely, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bhāradvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasishṭha, and Kaśyapa ; and they arrange a seat for Arundhatī (the wife of Vasishṭha) between Vasishṭha and Kaśyapa. This procedure of arranging seats is prescribed by the Hir. G. S. The Baudh. G. S. and the Bhar. G. S. lay down that a seat for Arundhatī is arranged after Kaśyapa. Then a seat for Agastya is arranged towards the south. Then they (being *Nivītinaḥ* according to the Baudh. G. S.) arrange seats, towards the north, for a large number of Vedic teachers including Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana, Sanatkumāra (only in the Baudh. G. S.), Babhru and Parāśara ; for the deities ; and for the Sāvitrī, the metres, the Ṛigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda, the Atharvāṅgiras, the Itihāsa, and the Purāṇa. Then, being *Prāchīnāvītinaḥ* (*vide* n. 21), they arrange seats, towards the south, for Vaiśampāyana, Phaliṅgu (but Paliṅgu, according to the Hir. G. S.), Tittira, Ukha, Ātreya the author of the Pada-text (*Padakāra*), Kauṇḍinya the author of the commentary (*Vṛittikāra*), for the authors of the Sūtras, such as Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Satyāshāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin, etc., for the hermits who live in the forest, for the chaste ones, and for those who have only one wife. Then they prepare seats for their paternal and maternal ancestors. Each prepares a seat with the words : "For so-and-so I prepare (*Kalpayāmi*) ; for so-and-so I prepare." With the words : "Adoration to so-and-so ! Adoration to so-and-so" ! each offers perfumes, flowers, incense, and lamps. With the words : "To so-and-so Svāhā ! To so-and-so Svāhā !" each offers food. With the words : "I satiate so-and-so ; I satiate so-and-so," each offers water with fruits in it. They worship them with the words : "Adoration to so-and-so ! Adoration to so-and-so !" Then they repeat the first three *Anuvākas* or the opening verses of all the Kāṇḍas. With the recitation of two verses (Tait. Samh. IV, 2, 9, 2), they plant Dūrvā grass on the brink of water. They stir up waves in water and run a race in the eastern or northern direction until they lose their breath. When they have returned home, they regale Brāhmaṇas with cakes (*Apūpas*), fried grains (*Dhānās*), and boiled rice. On the completion of the study of the Veda, these same rites are repeated except for planting Dūrvā grass, stirring up water, and running a race.

4. VEDA-VRATAS

The Gaut. D. S. includes the four *Veda-Vratas* in the forty

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Saṁskāras (*supra*, p. 255). The Gṛihyasūtras differ a great deal with regard to the number and names of the Vratas, as we shall see below.

According to the Gṛihyasūtras, the significance of the Vratas is that their observance renders a student eligible for the study of the Veda. In other words, a student becomes entitled to study a certain portion of the Veda only after he has observed a proper Vrata for it. Even the Upanayana has been regarded as a Vrata for the study of the Sāvitrī verse of the Veda. So Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, commenting on the Gobh. G. S. III, 1, 26, remarks : "The Upanayana has been declared for the study of the Sāvitrī ; the *Godāna-Vrata* for the study of the collection of Vedic verses sacred to Agni, Indra, and Soma Pavamāna (*i. e.* the Pūrvārchika of the Sāmaveda) ; the *Vrātika-Vrata* for the study of the Āraṇyaka *excluding* the Śukriya sections ; the *Āditya-Vrata* for the study of the Śukriya sections ; the *Aupanishada-Vrata* for the study of the Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa ; the *Jyaishṭhasāmika-Vrata* for the study of the Ājyadohas." The Gobh. G. S. prescribes the above-mentioned five Vratas, namely, *Godānika*, *Vrātika*, *Āditya*, *Aupanishada*, and *Jyaishṭhasāmika*.

The Sankh. G.S. (II, 11, 9-12) mentions four Vratas, namely, the *Śukriya-Vrata*, the *Śākvara-Vrata*, the *Vrātika-Vrata*, and the *Aupanishada-Vrata*. The commentator Nārāyaṇa on the Sankh. G.S. II, 7, 1, remarks that only after the observance of the Śukriya-Vrata the study of the Veda may be undertaken. This shows that the Śukriya-Vrata precedes the study of the main part of the Veda. The Śākvara-Vrata, the Vrātika-Vrata, and the Aupanishada-Vrata relate to the study of the different sections of the Āraṇyaka. Baudhāyana has described five Vratas, namely, *Hotāraḥ*, *Śukriya*, *Upanishad*, *Godâna*, and *Aṣhṭāchatvāriṁśat-Sammita* or *Sammita* ; each of these Vratas lasting for a year.[70] *Traividyaka*, *Chāturhautṛika*, *Godāna*, and *Aṣhṭāchatvāriṁśat-Sammita* Vratas have been described in the Kath. G.S.[71] The Man. G.S. speaks of three *Dīkshās* (*i.e.* the ceremonies preliminary to the study of certain Vedic texts) known as as *Chāturhautṛikī*, *Āgnikī*, and *Āśvamedhikī*, and *Traividyaka Vrata*.[72] The same Gṛihya prescribes the *Pravargya* ceremony for that who is going to study the esoteric text (*Rahasya*, *i.e.* the Upanishad).[73]

The Vrata which was undertaken for the study of Mahānāmnī or Śakvarī verses seems to have been very popular in those days. In this connection the Gobh G.S. quotes a passage of the Rauruki-Brāhmaṇa which reads as follows : "The mothers, suckling their sons, say to them, 'My little sons, become such men as endeavour to

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accomplish the Vrata relating to the study of Śakvarī verses" (*supra*, p. 38, n. 21).

OBSERVANCE OF VRATAS

As for the performance of rites connected with the Vratas, the Sankh. G.S. lays down the following procedure.[74]

The teacher, having abstained from sexual intercourse and meat-eating for a day and a night, should instruct the student on an auspicious day to observe the duties connected with the Vrata. The student may observe those duties for three days, or twelve days, or a year, or as long as the teacher deems fit. The student should, however, keep the observances for a year in the case of Śākvara, Vrātika, and Aupanishada Vratas. On the completion of the prescribed period a ceremony known as *Uddīkshaṇikā* is performed. At this ceremony the Upanayana is repeated and the teacher, having performed Homa, asks the student whether he has fulfilled the duties assigned to him. If the student answers in the affirmative, the teacher wraps up thrice, with an *Ahata* garment from left to right, the face of the student who stands to the west of the fire in front of the teacher, facing the east. The teacher says to him, "Suspending for three days the putting of fuel on the fire, going out for alms, sleeping on the ground, and the service of the teacher, observe fast in the forest in a temple or at a place where Agnihotra is performed, keeping silence with earnest care." After this the teacher who has abstained from sexual intercourse and meat-eating goes out of the village in the north-eastern direction without looking at things that impede the study of the Veda, such as raw flesh, a Chāṇḍāla, a woman in menses, blood, etc. With his face to the east the teacher sits down on a clean spot. When the sun has risen, he recites in the way prescribed for the Vedic study (*Anuvāchana*, *cf.* Sankh. G.S. II, 7) the Āraṇyaka-text to the student who keeps silence and wears a turban. This rule is to be observed for the study of the *Mahānāmnī* verses only contained in the fourth Āraṇyaka of the Ait. Ar. However, at the sections that follow (the Mahānāmnīs) the student listens to the recitation while the teacher recites them for himself. A turban, a vessel, and a good cow are presented to the teacher, and a mess of rice is prepared for the Viśvedevas.

According to the Gobh. G.S. (III, 2, 1-46), the student who undertakes to observe a Vrata for the study of the *Mahānāmnī* verses, keeps the Vrata for twelve, nine, six, or three years, or for one year according to some authorities. The period of one year is allowed in the case of those students whose ancestors had learnt

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the Mahānāmnī verses. During this Vrata the student bathes thrice a day, *i.e.* in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. He should wear dark clothes, eat dark food, be devoted exclusively to his teacher, stand in the day, and sit at night. He should not seek shelter when it is raining. He should not cross a river without bathing in it. He should not board a ship ; if he has to board a ship when his life is in danger, he should do so after having taken a bath. After the student has kept the vow for one-third of the prescribed period, the teacher should sing to him the first *Stotrīyā* of the Mahānāmnīs (*i.e.* the verses beginning with '*Vidā Maghavan Vidā*'). The second Stotrīyā is to be sung to the student in the same way at the end of two-thirds of the period, and the third one at the end of the whole period ; or all the three Stotrīyās may be sung to the student at the end of the whole period. The teacher should sing them to the student who has fasted, has shut his eyes, has dipped his hand in a brazen vessel full of water in which all sorts of herbs have been thrown, and whose eyes have been veiled by the teacher with an *Ahata* garment. The teacher may optionally sing the Mahānāmnīs to the student immediately after his eyes have been veiled (in this case the fasting prescribed above would follow the teaching of the Mahānāmnī verses instead of preceding it). With veiled eyes the student, keeping silence, is to abstain from food for three nights or for a day and a night ; or he should stand in the forest till sunset and return to the village in the night. In the following morning fire-wood should be placed on the fire in the forest, and a sacrifice should be performed with the Mahāvyāhṛitis. Then the student is made to look at fire, clarified butter, the sun, a Brāhmaṇa, a bull, food, water, and curds. The student should salute the teacher, break his silence, give a gift to the teacher, offer a mess of cooked food to Indra, and give a feast to his fellow-students.

The same rules apply to the observance of the *Jyaishṭhasāmika*-Vrata (necessary for the study of the *Ājyadohas*, namely, 'Mūrdhānaṁ Divaḥ,' in S.V. I, 67 ; II, 490 ; 'Tvāṁ Viśve,' *ibid.* II, 491 ; 'Nābhim Yajñānām,' *ibid.* II, 492). There are, however, certain observances which should be kept by the student throughout his life if he observes this Vrata. The Gobh. G.S. (III, 2, 47-55) lays down that the student who keeps the Jyaishṭhasāmika-Vrata should not have sexual intercourse with a Śūdra woman, should abstain from the meat of a bird, should avoid living constantly on the same grain and in the same place, and the wearing of a single garment, and should neither eat nor drink from an earthen vessel.

The Kh. G. S. (II, 5, 17-21) also mentions the same Vratas as

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Gobhila describes, but the former states that some do not observe the Āditya-Vrata and that those who observe it wear a single garment, do not interpose anything between themselves and the sun and do not enter water.

The Jaim. G. S. (I, 16-18) also prescribes the same Vratas as the Gobh. G.S. does, and says that the Gaudānika, Vrātika and Aupanishada Vratas last for a year, and adds that during these Vratas the student should bathe in the evening as well as in the morning. The Jaim. G.S. prescribes the observance of Āditya-Vrata for a year and lays down that during this period the student should not mount a yoked chariot, should not interpose an umbrella between himself and the sun, should not interpose a seat, a couch, or shoes between himself and the earth, and should not enter water more than knee-deep, except at the injunction of his teacher. As regards the observances introductory to the Mahānāmnī verses, the Jaim. G. S. lays down almost the same rules as are prescribed by the Gobh. G. S. for this purpose. Regarding the dark garment the Jaim. G. S. says, "According to some (teachers), his food and clothing should be dark. But because of the objection to the colour, he should put on a white and not a dark garment." As for the injunction of standing silently, the Jaim. G.S. states that during the rest of the day the student should stand, holding a vessel full of water in his hand ; and during the night he should sit silently. According to the Baudh. G. S. (III, 2. 3), the student should offer oblations, at the beginning as well as at the end of a Vrata, to the Ṛishi of the Kāṇḍa, to Sadaspati, to the Sāvitrī, and to the Vedas, and put four pieces of wood of a sacrificial tree on the fire, reciting certain Mantras which contain the name of the Vrata. The Par. G. S., the Ap. G. S., the Hir. G. S., and some other Gṛihyas do not describe the Veda-Vratas.

5. SAMAVARTANA

The word *Samāvartana* literally means the coming back of a student from his *Alma Mater* on the completion of his studies ; hence the rite that is performed on this occasion is called *Samāvartana*. The bath to be taken at the Samāvartana signifies the admission of a student to the Degree he deserves. The student who was permitted to take this bath (*Snāna* or *Āplavana*) was called a *Snātaka* (Graduate). It is important to note that each and every student was not entitled to take this bath. Those students, who fully satisfied the teacher with their attainments in the Vedic studies and who were duly permitted by the teacher, could take this bath.[75]

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According to the Man. G. S. and the Kath. G. S., the student who has mastered the meaning of the Vedas should perform this bath.[76] The Gobh. G. S., the Par. G. S., and the Jaim. G. S. speak of three kinds of Snātakas as follows : "He, who performs the Samāvartana on the completion of Vedic studies but prior to the expiry of the period of Vratas is a *Vidyā-Snātaka.* He, who performs the Samāvartana after the expiry of the period of Vratas but before the completion of Vedic studies, is a *Vrata-Snātaka.* He, who performs the Samāvartana after having completed both the Vratas and Vedic studies, is a *Vidyā-Vrata-Snātaka.* Of these three, the last ranks foremost and the other two are equal."[77]

TIME OF PERFORMANCE

The Hir. G. S. lays down that the student should take the bath during the northern course of the sun in the bright fortnight under any of the following Nakshatras : Rohiṇī, Mṛigaśiras, Tishya, Uttara-Phalgunī, Hasta, Chitrā, and Viśākhās.[78] In this connection the Jaim. G. S. gives a very interesting account of the effect of each Nakshatra. It says, "He should take the bath under the Nakshatra Rohiṇī belonging to Prajāpati, if he wishes to get offspring ; under the Nakshatra Mṛigaśiras belonging to Soma, if he wishes that Soma-sacrifices may fall to his share ; under Tishya belonging to Bṛihaspati, if he wishes to get spiritual lustre ; under Hasta belonging to Savitṛi, if he wishes to be impelled by Savitṛi ; under Anurādhās belonging to Mitra, if he wishes to be dear to his friends ; under Śravaṇa belonging to Vishṇu, if he wishes that the sacrifice may fall to his share."[79]

PROCEDURE OF PERFORMANCE

The description of actual rites of the Samāvartana is not the same in all the Gṛihyasūtras. According to the Gobh. G.S., in an enclosure to the north or to the east of the teacher's house the teacher sits on eastward-pointed Darbha grass, facing the north ; and the student sits on northward-pointed Darbha grass, facing the east. He is besprinkled by the teacher with lukewarm water which is mixed with perfumes and which has been boiled together with herbs of all kinds. Besprinkling the student with this water, the teacher recites certain Mantras. Then the student besprinkles himself thrice, reciting certain Mantras, and a fourth time silently. The student then rises and worships the sun with certain Mantras. He takes off his girdle. After he has entertained Brāhmaṇas with food and has himself eaten food, he should have his hair, beard,

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and nails cut off, so as to leave the *Śikhā* on the head. Having bathed and adorned himself, he puts on two brand-new garments—an undergarment and an upper garment. He puts on a garland and shoes and takes a bamboo-staff. Approaching the teacher and the assembly of students, the outgoing student looks at the assembly (*Parishad*) with the words: "Like an eye-ball may I be dear to you." Sitting near the teacher, he touches his sense-organs with a verse. The teacher then honours him with the Argha ceremony.[80] The Kh. G.S. (III, 1, 1-5) briefly describes the Samāvartana in the same way as the Gobh. G.S. does, but adds that the student should sit in an enclosure as stated above, if he is desirous of holy lustre; in a cow-stable, if he is desirous of cattle; in an assembly-hall, if he is desirous of renown.

The Sankh. G.S. describes it as follows: The teacher makes the student sit down on a bull's hide and have his hair, beard, and nails cut off. His body is rubbed with the powder of rice, barley, sesame, mustard, *Apāmārga*, and *Sadāpushpī* and is then sprinkled with water with the recitation of the *Āpohishṭhīya* hymn (R.V. X, 9). Having adorned him and dressed him with two garment), the teacher decorates the student with a *Nishka* (a golden ornament), reciting a verse. Then the student takes a turban, a parasol, shoes, and a bamboo-staff. He boards a chariot and goes to that place where the *Argha* is performed in his honour; or he may return after going up to cows or a fruit-bearing tree. He should eat his favourite food and should not expose himself to the sun on that day. He should present a pair of garments, a turban, ear-rings, a jewel, a staff, shoes, and a parasol to his teacher.[81]

According to the Man. G.S. (I, 2, 11-18), the student takes the bath with the recitation of certain Mantras, puts on two *Ahata* garments, anoints his eyes, wears a golden ornament, takes a parasol, a staff, a garland and perfume, puts on shoes, and then returns home after taking leave of his teachers and their kinsmen.

The Par. G.S. (II, 6, 9-32) lays down the following procedure for the Samāvartana: The student, having touched the feet of his teacher, puts a piece of wood on the fire and stands on eastward-pointed Kuśa blades to the east of eight pitchers of water placed to the north of the fire in an enclosure. With the recitation of certain Mantras he takes water from these pitchers one by one and besprinkles himself with it. Having taken off his girdle, he worships the sun and eats curds or sesame seeds. Then he gets his hair and nails cut off, and brushes his teeth with an Udumbara-twig. When he has rubbed his body with fragrant unguents and

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bathed again, he takes up a fragrant unguent for his face. Having poured out to the south the water with which he has washed his hands, he anoints himself with a fragrant unguent. Then he puts on two garments, a turban, and two ear-rings. He takes flowers and adorns himself with them. He anoints his eyes, puts on shoes, and takes a parasol and a bamboo-staff.

Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin who agree very closely in regard to the details of the Samāvartana describe it as follows :

According to the Gṛihyasūtras of Bhāradvāja and Āpastamba, the student enters a cow-shed before sunrise and sits there ; the door of the cow-shed is covered with a hide, the hairy side of which is turned inside. But the Hir. G.S. suggests that the Samāvartana may be performed at that place also which is in the vicinity of a water-reservoir.[83] The Bhar. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. refer to the view that all the ceremonies are performed in the cow-shed so that the sun does not shine upon the Snātaka on that day, because the sun shines with the lustre of those who have taken the Samāvartana bath ; therefore, the face of a Snātaka radiates lustre, as it were.[84] At midday when the rites from the putting of wood on the fire down to the Ājya-bhāga oblations have been performed, the student puts a Palāśa wood on the fire. He sits to the west of the fire on a mat or on *Erakā* grass. Then the barber shaves his hair and beard. The student sits behind the cow-shed, takes off the girdle, and hands it over to a Brahmachārin (or to a servant, *Parikarman*, according to the Bhar. G.S.) who buries it at the root of an Udumbara tree or in a tuft of Darbha grass. Describing the same rite in a slightly different manner, the Hir. G.S. states that the outgoing student, after he has placed a piece of Palāśa wood on the fire, has offered oblations into the fire, and has served food to Brāhmaṇas, absolves himself of his vow by reciting certain Mantras ; and then he puts off his upper garment, his girdle, and the staff ; the girdle, the staff and the antelope-skin are thrown into water ; and then the student is shaved.[85] When the shave is over, the student mixes cold water into hot water and sprinkles himself with it, reciting certain Mantras. Having rubbed his body with such powder as is used in bathing, he brushes his teeth with a twig of Udumbara tree. When he has bathed and anointed his body with fragrant substances, such as an unguent of sandalwood scented with perfumes of all kinds, he puts on new garments and ties a golden ornament studded with jewels to his neck and a pellet of Badara wood to his left hand. He puts on the ear-rings and a garland. Then he anoints his eyes with the *Traikakuda* salve or with some other salve, if the former

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cannot be procured. He looks into a mirror, puts on shoes, and takes a parasol and a staff. Bhāradvāja and Āpastamba state that the student keeps silence till stars appear ; and that on the appearance of stars he worships the quarters of the horizon, stars and the moon, speaks with a friendly person, and goes away wherever he chooses to.[86] The Hir. G.S. (I, 12, 1-5) remarks that the relatives or friends of the Snātaka bring an elephant, or a horse, or a chariot for him ; he mounts that vehicle and goes to a place where the Argha-reception is offered to him. Then follows the description of Argha in all the three Gṛihyasūtras.[87] *Vide* the description of Argha-reception in Chap. XXI.

CONVOCATION ADDRESS

The first thing that the teachers of those times wished to impress upon their graduates was that 'a Snātaka (graduate), who is a great person indeed, should assume a dignified demeanour from the moment of graduation.'[88] He should, therefore, prove himself worthy of that dignity. The Sūtrakāras have laid down the following rules of conduct for the guidance of a graduate :

A graduate should refrain from looking into a well, from climbing up a tree, from gathering fruits (by stoning trees), from crawling through narrow openings, from bathing naked, from jumping over uneven ground, from using harsh speech, from looking at the sun while it is rising or setting, and from begging ; there is an authoritative saying that he should not beg after taking this bath, for he who takes the Samāvartana bath drives away begging from himself.[89] A Snātaka should not take food which has been brought by a door other than the usual one, or which has been cooked twice, or which has stood overnight excepting such food as is prepared of vegetables, flesh, barley, or flour. He should not wear a single garment. He should not praise any person excessively and should not speak of what he has not seen, as if he has seen it. He should not speak of what he has not heard, as if he has heard it. He should give up everything that proves an impediment to the study of the Veda. He should endeavour to keep himself pure like a pot of oil.[90] He should not take a bath at night, nor should he bathe naked, nor should he sleep naked. He should not look at a naked woman except during sexual intercourse. He should not run in the rain, descend into a well, and swim with his arms across a river. He should not expose himself to any danger in any way, for the life of a graduate is very precious.[91] He should not enter any place through an improper way and should avoid speaking, sleeping, laughing,

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smiling, running, walking, standing, singing, and looking at an improper place and at a wrong time.[92]

An ideal convocation address is contained in the Taittirīyopanishad (I, 11). According to it, the teacher, having taught the Veda, advises his pupil as follows :

"Speak the truth. Act according to Dharma. Do not neglect the daily study of the Veda. After presenting good gifts to your teacher, do not cut off the continuity of progeny. Do not swerve from truth and duty. Do not neglect your health. Do not neglect your worldly prosperity. Do not neglect the study and teaching of the Veda. Do not neglect the worship of the gods and the offering to the manes. Revere your mother like a god. Revere your father like a god. Revere your preceptor like a god. Revere your guest like a god. Only such acts as are irreproachable should be performed and not others. Whatever good deeds we have done should be emulated by you and not other actions of ours. Those Brāhmaṇas who are better than we should be honoured by you with a seat. Whatever is to be given should be given with faith and never without faith, and should always be given with gladness, modesty, awe, and conscientiousness. Should there arise any doubt in your mind at any time with regard to any sacred act or conduct, in that case you would conduct yourself in the same manner as the Brāhmaṇas, who are able to judge impartially, who are experienced, independent, gentle, and devoted to duty, and who happen to be present there, would act in regard to such matters. And then with regard to those who are falsely accused of some crime, you should conduct yourself in such a manner as the Brāhmaṇas who are able to judge impartially, who are experienced, independent, and gentle, who are devoted to duty, and who happen to be present there. This is the command. This is the advice. This is the purport (*Upanishad*) of the Veda. This is the precept. Thus should you conduct yourself in life. Thus should this be observed."

Notes and References

1. अथैनमभिव्याहारयति । "ब्रह्मचर्यमागामुप मा नयस्व ब्रह्मचारी भवानि देवेन सवित्रा प्रसूतः" । इति ॥ हि० गृ० I, 5, 2.
2. उपनयनं विद्यार्थस्य श्रुतितः संस्कारः । सर्वेभ्यो वेदेभ्यः सावित्र्यनूच्यत इति हि ब्राह्मणम् ॥ आप० ध० I, 1, 1, 9-10.
3. Sankh. G.S. II, 1, 1.4.5 ; Asv. G.S. I, 19, 1.3.4 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 2 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 1 : 1, 5 ; Par. G.S. II, 2, 1-3 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 1-3 ; Kh. G.S. II, 4, 1.3.5 ; Ap. G.S. IV, 10, 1-3. *Cf.* Gaut. D.S. I, 9.

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4. अष्टमे वर्षे ब्राह्मणमुपनयेत् । गर्भाष्टमे वा ॥ आ० गृ० I, 19, 1-2.
अष्टवर्षं ब्राह्मणमुपनयेद् गर्भाष्टमे वा ॥ पा० गृ० II, 2, 1.

5. सप्तमे ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत पंचमे ब्रह्मवर्चसकामं नवमे त्वायुष्कामभेकादशे क्षत्रियं द्वादशे वैश्यं नातिषोडशमुपनयीत प्रसृष्टवृषणो ह्येष वृषलीभूतो भवतीति ॥ जै० गृ० I, 12.
नवमे पंचमे वा काम्यम् ॥ गौ० ध० I, 8.

6. Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 5 ; Ap. D.S. I, 1, 1, 20-26 ; *cf.* Vaikh. G.S. II, 3.

7. सप्तमे नवमे वोपायनम् ॥ मा० गृ० I, 22, 1.

8. Sankh. G.S. II, 1, 6-13 ; Asv. G.S. I, 19, 5-7 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 3-5 ; Kh. G.S. II, 4, 2.4.6 ; Kath. G.S. 41, 4 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 3-4 ; Ap. D.S. I, 1, 1, 27 ; Gaut. D.S. I, 14-16.

9. Ap. G.S. IV, 10, 4 ; Hir. G.S. I, 1, 4 ; *cf.* Ap. D.S. I, 1, 1, 19 ; Vaikh. G.S. II, 3.

10. Bhar. G.S. I, 1 : 1, 11 ; Hir. G.S. I, 1, 5 ; *cf.* Agni. G.S. I, 1, 1.

11. Sankh. G.S. II, 1, 2.4.5 ; Asv. G.S. I, 19, 8 ; Par. G.S. II, 5, 17-19 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 16 ; Hir. G.S. I, 4, 7 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 8 ; *cf.* Gop. Br. I, 2, 13.

12. अथैनं तिष्ये वाससस्यः कृत्तोतं परिधापयन् वाचयति "या अकृन्तन्नवयन्या अतन्वत । याश्च देवीरन्तानभितोऽददन्त । तास्त्वा देवीर्जरसा संव्ययन्त्वायुष्मानिदं परिधत्स्व वासः" इति ॥
बौ० गृ० II, 5, 11. *Cf.* आप० गृ० IV, 10, 10.

13. Sankh. G.S. II, 1, 15-17 ; Asv. G.S. I, 19, 10-11 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 13 ; Kath. G.S. 41, 12 ; Kaus. S. 57, 1-3 ; Vaikh. G.S. II, 4 : 23, 6. Kāṭhaka, Kauśika, and Vaikhānasa prescribe respectively a girdle of (cotton) threads (*Sūtra*), linen, and hemp for a Vaiśya.

14. मौञ्जी ब्राह्मणस्य मौर्वी राजन्यस्य मुञ्जमिश्रां तामलीं वैश्यस्य मौञ्जीं वा सर्वेषाम् ॥
जै० गृ० I, 12.

15. Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 17 ; Ap. G.S. IV, 11, 16 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 : 12, 14 *cf.* Vaikh. G.S. II, 4.

16. Kaus. S. 57, 4-6 ; Kath. G.S. 41, 22.

17. अलाभे वा सर्वाणि सर्वेषाम् ॥ गो० गृ० II, 10, 13.

18. Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 6 ; Sankh. G.S. II, 1, 26-27 ; Par. G.S. II, 2, 5 ; Kath. G.S. 41, 5 ; Asv. G.S.I, 19, 8 : Bhar. G.S. I, 1 : 1, 12.

19. ब्राह्मणानन्नेन परिविष्य पुण्याहं स्वरित ऋद्धिमिति वाचयित्वा कुमारं भोजयित्वा तस्य चौलवत तूष्णीं केशानोप्य स्नातं शुचिवाससं बद्धशिखं यज्ञोपवीतं प्रतिमुंचन् वाचयति–"यज्ञोपवीतं परमं पवित्रं प्रजापतेर्यत् सहजं पुरस्तात् । आयुष्यमग्र्यं प्रतिमुंच शुभ्रं यज्ञोपवीतं बलमस्तु तेजः" इति ॥ यज्ञोपवीतिनमप आचमय्याथ देवयजनमुदानयति ॥ बौ० गृ० II, 5, 7-8.
यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वाप आचम्य दक्षिणतः कुमार उपविश्यान्वारभते ॥
भा० गृ० I, 3. *Cf.* हि० गृ० I, 2, 6; मा० गृ० I, 22, 2.

20. यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा–"यज्ञोपवीतमसि यज्ञस्य त्वोपनीतेनोपनह्यामि" इति ॥ शां गृ० II, 2, 3.

21. *Yajñopavīta, Prāchīnāvīta, Nivīta, etc.* The compound *Yajñopavīta* consists of *Yajña* and *Upavīta* and is synonymous with *Upavīta* which is more frequent in the earlier literature. The word Upavīta comprises *Upa* and Vīta, and the latter is formed by adding the suffix *Kta*, to the root *vye* meaning to cover, to clothe, etc. The allied terms *Nivīta*, *Samvīta* and *Prāchīnāvīta* are also derived from the same root. All of them denote specific ways of wearing a garment or a sacred thread. Discussing the associations of these modes of wearing a garment, the Tait. Samh. II, 5,11, 1 says, "The Nivīta mode is chosen for men, the Prāchīnāvīta for the Pitṛis, and the Upavīta for the gods ; when he wears in the Upavīta mode, he verily makes a symbol of the gods." In other

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words, Nivīta, Prāchīnāvīta, and Upavīta modes are chosen at rites dedicated to men, the manes, and the gods respectively. He who wears it in the Upavīta mode is called Upavītin. With regard to the *Prāchīnopavīta*, the A.V.IX, 1, 24, says, "Prajāpati, thundering in heaven, is manifest to the creatures. O Prajāpati ! I, therefore, stand Prāchīnopavītaḥ ; regard me." The Tait. Br. I, 6, 8, speaks of 'Prāchīnāvītin' and III, 10, 9, says that when Vāk (speech) appeared to Devabhāga Gautama he chose the Yajñopavīta mode and bowed down with the words 'Namo Namaḥ'. The Sat. Br. II, 4, 2, 1-2, states that when the creatures attended upon Prajāpati, the gods approached him, being *Yajñopavītinaḥ* and bending their right knee ; and the manes did so, being *Prāchīnāvītinaḥ* and bending their left knee. The Sat. Br. II, 6, 1, 8 again associates the Prāchīnāvīta with the Pitṛis and theYajñopavīta with the gods. The terms Yajñopavītin and Prāchīnāvītin are explained in the Gobh. G.S. I, 2, 1-4, as follows : "He takes as his Yajñopavīta a thread, or a piece of cloth, or a string of Kuśa grass. Raising his right arm, putting the head into the Upavīta, he suspends it over his left shoulder in such a manner that it hangs down on his right side ; thus he becomes Yajñopavītin. Raising his left arm, putting the head into the Upavīta, he suspends it over his right shoulder in such a manner that it hangs down on his left side; thus he becomes Prāchīnāvītin. A person becomes Prāchīnāvītin at a rite to be performed for the Pitṛis only". The Kh. G.S. I, 1, 8-9, Manu II, 63 and the Vaikh. G.S. I, 5 also lay down similar rules. The Baudh. G. Paribhāshāsūtra II, 2, 1-6 says, "The Nivīta is used for men, the Prāchīnāvīta for the Pitṛis, and the Upavīta for the gods. How can one know them ? When the thread is worn on the neck, the shoulders, and the chest and is held with the thumbs lower than the heart but higher than the navel, it is Nivīta. The injunction that 'the Nivīta is for men' means that it is for the rites dedicated to the Ṛishis, *e.g.* Kṛishṇa-Dvaipāyana etc. The seven Ṛishis are the Kings, and men in this world are their progeny. The Nivīta is chosen at Ṛishi-tarpaṇa, at copulation, at Saṁskāras of children excepting those where Homa is performed, at answering calls of nature, at carrying a dead body, and at all other acts meant for men only. The Nivīta signifies the wearing of the sacred thread round the neck." Explaining the importance of the Yajñopavīta, the Tait. Ar. II, 1 says, "The sacrifice of a Yajñopavītin prospers, but the sacrifice of that who does not wear it in the Upavīta mode does not prosper. Whatever a Brāhmaṇa studies being Yajñopavītin, he thus verily performs a sacrifice. So for the prosperity of sacrifice, one should always be a Yajñopavītin at the time of studying, sacrificing, or acting as a priest. Having worn an antelope-skin or a garment from the right side, one raises the right arm and keeps down the left one ; it is Yajñopavīta. When this position is reversed, it is Prāchīnāvīta. The Saṁvīta mode is for men." This statement of the Tait. Ar. shows that an antelope-skin or a piece of cloth was used instead of a thread in ancient times. The Gobh. G.S., as quoted above, also allows that a cord of threads, or a piece of cloth, or a string of Kuśa grass may be taken as a Yajñopavīta. The Ap. D.S. II, 2, 4, 21-22, says that a householder should always wear an upper garment, or he may use a thread only for the Upavīta. It is clear from this statement of the Ap. D.S. that originally the Upavīta was a garment which was later replaced by a thread. Ṛishyaśṛiṅga, whose view is quoted in the Smṛiti-Chandrikā (Mysore Ed. Saṁskāra-Kāṇḍa, p. 84) says that one may use a garment for the purpose of the Yajñopavīta, and a thread of three strands may be used if a garment is

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not available. The Baudh. D.S. I, 3, 5, 5 and the Vas. D.S. XII, 14 say that a Snātaka should wear two Yajñopavītas. In Yaj. (I, 16 and 133) and other Smṛitis, Yajñopavīta is called Brahmasūtra. The Vas. D.S. VIII, 17, and the Baudh. D.S. II, 2, 3, 1, lay down that an Aryan householder should always wear a Yajñopavīta. The Sankh. G.S. II, 13, 8 prescribes that, reciting a Varuṇa *Ṛik* or *Om*, a student should sacrifice in water the Yajñopavīta, the staff, the girdle, and the deer-skin after the completion of his vow. It was considered essential to wear the Yajñopavīta at the time of the sacrifice. Perhaps women also wore the Yajñopavīta, for the Gobh. G.S. II, 1, 18, prescribes that the bride should be *Yajñopavītinī* at the time of the marriage (*supra*, p. 229). In later times *Yajñopavīta* was also affected by considerations of caste, and members of the three higher castes were enjoined to wear Yajñopavītas made of different materials in accordance with their castes. For example, in the opinion of Manu II, 44, the Yajñopavīta of a Brāhmaṇa should be made of three cotton threads twisted to the right; that of a Kshatriya should be made of hempen threads; and that of a Vaiśya should be made of woollen threads. *Vide* Vi. D.S. XXVII, 19.

22. Asv. G.S. I, 20, 2-3; *cf.* Sankh. G.S. II, I, 28.

23. Hir. G.S. I, 2, 5 *seq.*; Bhar. G.S. I, 3 : 3, 15; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 : 10, 14.

24. Hir. G.S. I, 3, 14; *ibid.* 1, 4, 1; Ap. G. S. IV, 10, 9; Man. G.S. I, 22, 12; Kath. G.S. 41, 8; Bhar. G.S. I, 8 : 8, 10; Vaikh. G.S. II, 5 : 25, 1.

25. Hir. G.S. I, 4, 2-8; Ap. G.S. IV, 10, 10-11; Vaikh. G.S. II, 5 : 25, 1; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 11-16.

26. Kath. G.S. 41, 5-7; Bhar. G.S. I, 5 : 5, 14.

27. Par. G.S. II, 2, 7-10; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 : 10, 6; Man. G.S. I, 22, 3.

28. Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 17-22; Kh. G.S. II, 4, 10-13; Sankh. G.S. II, 2, 4-12; Hir. G.S. I, 5, 2-8; Ap. G.S. IV, 11, 1-4; Bhar. G.S. I, 7 : 7, 1; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 25-26; Kaus. S. 55, 7-14; Asv. G.S. I, 20, 4-8; Man. G.S. I, 22, 4-5; Kath. G.S. 41, 15; Par. G.S. II, 2, 17-20; Var. G.S. V, 6-20; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 : 10, 18.

29. Asv. G.S. I, 20, 6; Par. G.S. II, 2, 15; Kaus. S. 55, 15; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 44; Hir. G.S. I, 7, 7-8; Bhar. G.S. I, 9 : 9, 14.

30. Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 24-26; Kh. G.S. II, 4, 15; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 : 11, 12; Asv. G.S. I, 20, 9; Sankh. G.S. II, 3, 2-5; *ibid.* II, 4, 1-2; Hir. G.S. I, 5, 11-12; Bhar. G.S. I, 8 : 8, 5; *ibid.* I, 6 : 6, 10; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 15; Par. G.S. II, 2, 16; Man. G.S. I, 22, 6; Kath. G.S. 41, 9; Kaus. S. 55, 16-17.

31. Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 27-28; Par. G.S. II, 2, 21; Sankh. G.S. II, 3, 1; Kh. G.S. II, 4, 16-18; Jaim. G.S.I, 12 : 11, 17; Man. G.S. I, 22, 5; Kath. G.S. 41, 17; Hir. G.S. I, 6, 5; Bhar. G.S. I, 8 : 8, 1; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 27; Kaus. S. 56, 13.

32. अथैनं सम्प्रेष्यति "ब्रह्मचार्यस्यसाविति। समिधमाधेह्यपोऽशान कर्म कुरु मा दिवा स्वाप्सीरिति" ॥

गो० गृ० II, 10, 29-30. *Cf.* खा० गृ० II, 4, 19.

मेखलामाबध्य दण्डं प्रदाय ब्रह्मचर्यमादिशेत्। "ब्रह्मचार्यस्यपोऽशान कर्म कुरु दिवा मा स्वाप्सीराचार्याधीनो वेदमधीष्वेति" ॥ आ० गृ० I, 22, 1-2. *Cf.* शां० गृ० II, 4, 5;

का० गृ० 41, 17; पा० गृ० II 3, 2.

अथैनं संशास्त्यग्नेश्चासि ब्रह्मचारिन् मम चापोऽशान कर्म कुरूर्ध्वस्तिष्ठन् मा दिवा स्वाप्सीः समिध आधेहि ॥ कौ० सू० 56, 12.

अथैनं संशास्ति "ब्रह्मचार्यस्यपोऽशान कर्म कुरु मा दिवा सुषुप्थाः समिध आधेहि मैचार्यं चर सदारण्यात् समिध आहरोदकुम्भं चाहाराचार्याधीनो भव वेदमधीष्व" इति ॥

बौ० गृ० II, 5, 45. *Cf.* आप० गृ० IV, 11, 25; हि० गृ० I, 5, 10.

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33 अथैनं संशास्ति "ब्रह्मचार्याचार्याधीनः प्रशान्तोऽधःशायी दण्डमेखलाजिनजटाधारी स्वयनृत-मधुमांसगन्धमाल्यवर्जी भव" इति ॥ जै० गृ० I, 12.

34. अथास्मै दण्डं प्रयच्छन्नाह "ब्रह्मचार्यसि समिध आधेह्यपोऽशान कर्म कुरु मा दिवा सुषुप्था भिक्षाचर्यं चराचार्याधीनो वेदमधीष्वेति" । अप एवाचार्यकुलेऽग्नीयादित्येकमपरं काममश्नीश्वेति ह्यथो भवतीति ॥ भा० गृ० I, 9.

35. Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 31-33 ; Sankh. G.S. II, 2, 1-2 ; Asv. G. S. I, 22, 1 ; Par. G.S. II, 2, 8-10 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 6 : 6, 8 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 13 ; Hir. G. S. I, 4, 4-5 ; Man. G.S. I, 22, 7-10 ; Kath. G.S. 41, 12-13 ; Kaus. S. 56, 1.

36. Kaus. S. 56, 2 ; Par. G.S. II, 2, 11-13 ; Asv. G.S. I, 22, 1 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 : 12, 13 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 17.

37. Sankh. G.S. II, 6, 2 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 37 ; Hir. G.S. I, 7, 11 ; Ap. G.S. IV, 11, 15. *Vide* SBE, vol. XXIX, pp. 67-68 footnotes.

38. Sankh. G.S. II, 4, 6 ; Kaus. S. 56, 5-7 ; Asv. G.S. I, 20, 10 ; *ibid.* I, 21, 1-3 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 8 : 8, 12 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 : 11, 21.

39. Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 9 ; Ap. G.S. IV, 10, 9.

40. Par. G.S. II, 4, 1-5 ; Hir. G.S. I, 7, 1-4.

41. Sankh. G.S. II, 5, 1-3 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 : 13, 2 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 9 : 9, 5 ; Par. G.S. II, 3, 6-7 ; Hir. G.S. I, 6, 6-8 ; Man. G.S. I, 22, 15.

42. Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 34-36 ; Sankh. G.S. II, 5, 8-12 ; Asv. G.S. I, 21, 4-6 ; Par. G.S. II, 3, 3-5 ; Man. G.S. I, 22, 13-14 ; Kath. G.S. 41, 20 ; Kh. G.S. II, 4, 21-24 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 : 13, 3 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 38-40 ; Ap. G.S. IV, 11, 8-12 ; Hir. G.S. I, 6, 9-11 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 9 : 9, 1 ; Vaikh. G.S. II, 6 : 26, 2 ; Kaus. S. 56, 8-11 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. XI, 5, 4, 6.

43. Sankh. G.S. II, 5, 4-7 ; Par. G.S. II, 3, 7-9 ; Var. G.S. V, 26.

44. Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 37-38 ; Kh. G.S. II, 4, 25-28 ; Hir. G.S. I, 7, 11-12.

45. Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 39 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 10 : 10, 3 ; Hir. G.S. I; 7, 13-14.

46. Par. G.S. II, 5, 1-4 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 47-51 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 : 12, 15 ; Kaus. S. 57, 16-20.

47. Hir. G.S. I, 7, 15-16 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 10 : 10, 4 ; Asv. G.S. I, 22, 9 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 40 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 52-53.

48. Sankh. G.S. II, 6, 7 ; *cf.* Man. G.S. I, 22, 21.

49. Par. G.S. II, 5, 8 ; Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 41 ; Asv. G.S. I, 22, 9.

50. Gobh. G.S. II, 10, 43 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 10 ; Hir. G.S. I, 8, 1-2 ; Ap. G.S. IV, 11, 20-21 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 55-56.

51. Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 69 ; Hir. G.S. I, 8, 7.

52. Baudh. G.S. II, 5, 70-72 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 12 : 13, 12.

53. Man. G.S. I, 22, 17 ; Kath. G.S. 41, 20-21.

54. श्रवणादि वार्षिकं प्रोष्ठपदीं वोपाकृत्याधीयीत च्छन्दांसि ॥ गौ० ध० XVI, 1.

55. Man. G.S. I, 4, 1 ; Kath. G.S. 9, 1 ; *cf.* Var. G.S. VIII, 1.

56. Gobh. G.S. III, 3, 1 ; Kh. G.S. III, 2, 14.

57. Sankh. G.S. IV, 5, 1-2 ; Kaush. G.S. III, 7, 1-7.

58. Par. G.S. II, 10, 1-2 ; Asv. G.S. III, 5, 1-3.

59. Hir. G.S. II, 18, 2 ; Bhar. G.S. III, 8 : 75, 5 ; Vaikh. G.S. II, 12 : 30, 1 ; Baudh. G.S. III, 1, 2 ; Kaus. S. 141, 2 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 14 : 14, 4.

60. Baudh. G.S. III, 1, 4-9 ; Hir. G.S. II, 18, 3-5 ; Bhar. G.S. III, 8 : 75, 6.

61. Man. G.S. I, 4, 2-5 ; Kath. G.S. 9, 2-3 ; Var. G.S. VIII, 2.

62. Gobh. G.S. III, 3, 2-8 ; Kh. G.S. III, 2, 16-22.

63. Sankh. G.S. IV, 5, 3-13 ; Kaush. G. S. III, 7, 5-12.

The first and last verses of each Mandala prescribed by the Sankh. G.S.

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belong to the *Bāshkala* Śākhā of the R.V. *Cf.* SBE, vol. XXIX, p. 113; *Charaṇa-vyūha-sūtra*, (Banaras, 1938), pp. 23-26.

64. Asv. G.S. III, 5, 3-12 ; *vide* Manu II, 71 for *Brahmāñjali*.

65. Gobh. G.S. III, 3, 14 ; Kh. G.S. III, 2, 24 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 15 ; 15, 1 ; Kaus. S. 141, 5.

66. Bhar. G.S. III, 8 : 75, 15 ; Hir. G.S. II, 18, 8.

67. Man. G.S. I, 4, 8-9 ; Kath. G.S. 9, 10 ; Var. G.S. VIII, 7-8.

68. Par. G.S. II, 12, 2-3 ; *cf.* Asv. G.S. III, 5, 20-23.

69. Baudh. G.S. III, 9, 2-16 ; Bhar. G.S. III, 11 ; Hir. G.S. II, 18, 8-10 ; *ibid.* II, 19, 1-7 ; *ibid.* II, 20, 13 ; Agni. G.S. I, 2, 2.

70. Baudh. G.S. III, 2, 4 ; *ibid.* III, 3, 1.

71. Kath. G.S. 42, 1 to 44, 4 ; *ibid.* 4, 1-25.

72. Man. G.S. I, 23, 1-26 ; *cf.* Var. G.S. VII, 1-16.

73. Man. G.S. I, 23, 21 ; *cf.* Var. G.S. VII, 17-22.

74. Sankh. G.S. II, 11, 13 ; II, 12, 1-18. Kaush. G.S. II, 7. *Vide* SBE, vol. XXIX, p. 79 footnote for *Uddīkshaṇikā*.

75. वेदं समाप्य स्नायात् । ब्रह्मचर्यं वाऽध्यचत्वारिंशकम् । द्वादशकेऽप्येके । गुरुणानुज्ञातः ॥
पा० गृ० II, 6, 1-4.

76. छन्दस्यर्धान् बुध्वा स्नास्यन् गां कारयेत् ॥ मा० गृ० 1, 2, 8. Cf. का० गृ० 3, 1.

77. तत्रैते त्रयः स्नातका भवन्ति । विद्यास्नातको व्रतस्नातको विद्याव्रतस्नातक इति । तेषामुत्तमः श्रेष्ठस्तुल्यौ पूर्वौ ॥ गो० गृ० III, 5, 21-23. *Cf.* जै० गृ० I, 19.
त्रयः स्नातका भवन्ति विद्यास्नातको व्रतस्नातको विद्याव्रतस्नातक इति । समाप्य वेदमसमाप्य व्रतं यः समावर्तते स विद्यास्नातकः । समाप्य व्रतमसमाप्य वेदं यः समावर्तते स व्रतस्नातकः । उभयं समाप्य यः समावर्तते स विद्याव्रतस्नातक इति ॥ पा० गृ० II, 5, 32-35.

78. Hir. G.S. I, 9, 3 ; Bhar. G.S. II, 18 : 50, 14 ; Agni. G.S. I, 3, 1.

79. Jaim. G.S. I, 19 : 17, 13 ; *cf.* Baudh. S.S. XVII, 39.

80. Gobh. G.S. III, 4, 6-29 ; *cf.* Jaim. G.S. I, 19.

81. Sankh. G. S. III, 1, 1-18 ; Kaush. G. S. III, 1, 1-13. I have interpreted the second half of the Sankh. G.S. III, 1, 3, by substituting *'Uchchhādya'* for *'Udvāpya' as* suggested by the Kaush. G.S. III, 1, 2 and supported by the Sāṅkhyāyana-Gṛihya-Saṅgraha p. 44. Oldenberg translates it differently.

82. Bhar. G. S. II, 18-22 ; Hir. G. S. I, 9-11 ; Ap. G. S. V, 12.

83. Hir. G. S. I, 9, 9 ; *cf.* Ap. G. S. V, 13, 1 ; Bhar. G. S. II, 22 : 56, 1.

84. एतेषामेकस्मिन् पुरोदयादादित्यस्य व्रजं प्रपद्यते । एतदहः स्नातानां ह वा एष एतत्तेजसा तपति । तस्मादेनमेतदहर्नाभितपेत् ॥ भा० गृ० II, 18.
गोष्ठे वावच्छाद्य संपरिश्रित्य पुरोदयमादित्यस्य प्रविशति । अत्र सर्वं क्रियते । 'नैनमेतदहरादित्योऽभितपति' इत्येकेषाम्। स्नातानां वा एष तेजसा तपति य एष तपति तस्मात् स्नातकस्य मुखं रेफायतीव ॥ हि० गृ० I, 10, 3.

85. Hir. G. S. I, 9, 4-18 ; Agni. G. S. I, 3, 2.

86. Ap. G. S. V, 12, 12-14 ; Bhar. G. S. II, 22 ; 55, 5.

87. Bhar. G. S. II, 23-26 ; Hir. G. S. I, 12, 7-19 ; Ap. G. S. V, 13, 2-14.

88. महद् वै भूतं स्नातको भवतीति विज्ञायते ॥ आ गृ० III, 9, 8.
अत ऊर्ध्वं वृद्धशीली स्यादिति समस्तोद्देशः ॥ गो० गृ० III, 5, 1.

89. Par. G. S. II, 7, 6 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. XI, 3, 3, 7 ; Vas. D. S. XII, 2.

90. Gobh. G. S. III, 5, 2-20 ; *ibid.* III, 5, 24. 38.

91. Asv. G. S. III, 9, 5-7 ; Vas. D. S. XII, 25. 26. 45 ; Gaut. D. S. IX, 35.

92. Man. G. S. I, 2, 19.

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CHAPTER XV

THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

1. EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

It is undeniably true that the government did not run any educational institutions for the public in the age of the Sūtras. Education was entirely left to the enterprise of private individuals who were generally such teachers as had dedicated their whole life to the spread of education. Students used to study and stay at the house of the teacher. They joined the family of the teacher (*Gurukula*) as its members. Educational institutions were thus residential in character. The teacher did not stipulate any fees for education. It was left to the discretionof students to present any gifts to the teacher, when they had completed their studies.[1] During the period of their studies students served their teacher to the best of their ability. Alms which the students collected every day were brought to the teacher, and they ate whatever he gave them. Anything which a student might acquire during the period of studies belonged to the teacher. The Man. G. S. lays down that if a student obtains anything he should give it to the teacher ; and if there are many teachers, he should give it to that teacher with whom he is associated at the time of obtaining that thing.[2] Similarly the Ap. D. S. says, "If a student has more than one teacher, the alms collected by him are at the disposal of the teacher with whom he is associated at that time."[3]

As for the qualifications of a teacher, Āpastamba says that the student should endeavour to go to that teacher in whose family learning is hereditary, who himself possesses it, and who is devout in obeying Dharma.[4] The same Sūtrakāra further states that the person from whom the student acquires the knowledge of Dharma is called *Āchārya*.[5] Gautama and Vasishṭha opine that he, who teaches the Veda to a student after performing his Upanayana, is called his *Āchārya*.[6] The teacher was very kind to his students. Loving a student like his own son, the teacher taught him attentively without concealing anything from him, and did not use the student for his own purposes to the detriment of the latter's education.[7] As we have already stated, the teacher did not demand any fees from students. He could, however, accept voluntary presents from those students who had completed their

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education.[8] People always encouraged educational institutions by giving alms to students generously. According to the Sankh. G.S., it is an imperative duty of a householder to give alms to a student before taking meals.[9] In this connection the Ap. D.S. quotes a Brāhmaṇa-text which remarks : "Since a devout student takes away from women who refuse to give him alms the merits gained through Śrauta sacrifices, through gifts and through burnt-offerings (offered in the Gṛihya fire), as well as their offspring and cattle, and the sacred learning of their families, a woman should not refuse alms to a crowd of students ; for amongst those who come to beg there might be one of that (devout) kind, who thus (conscientiously) keeps his vow."[10] The government also encouraged education by granting exemption from taxes to the learned scholars and students.[11]

Free Education : The most notable feature of the educational system of those times consisted in that poverty could not prevent any student from pursuing his course of studies. Teachers were always willing to admit deserving students without any consideration of monetary gains. The students of both the rich and the poor were, therefore, treated alike in the educational institutions. All the students irrespective of their rich or poor parentage were required to put on the same type of dress, to eat the same kind of food, and to observe the same rules of discipline (*supra*, Chap. XIV). The spirit of equality which the students imbibed during the period of studies was undoubtedly very helpful in maintaining harmonious relations between all sections of Aryan society. Caste-distinctions in respect of the uniform of students, the metre of the Sāvitrī, and the mode of begging alms were, as we have already pointed out (*supra*, p. 295), not given any importance in the earlier times. It was only in later times that such distinctions became really important.

Compulsory Education : The injunctions of the Sūtrakāras regarding the Upanayana prove it unmistakably that a minimum standard of education was compulsory for every man of Aryan community ; for the Upanayana ceremony which in fact marked the admission of a student to the study of the Veda was obligatory upon all the men belonging to the three higher castes. Those men who failed to perform the Upanayana (*i.e.*, the initiation into the study of the Veda) in due time were declared to be *Patita-sāvitrīkas*, that is, such persons as had lost their right of learning the Sāvitrī. They were subjected to social boycott. No Aryan was then allowed to perform the Upanayana for such persons, to teach them, to perform sacrifices for them, to form matrimonial alliance

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with them, and to have any dealings with them.[12] The Par. G.S. further lays down that a person, whose ancestors have been Patita-sāvitrīkas for three generations, forfeits the rights of performing the *Saṁskāra* (*i.e* , Upanayana) and studying the Veda ; if any such person desires to perform the Saṁskāra (*i.e., Upanayana*), he should perform the *Vrātya-stoma* sacrifice, and then he may study the Veda if he likes.[13]

The fear of social boycott must have had a very healthy influence in regard to the enforcement of compulsory education among the Aryans. Every Aryan was thus compelled to undergo a certain amount of schooling at the house of a teacher, though every one who received the Upanayana was not expected to attain to the highest academic attainments involving hard labour and austerities in the form of various Vratas. This view is fully confirmed by the classification of Snātakas (*supra*, p. 311). It was probably as a result of such compulsory education that the king Aśvapati of the Chhāndogya Upanishad could confidently declare that there was no unlearned person in his kingdom.[14]

2. LIFE OF A STUDENT

Daily Life of a Student : From the time of admission (*i.e.*, the Upanayana) a student begins to stay at the residence of his teacher, observing the rules of Brahmacharya.[15] The Sūtras lay down the following rules governing the daily life of a student :

The student should rise from his bed before his teacher and before sunrise early in the morning.[16] Then he takes a bath and purifies himself. After that he performs his morning prayer (*Sandhyā*). He performs it silently at a pure place in the eastern or northern direction outside the village, in a standing posture. The prayer which consists of the muttering of certain Mantras including the Sāvitrī should begin at a time when stars are still visible in the sky, and should be concluded after sunrise. Similarly the evening prayer should be performed from the time when the sun still stands above the horizon till the appearance of stars.[17] (*See* the description of *Sandhyā* in Chap. XVII). Every day in the morning and evening the student should put fuel on the fire, reciting certain Mantras.[18] This act of putting fuel on the fire is called *Agni-Paricharaṇa* or *Agni-Paricharyā* or *Agni-Pūjā* (*i.e.*, the worship of the sacred fire).[19] The Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. quote a Śruti which states that a student desirous of spiritual lustre should go out of the village before sunset and bring fresh wood as fuel for the sacred fire.[20] The Ap. D.S. (I, 1, 4, 15) lays down that a student should not go out to

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fetch wood after sunset. It was an imperative duty of a student to go out for collecting alms every day in the morning and evening.[21] During the rest of the day the student was engaged in his studies and in the service of the teacher.

Rules of Conduct and Discipline for a Student : The Sūtras lay down the following rules of conduct and discipline for a student :

A student should get up before and go to bed after the teacher.[22] He should not eat pungent condiments, salt, meat, and *Madhu*.[23] He should not sleep in the day time and should preserve chastity. He should avoid perfumes, garlands, collyrium, ointment, shoes, an umbrella, a vehicle, passionate attachment, anger, envy, covetousness, perplexity, garrulity, playing upon musical instruments, bathing for pleasure, cleaning teeth, elation, dancing, singing, calumny, gambling, falsehood, gazing at women, gossiping with women, touching women, and going to crowds (*Samājas*) assembled at festivals.[24] He should not put on anything for decorating himself.[25] He should converse with women so much only as his purpose (of begging alms etc.) requires.[26] He should not touch a woman with his face in order to inhale the fragrance of her body ; nor should he desire a woman in his heart ; and he should not at all touch a woman without adequate reasons.[27] He should show forgiveness, restrain his organs from seeking illicit objects, be untiring in the fulfilment of his duties, and be modest, energetic and possessed of self-control.[28] He should not take those things which have not been given to him and should refrain from causing injury to living beings and from uttering harsh words.[29] He should wear his hair tied in the form of a braid, or he should make a braid of the top-knot (*Śikhā*) and have the rest of the hair shaved.[30] The Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. lay down the rule that the student should put on a deer skin as an upper garment, have his hair braided, live on alms, carry in his hand a staff with its bark on, and wear a girdle made of seven strands of Muñja grass.[31] The Ap. D.S. (I, 2, 5, 9-10) says that the duties of a student consist in those acts which please the teacher, in the observance of rules conducive to his own welfare, and in working hard for his studies ; a student need not do acts other than these. The same Dharmasūtra further lays down that the student should be very attentive throughout the whole day and should never allow his mind to wander from his lesson during the period of studying ; that at other times he should be attentive to the work of his teacher ; and that during the rest of the day he should devote his mind to the doubtful passages of the lesson which he has already learnt.[32]

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Punishments for Breach of Discipline : The teachers of ancient India were not in favour of inflicting heavy punishments on their students ; for they loved the students like their own children. The Gaut. D.S. lays down the following rule in this connection : "As a matter of rule, a student should not be subjected to corporal punishment. If no other method (such as scolding etc.) is successful in reforming the student, he may be corrected with a thin rope or a thin cane. If the teacher strikes the student with any other thing, the former is liable to be prosecuted by the king."[33] The Ap. D.S. (I, 2,8, 28-29) prescribes the following methods for reforming a student : "If a student commits breach of discipline, the teacher should reprove him. In accordance with the nature of the fault, the teacher should scold the student, or cause him to observe fast or to bathe in cold water, or expel him from his presence until he gives up that fault."

Avakīrṇi-Prāyaśchitta : The infringement of the vow of chastity was deemed to be a heinous sin on the part of a student. In order to expiate for this sin the guilty student had to undergo a penance known as *Avakīrṇi-Prāyaśchitta.* For this purpose he was to sacrifice an ass on a crossing of roads to the goddess *Nirṛiti.* After this sacrifice the guilty student had to put on the skin of the sacrificed ass with its hair turned outside. Holding a red earthen vessel in his hand, he had to go about for one year, begging alms and proclaiming his evil deed. He was considered to have been purified of his guilt on the expiry of this period.[34]

3. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TEACHER AND THE TAUGHT

The student lived with the teacher as a member of his family. Loving the student like his own son, the teacher taught him attentively without concealing anything from him ; and the teacher did not use the student for his own purposes to the detriment of the latter's education (*vide* n. 7). If the teacher sent out students for his own work, he was responsible for their safety ; and in case of any mishap to the students during his work he was held guilty.[35] Āpastamba puts forward the view that the teacher who neglects the education of his student ceases to be a teacher for that student.[36] Āpastamba further adds that the teacher should not give the student anything which is forbidden for him, such as pungent condiments, salt, meat, etc.[37] If a teacher was not competent to teach any subject, the student was permitted to go to another teacher for instruction in that subject.[38]

As the student received a very kind treatment from his teacher, he regarded the teacher as his deity and was always intent upon pleasing the teacher with his service.[39] Āpastamba lays down that

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the student should always obey his teacher, except for the occasion when the former is asked to commit a crime that causes the loss of caste ; and that the student should do whatever is serviceable to the teacher, should not contradict him, and should not occupy a couch or a seat higher than that of the teacher.[40] Āpastamba further adds that if a student in the course of begging obtains things such as cattle or fuel, besides food, he should give them to his teacher ; such things are considered equal to the gifts to be given to the priests at the conclusion of a sacrifice ; and this act is a sort of daily sacrifice for the student.[41] After having got up early in the morning every day, the student should protect his teacher by doing such acts as bring forth spiritual merit and wealth ; and having served the teacher in this way during the day, the student should say, while going to bed, "I have protected the protector of Dharma (*i.e.* the teacher)."[42]

Again according to Āpastamba, the student should observe the following rules of conduct in respect of his teacher :

Every day he should put his teacher to bed after having washed his feet and having rubbed him. He should retire to bed after having received the teacher's permission. He should not stretch out his legs towards the teacher. When he is in a reclining position, he should not address the teacher. He may, however, answer the teacher sitting, if the teacher himself is sitting or lying down. If the teacher stands, the student should answer after having stood up. He should walk after the teacher, if the latter walks ; he should run after him, if he runs. He should not approach the teacher with his shoes on, or with his head being covered, or with implements in his hand. During a journey, however, he may approach his teacher in any of these positions, provided he does not sit quite near to his teacher. He should approach his teacher with the reverence due to a deity, without telling him idle stories ; being attentive ; and listening to his words eagerly. He should not sit near the teacher with his legs crossed. The student should keep his face turned towards his teacher, even though the latter does not turn his face towards the former. He should sit neither too near to nor too far from the teacher, but at such a distance that the teacher may reach him with his arms without rising. He should not sit in such a position that the wind blows from him to the teacher. If there is only one student, he should sit to the right side of the teacher. If there are many, they may sit according to convenience. If the teacher is not honoured with a seat and stands, the student should not sit down. If the teacher is not honoured with a couch and sits, the student should not lie down on a couch. If the teacher tries

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to do something, the student should offer to do it, if it is in his power.[43]

Similarly the Par. G. S. lays down that if the teacher calls the student the latter should first rise from his seat and then answer ; if the student is lying down at that time he should first get up and then answer ; if he is sitting, he should first stand up and then answer ; if he is walking, he should run up to the teacher and then answer ; if a student behaves thus, his fame will be so wide-spread after the Samāvartana that people will say of him, "To-day he stays there ; to-day he stays there."[44]

The relation between the teacher and the taught being so intimate, it was incumbent upon the latter to dissuade the former from doing unrighteous acts. So the Ap. D. S. (I, 1, 4, 25-27) states that if the teacher transgresses Dharma carelessly or deliberately, the student should point it out to him privately ; if the teacher does not give up the wrong practice, the student himself should perform those religious acts which ought to be performed by the teacher, or he may return home. The student should never obey the teacher in regard to sinful acts.[45]

As for the legal aspect of the relationship between the teacher and the student, the Dharmasūtras lay down that on the failure of all heirs, claiming any sort of blood-relationship, the preceptor or the pupil may inherit the property of the deceased person.[46] In regard to religious performances the pupil held the status of a son and was thus eligible to perform a ritual on behalf of the teacher and he could also offer at funeral rites a Piṇḍa (*i. e.* a ball of cooked rice) to his deceased teacher.[47]

4. THE SUBJECTS OF STUDY

LITERATURE

An enormous mass of literature had already grown in the Aryan society by the age of the Sūtras. In addition to the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upanishads, there existed in the age of the Sūtras special treatises on other branches of knowledge, *viz.* grammar, metrics, phonetics, etymology, theology, astronomy, law, and logic. The study of the Vedas occupied the most prominent position in the curricula of the Sūtra period. The Veda comprehends the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇa-portion. So the Baudh. G. S. says that the Veda consists of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa.[48] Defining the Veda, the Par. G. S. states that the Veda comprises *Vidhi* (*i. e.* the rules regarding the performance of sacrifices), *Vidheya* (*i. e.* the

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texts to be used at those sacrifices according to the said rules), and *Tarka* (*i. e.* reasoning on the meaning of rites and texts).[49] The Par. G. S. (II, 6, 6-8) adds that, according to some authorities, a student who has studied the Veda together with its six *Aṅgas* is entitled to take the final bath ; and that he who has studied only ritualistic texts is not eligible to perform the Samāvartana, but that student, who chooses to be a professional sacrificer (*Yājñika*) and who has acquired proficiency in ritualistic texts may do so without studying the other Vedāṅgas. Though the Kalpasūtras were regarded as useful for the study of the Veda, they were not considered as forming part of the Veda. In this connection Āpastamba refers to the view of the Mīmāṁsakas that the term Veda does not comprehend the Aṅgas, *i.e.* the Kalpasūtras and the rest.[50] So it is clear that no one can claim to have studied the Veda, after acquiring proficiency in the ritualistic texts only. The custom of offering oblations to the different Vedas and other subjects of study on the occasion of various educational rituals shows the importance and popularity of the *Ṛigveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, the *Atharvaveda*, the *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*. The Vedas were taught along with their six Aṅgas (auxiliary works). Defining the six Vedāṅgas, Āpastamba says, "The Veda has six Aṅgas, namely, the treatises on ritual (*Chhandaḥkalpa*), grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), astronomy (*Jyotisha*), etymology (*Nirukta*), phonetics—*Śikshā* (*sic*), and metrics (*Chhandovichiti*)."[51]

In the age of the Upanishads also the number of subjects of study was already very large. In the Chh. Up. (VII, 1, 2) Nārada says to Sanatkumāra that he has mastered the following branches of learning : the Ṛigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda, the Itihāsa and Purāṇa (as one branch of knowledge), the Veda of the Vedas (the grammar of Vedic Sanskrit, according to Śaṅkara), propitiation of the Pitṛis (*Pitrya*), mathematics (*Rāśi*), the science of portents (*Daiva*), the science of time (*Nidhi*), *Vākovākya* (dialectics, according to Śaṅkara), ethics and politics (*Ekāyana*), *Deva-Vidyā* (Nirukta, according to Śaṅkara), *Brahma-Vidyā* (Śikshā, Kalpa, and Chhandas), the science of elemental spirits (*Bhūta-Vidyā*), the art of war (*Kshatra-Vidyā*), astronomy (*Nakshatra-Vidyā*), the science of snakes (*Sarpa-Vidyā*), and *Devajana-Vidyā* (fine arts, such as, the making of perfumes, dancing, singing, playing upon musical instruments, etc., according to Śaṅkara). The Sat. Br. mentions the R.V., the S.V., the Y.V., the A.V., *Anuśāsanāni*, *Vidyāḥ*, Vākovākya, Itihāsa-Purāṇa, *Gāthāḥ*, and *Nārāśaṁsyaḥ* as subjects of study.[52] The word Nārāśaṁsī finds its first occurrence in the R.V. (X, 85, 6), and

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the later works distinguish Nārāśaṁsī from Gāthā.[53] Perhaps the Nārāśaṁsīs were some sort of eulogistic legends of the heroes of the past. According to Sāyaṇa, Anuśāsana is the name given to the six Vedāṅgas and Vidyā means the philosophical systems of *Nyāya*, *Mīmāṁsā*, etc.; but Vidyā, according to Eggeling, may refer to such special sciences as the *Sarpa-Vidyā* etc. mentioned in the Sat. Br. XIII, 4, 3, 9, or to the first Brāhmaṇas, according to Geldner.[54] Sāyaṇa interprets Vākovākya as a sort of dialogue and cites as an example the dialogue between Uddālaka Āruṇi and Svaidāyana Gautama. Enumerating the subjects of study, the Bṛih.Up. mentions the R.V., the Y.V., the S.V., the Atharvāṅgirasa, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Vidyās, *Upanishads*, *Ślokas*, *Sūtras*, *Anuvyākhyānas*, and *Vyākhyānas*.[55] The texts which the Asv. G.S. enumerates in connection with *Svādhyāya* (*i.e.* the daily recitation of scriptures) include the R.V., the Y.V., the S.V., the A.V., the Brāhmaṇas, Kalpas, Gāthās, Nārāśaṁsīs, Itihāsas, and Purāṇas.[56] In the description of *Tarpaṇa* (*i e.* the ceremony for satiating deities, Ṛishis, teachers, etc., *infra.*, Chap. XVII), the Sankh. G S. (IV, 10,3) mentions, inter alia, the Sūtras and the *Bhāshyas*. Describing the same ceremony, the Asv. G.S. speaks of the Sūtras, the Bhāshyas, *Bhārata*, and *Mahābhārata*.[57]

In the description of the Aśvamedha the Asv. S.S. (X, 7) and the Sankh. S.S. (XVI, 2) employ the word *Veda* in a wider sense to denote a 'branch of knowledge' and mention the Veda of the *Ṛich*, the Yajurveda, the Atharvaveda (*Atharvāṇo Vedaḥ*—Asv. S. S.), *Āṅgiraso Vedaḥ*, *Visha-Vidyā* (the science of poison, but the Sankh. S.S. reads *Sarpa-Vidyā*), *Piśācha-Vidyā* (demonology, but the Sankh. S.S. reads *Raksho-Vidyā*), *Asura-Vidyā* (the science of the Asuras, *i.e.* magic or *Māyā*), *Purāṇa-Vidyā*, Itihāsa, and the Sāmaveda ; but the Sankh. S.S. reads *Itihāsa-Veda*, *Purāṇa-Veda*, and the Sāmaveda. In the Chh. Up. and the Sat. Br. the compound form *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* is met with, as seen above, but in the Bṛih. Up. and the Sūtras we find them as separate classes of literature. Like the Sankh. S.S., the Gop. Br. (I, 10) uses the terms Itihāsa-Veda and Purāṇa-Veda. The A.V. (XV, 6, 4 *seq.*) also mentions Itihāsa and Purāṇa separately. In this connection Geldner has put forward the view that Itihāsa-Purāṇa was in ancient times a single work consisting of old legends of heroic, cosmogonic and genealogical character, but this view has been refuted by Macdonell and Keith who hold that the use of the compound form is rare and that the mention of only Itihāsa in Yāska's Nirukta is against the theory of there ever having been a single work called Itihāsa-Purāṇa.[58] So far as the grammatical aspect of the form *Itihāsa-Purāṇam* is concerned, it may be regarded

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as an aggregate compound (*Samāhāra-Dvandva*). The view of the Chh. Up. considering Itihāsa Purāṇa as a single branch of learning points to the close affinity existing between Itihāsa and Purāṇa. Commenting on the Sat. Br. XI, 5, 6, 8, Sāyaṇa opines that Itihāsa denotes cosmological stories or accounts, *e.g.* 'In the beginning this universe was nothing but water etc.'; and that Purāṇa contains stories of ancient heroes (*purātana-purusha-vṛittānta*), *e.g.* the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī. In a number of passages the Ap. D.S. refers to the views of the *Purāṇa* in general, and in II, 9, 24, 6 this Sūtra cites the opinion of the *Bhavishyat-Purāṇa*. This clearly proves the existence of the Purāṇas as a class of literature in the Sūtra period. However, it is not yet possible to ascertain the scope and character of the Purāṇas of the Sūtra period. Though the word *Mahābhārata* occurs in the Asv. G. S., as stated above, it cannot be said with certainty that the present epic Mahābhārata is intended there. It is, however, not improbable that the Mahābhārata of the Asv. G.S. represented the earliest form of our epic and was then considered an Itihāsa. The popularity of Itihāsa and Purāṇa is proved by the injunction of the Asv. G.S. (IV, 6, 6) that the members of a bereaved family should listen to the recitation of the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas at night to console themselves.

There existed a large number of *Brāhmaṇa*-texts in the Sūtra period. The Sūtras which are highly indebted to the Brāhmaṇas refer to them quite often. The Sūtras not only refer to the Brāhmaṇas in such phrases as *'Iti Brāhmaṇam,'* but also mention specifically the names of certain Brāhmaṇas. The Asv. G.S. (I, 1, 5) cites a passage from a Brāhmaṇa-text, and the Gobh. G.S. (III, 2, 6) quotes the *Rauruki-Brāhmaṇa*. The Par. G.S. refers to the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa as *Śruti* and sometimes quotes from it without making any reference to it.[59] The *Vājasaneyaka* or *Vājasaneyi-Brāhmaṇa* which may, according to some authorities, be identified with the Sat. Br. is referred to in the Sūtras.[60] Though the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa is seldom mentioned by name, its views are cited in the Sūtras of the Kṛishṇa-Yajurveda under the general name *Brāhmaṇa*.[61] The *Tāṇḍaka* occurring in the Ap. S.S. (XI, 16, 5. 14) may be identified with the Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa. Though the opinions of Aitareya, Kaushītaki, and their followers are referred to in the Sūtras,[62] the precise titles Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa and Kaushītaki-Brāhmaṇa are seldom met with in them. The Brāhmaṇas of thirty and forty Adhyāyas (*Traiṁśāni* and *Chātvāriṁśāni*) mentioned in Pāṇini (V, 1, 62) may be plausibly identified with the Kaushītaki-Brāhmaṇa and the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa respectively. It is not quite certain

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that the *Bahvṛicha-Brāhmaṇa* mentioned in the Ap. S.S. could be identified with either of these two Brāhmaṇas.[63] The other Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Sūtras include the following : *Kaṅkati-Brāhmaṇa*, *Kālabavi-Brāhmaṇa*, *Chhandoga-Brāhmaṇa*, *Chhāgaleya-Brāhmaṇa*, *Paiṅgalāyani-Brāhmaṇa*, *Paiṅgāyani-Brāhmaṇa*, *Bhāllavika*, *Maitrāyaṇīya-Brāhmaṇa*, *Śāṭyāyani-Brāhmaṇa* (or *Śāṭyāyanaka*), and *Śailāli-Brāhmaṇa*.[64] The Brāhmaṇa literature was so vast that the whole of it could not be fully preserved and even in the Sūtra period some of the Brāhmaṇas had fallen into oblivion ; for Āpastamba who refers to a large number of the Brāhmaṇa-texts remarks in his Dharmasūtra (I, 4, 12, 10) that all precepts were originally taught in the Brāhmaṇas but some texts are now extinct and that the former existence of such texts may be inferred from the prevailing usage.

Gautama, Baudhāyana and Vasishṭha prescribe the recitation of the Vedic Saṁhitās, Upanishads, Āraṇyakas, certain selected portions of the Saṁhitās and the Āraṇyakas, and certain Sāmans for the expiation of sins.[65] The Gaut. D.S. has borrowed its 26th Chapter from the Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa (I, 2). The Baudh. D.S. (II, 6, 11, 16) mentions the *Vaikhānasa-Śāstra*, and the *Śrāmaṇaka* mentioned in the Gaut. D.S. (III, 27) is interpreted by Haradatta as the Vaikhānasa-Śāstra. It is hardly worthwhile to list here the names of all the authorities whose views on various topics have been referred to in the Kalpasūtras ; for such names number many hundred. However, the names of authorities on the Gṛihya ritual have been mentioned above on pp. 18-19. It may also be noted that different schools had their special treatises on various subjects of study ; for Āpastamba observes that further particulars regarding *Anadhyāya* may be learnt from the *Parishads*.[66] Indian literature in the Sūtra period was very vast indeed.

The foregoing enumeration of different branches of learning makes it perfectly clear that by the age of the Sūtras the Aryans had developed a vast literature dealing with various branches of knowledge. Consequently it was not easy for any average individual to attain perfection in all branches of knowledge then known to the Aryans. This state of things naturally gave rise to the tendency of specialization in particular branches of knowledge. Therefore, specialists in different branches of knowledge are alluded to in several works of those days. Yāska makes frequent references to those who were specialists in the field of grammar (*Vaiyākaraṇas*), etymology (*Nairuktas*), history (*Aitihāsikas*), and sacrificial science (*Yājñikas*).[67] The Par. G.S. (II, 6,8) also speaks of such persons as studied the

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science of sacrifices only, *i.e.* the *Yājñikas*. The Baudh. G. S. gives special titles to those who were versed in particular branches of learning. So it says that he who has studied only one Śākhā of the Veda is called *Śrotriya* ; he who has studied the Aṅgas of the Veda is called *Anūchāna* ; he who has studied the Kalpa is called *Ṛishikalpa* ; he who has studied the Sūtra and Pravachana is called *Bhrūṇa* ; and he who has studied all the four Vedas is called Ṛishi.[68] Similarly the Dharmasūtras mention those who had specialized in law, logic, Mimāṁsā, the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas (*supra*, p. 199). The Śankh. G.S. and the Kaus. S. contain rules concerning the study of the Kalpa.[69] Besides, the Asv. G.S. (III, 4,4) enjoins that *Tarpaṇa* should be offered to *Dharmāchāryas* who were probably pioneer jurists of ancient India. Gautama (XI, 3) mentions *Ānvīkshikī* (logic) as a subject of study ; *Mīmāṁsā* was also studied as a special subject, and Āpastamba refers to the doctrines of the Mīmāṁsakas.[70]

The meaning of ancient sacred texts had already become obscure, to some extent, before the time of Yāska who refers to the various interpretations of the Veda attempted by the *Nairuktas*, the *Yājñikas* and the *Parivrājakas*.[71] Kautsa, whom Yāska (I, 15) quotes, denies all meaning to the Vedas. In order to explain the meaning of the Vedas there arose a school of exegetes. The Bhar. G.S., the Hir. G.S., and the Baudh. G.S. prescribe the offering of Tarpaṇa to *Vṛittikāras*, *i.e.* the commentators (*supra*, p. 306). The Bhāshyas mentioned above were probably texts dealing with Vedic exegesis. The same Gṛihyas mention *Padakāras*, *i.e.* the authors of Pada-texts (*supra*, p. 306).

ASTRONOMY

The *Nakshatra-Vidyā* (*i. e.* the science of lunar mansions) is mentioned by the Chhāndogyopanishad as a particular subject of study (*supra*, p. 328). The Vas. D. S. (X, 21) forbids a Saṁnyāsin to seek alms through astrology and the knowledge of physical marks (*Nakshatrāṅgavidyayā*).

It was but natural to attach special importance to the study of astronomy ; for the precise determination of a point or period of time was most essential for the performance of every sacrifice—be it Śrauta or Gṛihya. Such a high importance of this subject led to the establishment of separate schools of astronomy, and consequently in the age of the Sūtras the science of astronomy came to be recognized as a *Vedāṅga* known as *Jyotisha*. Thus the study of astronomy was pursued as a branch of knowledge independent of the Kalpasūtras. Such bein the case, the Sūtras do not concern themselves

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with the technicalities of astronomy. They simply mention the point or period of time when a particular sacrifice ought to be performed. Whenever any technical point of astronomy is involved, they refer it to the specialists in that subject. Gobhila (I, 5, 13), for instance, makes the explicit statement that the doctrine of determining the exact time of the full-moon and the new-moon has to be studied separately, or it should be ascertained from those who are proficient in it. We can, therefore, expect no specialized knowledge of astronomy from the Sūtras. All that we can possibly do in this connection is to glean the astronomical references interspersed in our Sūtras.

In connection with the performance of ceremonies, the Sūtras mention a good many *Nakshatras* (lunar mansions). The Man. G. S. (I, 10, 9) prescribes the oblations to be offered on the occasion of marriage to the Nakshatras, to the presiding deities of the Nakshatras, to the Tithi (of wedding), to the presiding deity of the Tithi, to the season, and to the presiding deity of the season. In the description of ceremonies for the child, the Sankh. G. S. (I, 25, 5) enjoins the offering of oblations to the Tithi of the child's birth and to the three Nakshatras with their presiding deities. In a separate chapter which appears to be an interpolation (*supra*, p. 20) the Sankh. G. S. enumerates the Nakshatras with their presiding deities as follows :

Nakshatra	*Presiding Deity*
1. Kṛittikās (fem. plur.)	Agni
2. Rohiṇī	Prajāpati
3. Mṛigaśiras (neut.)	Soma
4. Ārdrās (fem. plur.)	Rudra
5. Punarvasus (masc. dual)	Aditi
6. Pushya	Bṛihaspati
7. Āśleshās (fem. plur.)	Sarpas (serpents)
8. Maghās (fem. plur.)	Pitṛis
9. Phalgunīs (fem. dual) *i.e.* Pūrva-Phalgunī	Bhaga
10. Phalgunīs (fem. dual) *i.e.* Uttara-Phalgunī	Aryaman
11. Hasta	Savitṛi
12. Chitrā	Tvashṭṛi
13. Svāti	Vāyu
14. Viśākhās (fem. dual)	Indrāgnī
15. Anurādhā	Mitra
16. Jyeshṭhā	Indra
17. Mūla (neut.)	Nirṛiti
18. Ashāḍhās (fem. plur.) *i.e.* Pūrvāshāḍhās	Āpaḥ (waters)

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19.	Ashāḍhās (fem. plur.) *i.e.* Uttarāshāḍhās	Viśvedevas
20.	Abhijit	Brahman
21.	Śravaṇa	Vishṇu
22.	Dhanishṭhās (fem. plur.)	Vasus
23.	Śatabhishaj	Varuṇa
24.	Proshṭhapadās (fem. plur.) *i.e.* Pūrva-Proshṭhapadās	Ajaikapād
25.	Proshṭhapadās (fem. plur.) *i.e.* Uttara-Proshṭhapadās	Ahirbudhnya
26.	Revatī	Pūshan
27.	Aśvinīs (fem. dual)	Aśvins
28.	Bharaṇīs (fem. plur.)	Yama

According to the Sankh. S.S. (XIV, 78), the number of the Nakshatras was 27, and in later times also 27 was accepted as the number of Nakshatras and *Abhijit* was not included. The Baudh. S.S. makes some interesting observations about Nakshatras ; for example in XXV, 5 it says that *Kṛittikās* (Pleiades) never leave the eastern direction ; in II, 12 it is stated that the new moon following the full moon of Vaiśākha stands in conjunction with *Rohiṇī* once a year ; in XXVIII, 3, it observes that the new moon preceding the full moon of Vaiśākha stands in conjunction with *Bharaṇīs* once a year ; and in XXIV, 18 it is pointed out that the new moon preceding the full moon of Āshāḍha stands in conjunction with *Punarvasus* once a year. The statement that *Kṛittikās* do not swerve from the East is already found in the Sat. Br. and is the basis of controversial views regarding the chronology of Vedic literature.[72] The Baudh. S S. (XXVI, 29) makes an important observation about the winter solstice ; it says, "One should sacrifice at both the *Kāshṭhās* ; in the month of Māgha the sun goes to the North with the asterism *Dhanishṭhās* and returns to the South in the month of Śrāvaṇa in the middle of the asterism *Āśleshās* : these are the two *Kāshṭhās, i.e.* solstices."[73] It clearly shows that in the age of the Baudh. S.S. the winter solstice fell in the month of Māgha ; and this observation of Baudhāyana may entitle him to a date as early as the 12th century B.C.[74]

Calendar : That the calendar of Vedic Sūtras was luni-solar in character is shown clearly by the mention of *Adhimāsa* (intercalary month) which was used to make the luni-solar adjustment.[75] Generally the term *Varsha* was employed to denote the year, though the word *Saṁvatsara* was also sometimes used in this sense.[76] The year was divided into two *Ayanas*, viz. *Uttarāyaṇa* or *Udagayana* and *Dakshiṇāyana* ; the former denotes the period of the year from the

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winter solstice to the summer solstice, and the latter stands for the period from the summer solstice to the winter solstice.[77] In the description of the Āgrahāyaṇī rite Pāraskara mentions *Saṁvatsara*, *Parivatsara*, *Idāvatsara*, *Idvatsara*, and *Vatsara* which are the five years of quinquennial cycle (*Yuga*) ; and Āpastamba also mentions the same, but the Man. S.S. enumerates Saṁvatsara, Parivatsara, Idāvatsara, *Anuvatsara*, *Udvatsara*, and some Sūtras read *Iduvatsara* instead of Idvatsara.[78] The Kalpasūtras furnish no details of the five-year Yuga and of the principles of intercalation. According to the Vedāṅga-Jyotisha, the five-year Yuga consisted of 62 synodical months of $29\frac{16}{31}$ days each, *i.e.* 1830 days; it introduced two intercalary months—one in the middle and the other at the end of the Yuga ; it could be divided into 61 months of 31 days each or 60 months of $30\frac{1}{2}$ days each ; the solar year of 366 days was accepted as the basic unit in this reckoning.[79] The Lat. S.S. (IV, 8, 1 *seq.*) and the Nidānasūtra (V, 11-12) refer to years of 324, 351, 354, 360, and 378 days. The year of 324 days will consist of 12 months of 27 days each ; the year of 351 days will consist of 13 months of 27 days each ; the year of 354 days may be called *synodic lunar* year with 6 months of 30 days each and with the remaining 6 months of 29 days each ; the year of 360 days is, of course, the ordinary civil (*Sāvana*) year with 12 months of 30 days each and is regarded as a *solar* year by the Nidānasūtra (V, 12) which says that the sun perambulates each of the 27 Nakshatras in a period of $13\frac{1}{3}$ days ; and the year of 378 days may be regarded as the third year which coming after two years of 360 days is increased by an addition of 18 days.[80] A year of 360 days is most frequently referred to in Vedic literature. In all of these calculations the day means a day and a night, *i.e.* an *Ahorātra*. The Sankh. S.S. (XIV, 79-82) divides an *Ahorātra* into 30 *Muhūrtas*, a Muhūrta into 10 *Nimeshas*, and a Nimesha into 10 *Dhvaṁsis*. The Sat. Br. (XII, 3, 2, 4-5) divides an Ahorātra into 30 Muhūrtas, a Muhūrta into 15 *Kshipras*, a Kshipra into 15 *Etarhis*, an *Etarhi* into 15 *Idānis*, and an Idāni into 15 *Prāṇas*.

In the description of the Pratyavarohaṇa ceremony, the Baudh. G.S. mentions the names of the twelve months and assigns two months to each of the six seasons of the year : the months *Madhu* and *Mādhava* to Vasanta (spring, ; Śukra and Śuchi to Grīshma (summer) *Nabha* and *Nabhasya* to Varshā (rainy season) ; *Isha* and *Ūrja* to Śarad (autumn) ; *Sahas* and *Sahasya* to Hemanta (winter) ; and *Tapas* and *Tapasya* to Śiśira (the last season of the year).[81] The same names for these months are met with in the earlier literature also.[82] However, in most of the Sūtras the months are known by

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those names which they receive from the Nakshatras in which the moon is full. Thus the names derived from the Nakshatras are in the following order for the twelve months enumerated above: *Chaitra, Vaiśākha, Jyeshṭha, Āshāḍha, Śrāvaṇa, Praushṭhapada* (or *Bhādrapada*), *Āśvayuja, Kārttika, Mārgaśīrsha, Pausha,* and *Māgha.* Similarly the time of the full moon (*Paurṇamāsī*) receives its name from the Nakshatra in which the moon is full. So we come across such names as *Vaiśākhī, Chaitrī, Āśvayujī,* and *Śrāvaṇī* Paurṇamāsī.[83] Each month was divided into two *Pakshas* (fortnights), *viz.* the *Śukla, Pūrva,* or *Āpūryamāṇa* Paksha (bright fortnight) and the *Kṛishṇa, Apara,* or *Bahula* Paksha (dark fortnight). Each Paksha roughly consisted of fifteen *Tithis* (lunar days). The Pakshas are also given the name of *Ardhamāsas* (half-months).[84] The new-moon day was called *Amāvāsya, Amāvasyā* or *Darśa* and the full-moon day was known as Paurṇamāsī. The Sūtras prescribe the performance of many sacrifices on these days (*infra,* Chaps. XVII-XIX).

According to the evidence available from the Sūtras, the month commenced with the Śukla Paksha after the Amāvāsyā; for the Śukla Paksha is often termed by the Sūtras as the *Pūrva* Paksha (first half) of the month, and the Kṛishṇa Paksha as the *Apara* Paksha (the second half) of the month.[85] This point becomes quite clear from the following statement of Gobhila: "The ends of the half-months are the times for fasting, and the beginnings for the sacrifice. With the sacrificial food of the new-moon sacrifice he celebrates the first half of the month, and with that of the full-moon sacrifice the second half of the month."[86] This shows that the first day after the new moon, when the new-moon sacrifice was performed, marked the beginning of the month. The full moon (*Paurṇamāsī*) thus fell in the middle of the month. That the Paurṇamāsī divided the month into two halves by its occurrence in the middle of the month is confirmed again by a verse found in the Bhar. G.S. and the Hir. G.S.[87] Due to the occurrence of the Paurṇamāsī in the middle of the month, any Tithi of the Kṛishṇa Paksha fell in the second half of the month. Therefore, the three Ashṭakās fell in the second fortnights of the months Mārgaśīrsha, Pausha and Māgha (*infra,* Chap. XVIII). The Gṛihyasūtras state it explicitly that the last Ashṭakā invariably falls in the month of Māgha and that the first is celebrated on the eighth day after the Paurṇamāsī of Mārgaśīrsha (*infra,* Chap. XVIII). Had the Paurṇamāsī fallen at the end of the month, the last Ashṭakā would have fallen in the first half of the month of Phālguna. But this is not in keeping with the injunctions of the Gṛihyasūtras. Many passages in the Baudh. S. S. also

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point to the conclusion that Paurṇamāsī fell in the middle of the month.[88] The above evidence, as a whole, proves conclusively that the month commenced with the Śukla Paksha and that the Paurṇamāsī fell in the middle of the month. So the month was *Amānta* and reckoned from the day after the new-moon to the next new-moon.

Now let us turn to discuss the beginning of the year. In enumerating the seasons and months the Baudh. G. S. starts with spring (*Vasanta*) and the month *Madhu* (Chaitra), as we have seen above. This seems to indicate the beginning of the year in spring with the month of Chaitra. Though the Āgrahāyaṇī which means the full-moon day falling in 'the beginning (*Agra*) of the year (*Hāyana*)' might have marked the beginning of the year in an earlier era,[89] yet this rite does not seem to point to the beginning of the year in the age of the Gṛihyasūtras. The *Ekāshṭakā* which was celebrated on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of Māgha marked the beginning of the new year according to some scholars ; and the verses to be recited on this occasion refer to *Ekāshṭakā* as 'the consort of the year' (*infra*, Chap. XVIII).

It is important to note here that the days of the week are entirely unknown to the earlier Sūtras. Only the latest Sūtras, such as the Vaikh. G. S. and the Agni. G. S., and the interpolated portions of the Baudh. D. S. mention the week days (*supra*, pp. 79-80).

ASTROLOGY

The Indians of the Sūtra period held the belief that an act performed under a particular Nakshatra would bring in good results. It was also believed that the different Nakshatras, as they were presided over by different deities, had the power to confer special auspiciousness on the act that was performed under that particular Nakshatra. The Sūtras, therefore, enjoin the performance of rites under particular Nakshatras favourable to the object of the sacrificer. The ploughing of the field, for example, ought to be done under the Nakshatra Jyeshṭhā, the presiding deity of which is Indra, as this performance is sacred to Indra.[90] In order to emphasize the efficacy of a rite performed under a particular Nakshatra, the Bhar. G.S. and the Ap. G.S. say, "A daughter whom the father wishes to be dear to her husband should be given away in marriage under the Nakshatra *Nishṭyā* (*i. e.* Svāti) ; thus she becomes dear to her husband ; she does not return to her father's house (due to unpleasant circumstances) ; this is an observation based on a Brāhmaṇa-text" (*supra*, p. 221, n. 74). From the word 'Brāhmaṇa' in the above passage it follows that such a belief relating to the powers of the Nakshatras

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was prevalent among the Indians already in the days of the Brāhmaṇas. In this connection it would be interesting to note that the Sat. Br. (II, 1, 2, 18-19) questions the efficacy of the Nakshatras and says, "The sun took away the powers (*Kshatra*) of these asterisms, hence the powerlessness (*Nakshatratvam*) of the Nakshatras. For this reason also one need only take the sun for one's Nakshatra (asterism), since he took away from them their energy, their power. Nevertheless, if he (the sacrificer) be desirous of having a Nakshatra, then assuredly the sun is a faultless Nakshatra for him. Let him, therefore, take the sun alone as his Nakshatra."

It appears that some people took up astrology as a profession. So the Baudh. D. S. (II, 1, 2, 8) remarks that the earning of livelihood by astrology makes a man impure. The Vas. D. S. (X, 21) forbids a Saṁnyāsin to seek alms through astrology.

The offering of sacrifices to the Nakshatras and to the presiding deities of the Nakshatras is prescribed in the Gṛihyasūtras as well as in the earlier literature.[91] The Kauśika Sūtra lays down the performance of a rite intended to obviate the evil consequences of a child's birth under an evil Nakshatra.[92] In other places the same Sūtra prescribes the rites to be performed at the time of solar as well as lunar eclipse ; and it mentions *Rāhu* as the cause of lunar eclipse.[93] The latest Gṛihyasūtras, such as the Jaim. G. S., the Agni. G. S., and the Vaikh. G. S., prescribe a rite for the appeasement of *Grahas* (planets), viz., Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu, and Ketu.[94] But this rite is entirely unknown to the other Gṛihyasūtras. It seems that this rite was invented or introduced in later times.

MATHEMATICS

It is an admitted fact that astronomy can make no progress without mathematics. The success achieved by the Vedic Indian in astronomy and other branches of knowledge clearly points out that he was not unacquainted with mathematics. However, we have no means of ascertaining the details of mathematical knowledge acquired by the Vedic Indian ; for the Sūtras which are mainly concerned with the ritual give scanty information on this subject. We shall here sum up such references as throw some light on the mathematical knowledge of the Sūtra-writers.

In the description of sacrifices the Śrautasūtras mention the names of very high numerals which were already known to the Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas.[95] The Ap. S. S. (XVI, 31, 1) enumerates the numerals as follows : 1 (*Eka*) ; 10 (*Daśan*) ; 100

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(*Śata*) ; 1,000 (*Sahasra*) ; 10,000 (*Ayuta*) ; 100,000 (*Niyuta*) ; 1,000,000 (*Prayuta*) ; 10,000,000 (*Arbuda*) ; 100,000,000 (*Nyarbuda*) ; 1,000,000,000 (*Samudra*) ; 10,000,000,000 (*Madhya*) ; 100,000,000,000 (*Padma*) ; 1,000,000,000,000 (*Anta*) ; 10,000,000,000,000 (*Parārdha*). The Baudh. S. S. XVIII, 42 also has the above series of numerals but omits *Niyuta* and *Padma* ; XVIII, 43 has the same list as that of Āpastamba up to *Madhya* inclusive and then adds *Anta, Parārdha, Padva,* and *Palva.* In the list contained in the Sankh. S. S. (XV, 11, 1-4) the series of numerals is identical with that given in the Ap. S. S. up to *Ayuta* inclusive, and then follow *Prayuta, Niyuta, Arbuda, Nyarbuda, Nikharvāda, Samudra, Salila, Antya,* and *Ananta.* The Sūtras obviously follow the decimal system.

The Sūtras show their acquaintance with arithmetical progression.[96] Fractions that find mention in the Sūtras include ½ (*Ardha*), ⅓ (*Tṛitīya*), ¼ (*Pāda*), ⅛ (*Śapha*), and $\frac{1}{16}$ (*Kalā*). The writing was in vogue and numerical figures were used in the Sūtra period (*infra,* p. 343).

The Śulvasūtras which form part of the Śrautasūtras contain rules for the measurement and construction of altars. These treatises prove unmistakably that India had made a significant advance in geometry by the close of the Sūtra period. The Śulvasūtras, for example, lay down exact rules regarding the construction of squares and rectangles ; the relation of the diagonal to the sides ; the construction of rectangles equal to squares and *vice versa* ; and the construction of circles equal to squares and *vice versa.* Moreover, these Sūtras show their knowledge of the Pythagorean theorem, and give with its help constructions for finding a square that will be equal to the sum or difference of two squares. It is beyond the scope of this work to enter into technical details of geometry. It may be pointed out here that many points of close similarity between the rules of these Sūtras and Greek geometry have given rise to various speculations concerning the influence of the Śulvasūtras on Pythagoras and Greek influence on these Sūtras. In this connection Prof. Macdonell observes : "In Geometry the points of contact between the Śulva Sūtras and the work of the Greeks are so considerable, that, according to Cantor, the historian of mathematics, borrowing must have taken place on one side or the other. In the opinion of that authority, the Śulva Sūtras were influenced by the Alexandrian geometry of Hero (215 B. C.), which, he thinks, came to India after 100 B. C. The Śulva Sūtras are, however, probably far earlier than that date, for they form an integral portion of Śrauta Sūtras, and their geometry is a part of the Brahmanical theology, having taken its rise in India from practical motives

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as much as the science of grammar. The prose parts of the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas constantly speak of the arrangement of the sacrificial ground and the construction of altars according to very strict rules, the slightest deviation from which might cause the greatest disaster. It is not likely that the exclusive Brahmans should have been willing to borrow anything closely connected with their religion from foreigners."[97] The dates of the Śrautasūtras have been discussed above in Chap. V ; it is absolutely certain that the Śrautasūtras of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, which have got their Śulvasūtras, can in no case be placed later than 500 B. C.

MEDICAL SCIENCE

Being mainly devoted to the description of rituals, the Sūtras give us scanty information regarding medical science. However, whatever information they yield in this connection is found in the rites which they prescribe for the treatment of various diseases. For a wife who does not conceive, the Par. G.S. prescribes a ritual which chiefly consists in inserting the juice of the root of a white-blooming (Śvetapushpī) *Siṁhī* plant into her right nostril.[98] The Hir. G.S. (II, 2, 7) lays down that if a wife miscarries, the husband should three times stroke her body from the navel upwards with her wet hand, reciting a Mantra. For the treatment of headache the Par. G.S. (III, 6, 1-4) prescribes that the patient should pass his wet hands over his eyebrows with a certain verse and recite another verse if only one side of his head aches. Prescribing a remedy for a woman in labour, the Bhar. G. S. (I, 25) says, "If she is not delivered of the child for a long time, a garland (*Srak*) should be shown to her. It should be taken away immediately after the delivery. Whenever she suffers from any illness arising out of confinement, the heel of her right foot should be moistened with hot water and that part of her body where she feels pain, should be rubbed gently." Similarly the Vaikh. G.S. also prescribes a medicine for quick delivery (*supra*, p. 265). The Puṁsavana Saṁskāra is partly medical in character and some other Saṁskāras concerning conception, pregnancy and child-birth also belong to the same category (*supra*, Chap. XIII). A ritual for the cure of a child suffering from epilepsy is described in some of the Gṛihyasūtras.[99] The main features of the ritual are as follows : The child is taken in a gambling-hall by a way other than the usual door ; the child is laid on its back on the dice that are cast there ; the child is sprinkled over with a mixture of curds and salt ; a gong is beaten ; and certain formulas are recited over it ; the whole procedure is gone through thrice a day—in the morning,

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at noon, and in the evening. For a boy suffering from a disease called *Śaṅkha* the Ap. G. S. (VII, 18, 3-4) prescribes a ritual, according to which water should be poured on the head of the boy with a water-pot thrice a day—in the morning, at noon, and at night.

According to the Asv. G.S. (III, 6, 4-5), the oblations of boiled rice should be offered with the recitation of the Rigvedic hymn (X, 161) to cure a person who is affected with consumption or who is suffering from some other disease. The Ap. G.S. (III, 9, 10) says, "If a wife is affected with consumption or is otherwise ill, one who observes chastity should rub her limbs with the new leaves and roots of the water-lily, reciting certain Mantras ; and then the leaves and roots should be thrown away towards the west."

The Kauśika Sūtra (40, 14-18) lays down prescriptions for the cure of a large number of diseases and sufferings caused by a snake-bite, a scorpion-bite, etc. The greater part of the fourth Adhyāya of the Kaus. S. is devoted to the description and treatment of various physical as well as mental disorders. The diseases mentioned in this Adhyāya include dysentery, fever, headache, heart-trouble, epilepsy, white leprosy, dropsy, consumption, the inflammation of the glands of the neck (*Gaṇḍamālā*), and eye-diseases. There are prescriptions in this Adhyāya for the growth of the hair and for blackening the hair ; and in other prescriptions Kauśika describes the cure of sterility of women, the cure of preventing abortion, and the one for the bite of venomous creatures, such as snakes and scorpions. In another place (40, 14-18) this Sūtra lays down a prescription for imparting sexual vigour to a man. In addition to the recitation of particular Mantras, which invariably accompanies every act prescribed in the Sūtras, the treatment of diseases in some cases, according to the Kauśika Sūtra, consists in external application of medicine, whereas in other cases the patient must take the required doses of medicine.

Dhanvantari whom mythology mentions as the physician of the gods receives obeisance and oblations in some ceremonies described by the Sūtras.[100] However, the Gṛihyasūtras do not hint at any relation which Dhanvantari might bear to medical science. The Dharmasūtras seem to look down upon those persons who follow the medical profession, for they lay down that the food of a professional physician should not be eaten.[101] Further, the Ap. D.S. (I, 6, 19,14) quotes two verses from a Purāṇa ; one of these verses reads as follows : "The food given by a physician, a hunter, a surgeon, a fowler, an unfaithful wife, or a eunuch must not be eaten."

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The health of the people, as a whole, was sound and robust. The Par. G. S. (III, 10, 14-15) speaks of such persons as were centenarians at the time of their death.

5. THE METHOD OF INSTRUCTION

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

There is no doubt that Sanskrit was the medium of instruction in Vedic Universities. Though the style of the Sūtras was a peculiar one, yet the grammar and vocabulary of the language of the Sūtras must have conformed to the standard spoken language of those times. In the matter of vocabulary and idiom the language of the Sūtras was undoubtedly influenced by dialectical differences. For instance, the Sūtras of Āpastamba show many dialectical peculiarities (*supra*, p. 96). The injunctions of the Sūtras convey the impression that Sanskrit was understood and spoken by all—so much so that even the Śūdras conversed in Sanskrit (*supra*, p. 170). However, the Vas. D.S. (VI, 41) which is a late Sūtra states that an Ārya should not learn *Mlechchha-Bhāshā*. Though the meaning is not perfectly clear, Mlechchha-Bhāshā here stands for some foreign language. The earlier Sūtras speak of no language other than the one used by them.

ART OF WRITING

It can hardly be doubted that the art of writing was known to the Indians in the age of the Sūtras. The Gaut. D.S. (XIII, 5) seems to suggest that a plaint was committed to writing. The Sankh. G.S. (III, 10, 1) mentions the practice of marking the numeral figures (*Aṅka*) on the ears of cows. Pāṇini also seems to refer to the practice of marking numeral figures on the ears, for he gives rules for the formation of such compounds as *Ashṭakarṇa* and *Pañchakarṇa* ; perhaps the marks of eight and five were made on the ears of cows.[102] Pāṇini's sūtra (III, 2, 21) which explains, *inter alia*, the formation of *Lipikara* and *Libikara* leaves no doubt regarding the existence of writing in the Sūtra period. Besides, the Ait. Ar. which is regarded as definitely prior to Pāṇini, makes explicit mention of writing and says, "He should not learn when he has written or obliterated writing."[103] Moreover, the Vas. D.S. (XVI, 10. 14. 15) speaks of written documents as valid evidence in a law-suit. So it follows that writing was widely used in the age of the Sūtras.

Nevertheless instruction was orally imparted and the Vedic

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teachers did not allow their students to study from written books, as the Ait. Ar. shows.

VEDIC STUDIES

As the study of the Veda had a halo of sanctity attached to it, the Sūtras are very particular in giving directions with regard to the study of the Veda. The Sankh. G.S. lays down the following method for the teaching of the Veda (*Anuvachana*).

Both the teacher and the student sit to the north of the fire—the teacher with his face to the east and the student facing the west. When the student has reverentially touched the teacher's feet, has knelt down with his right knee on kuśa shoots at their roots, and has grasped round the kuśa shoots in their middle with his hands, holding the right one uppermost, then the teacher seizes them at their tops with his left hand, sprinkling water on them with his right hand. Then the student says, "Recite the Sāvitrī, sir!" The teacher replies, "I recite the Sāvitrī to thee!" In this way the student requests the teacher to teach the subject and the teacher accepts to do so. Thus the text of the Vedic hymn is first recited to the student; and then the Ṛishi, deity, and the metre of the hymn are taught to him. The teacher thus goes on reciting the hymns belonging to each Ṛishi or each Anuvāka. Of the short hymns (of the tenth Maṇḍala, X, 129-191) an *Anuvāka* should be taught as one lesson to the student; or as much as the teacher deems fit; or the teacher may recite only the first and last hymns of each Ṛishi, or of each Anuvāka; or he may recite only one verse of the beginning of each hymn.[104] This concession was perhaps granted to those students, who did not wish to become Vedic scholars but desired to declare that they had studied the Veda; for the Gṛihyasūtras permit the performance of Samāvartana to those who have studie the Veda (*supra*, p. 310).

The Gaut. D.S. (I, 52-63) states that the student should touch the feet of his teacher both at the beginning and at the end of a lesson. After having obtained the teacher's permission, the student should sit down on the right side of the teacher, with his face towards the east or the north. He should sit on the blades of kuśa grass, the tops of which are turned towards the east. Grasping with his right hand the left hand of the teacher, leaving out the thumb free, the student should address the teacher, saying: "Venerable sir, recite!" He should fix his eyes and mind on the teacher. He should touch with kuśa grass the organs of senses and restrain his breath thrice for fifteen moments. The Sāvitrī must be recited at

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the beginning of the instruction in the Veda. The syllable *Om* must precede the recitation of other parts of the Veda also. Each of the five Vyāhṛitis must be preceded by the syllable *Om* and must end with *Satya*. Such is the method of teaching according to Gautama.

6. THE PERIOD OF EDUCATION

ACADEMIC SESSION

The academic session, as we have seen above, commenced with the Upākarman ceremony in the month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August) and closed with the Utsarjana ceremony in Pausha or Māgha (Jan.-Feb.). Thus the session lasted for about five and a half months to six and a half months in a year. The study of the Veda was permitted during this period only. So the Par. G. S. (II, 11, 10-11) states that they should celebrate the Utsarga after having studied for five months and a half or six months and a half. According to the Asv. G.S. (III, 5, 14), students should study the Veda for six months. Then the study of the Veda was suspended. Thus the suspension of the teaching of the Veda lasted for six months and a half or five months and a half.[105] Though the teaching of the Veda was not permitted during this period, the private recitation of the Veda could be done. Śāṅkhāyana, therefore, opines that if they wish to recite the Vedas after the Utsarjana ceremony, they could do so after a pause of a day and a night.[106] Āpastamba lays down that the student should not study out of the academic session any part of the Veda which he has not learnt before.[107]

The Vas. D.S. and the Vaikh. G.S. lay down the rule that after the performance of Utsarjana the Veda may be studied in the bright fortnight of each month, while the Vedāṅgas may be studied at will in both the fortnights of a month.[108]

REGULAR HOLIDAYS

As regards regular holidays the Sūtras give us the following information:

The Sankh. G.S. states that at the time of the Upākarman and Utsarga an interruption of studies should take place for three days and three nights, likewise at the Ashṭakās for a day and a night, and similarly on the last night of each season.[109] Śāṅkhāyana further prescribes the interruption of studies on the fourteenth day of each fortnight, the new-moon day, the Ashṭakā-days, and on the *Parvans* (*i.e.* on the full and change of the moon and on the 8th and 14th of each half-month).[110] Pāraskara (II, 11, 1) also prescribes an entire interruption of studies on the new-moon day. Gobhila

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says that they should not study on the Ashṭakā-days, on the days of the new moon, and on the full-moon days of the months of Kārttika, Phālguna and Āshāḍha.[111]

CASUAL HOLIDAYS

Besides the regular holidays mentioned above, the interruption of study was also caused by a variety of causes and circumstances.[112] The study was interrupted at the death of a relation, a teacher, a class-fellow, the king of the country, or a scholar of the same village.[113] They should interrupt study on the day when they eat a Śrāddha-feast.[114] The study was interrupted at the arrival of good persons.[115] The occurrence of certain natural phenomena also occasioned the interruption of study. They include the following : earthquake ; solar or lunar eclipse ; fall of meteors ; rainbow ; hoar-frost settling on the ground ; wind whirling up dust in the day time or causing sound at night ; simultaneous rain, thunder and lightning ; thunder out of season ; lightning out of season ; the sky flaming red ; and certain disturbing sounds, such as the howling of jackals, the weeping of a person, singing, etc.[116] When the sound of chanting the Sāmaveda was heard, the study of the other Vedas was interrupted.[117] The study was forbidden at such times when there was panic in the area due to the outbreak of fire or invasion etc.[118] Similarly the study was suspended when cows were prevented from going out of the village due to fear of robbers.[119]

Places prohibited for Vedic study : The Sūtras lay down that one must not study at the following places : a cemetery, extremity of a village, a highway, a bridge, a threshing-ground, a village in which a corpse lies or Chāṇḍālas stay, a forest where a corpse or a Chāṇḍāla is in sight, an army camp.[120]

THE PERIOD OF STUDENTSHIP

The period of studentship lasted for twelve years in the minimum ; it could, however, be extended up to forty-eight years.[121] The Asv. G.S. (I, 22, 3-4) states that Brahmacharya lasts for twelve years for each Veda, or till one has learnt the Veda. Similarly the Hir. G.S. (I, 8, 14) lays down that studentship lasts for forty-eight years, or twenty-four years, or twelve years, or till one has learnt the Veda. Pāraskara also puts forward a similar view that a person should live as a student for forty-eight years for the four Vedas, or for twelve years for each Veda, or till he has learnt the Veda.[122] Baudhāyana is, however, not in favour of prolonging the period of studentship excessively. With the remarks that life is uncertain

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Baudhāyana refers to a Śruti which declares : "Let him kindle the sacred fires, while his hair is still black."[123] He means to emphasize the point that the period of studentship should not be protracted too much.

7. IDEAS AND IDEALS OF EDUCATION

A thorough analysis of the Educational Rituals, Convocation Address, and the system of education detailed above would make it clear that in the age of the Sūtras the ideas and ideals of education were concerned mainly with the all-round development of the personality of a student and with the preservation and spread of Aryan culture. Right from the time of admission up to graduation the student had to undergo a course of moral, mental, and intellectual training. By leading a life of austerities and strict discipline throughout his studentship the student acquired the rare powers of resisting temptations in his future life. In course of time punctuality, regularity, and sense of duty became permanent part of the habit of the student. Such good habits as were cultivated in the student during his studentship stood him in good stead in his future life. As the student used to stay at the house of his teacher, the constant contact of the teacher went a long way in forming the character of the student. The environment of learning at the teacher's house was, of course, appreciably conducive to the intellectual development of the student. The physical development of the student was equally looked after. Scrupulous regularity in the daily life of the student was a guarantee by itself for his sound health. The service which the student performed for his teacher provided him ample opportunities for manual work—an important diversion for those engaged in intellectual pursuits. The student's daily round for alms brought him in contact with the world he had to enter in due course. The student begged alms not for himself but for the institution which was serving the selfless and lofty cause of social welfare by spreading free education.[124] Therefore, the act of begging inspired the student with a sense of duty and social welfare. Thus it is obvious that students in those days were trained as good and responsible citizens, but not as religious recluses cut off from the world of hard realities. Of course, it cannot be gainsaid that religion was given its due place in the life of the student. However, religious instruction was not the only subject to be taught to the students. A perusal of Convocation Address is enough to show that a harmoniously balanced emphasis was laid on the religious, social and cultural aspects of the life of an individual. The broad and humani-

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tarian outlook which students developed in the course of their studies is manifest from the following verse which a graduate recited at the time of Samāvartana :

"Make me popular with the gods ; make me popular with the Brāhmaṇas ; make me popular with the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras ; make me popular with the kings (*i.e.* the Kshatriyas). Svāhā!"[125] The graduate wished to be popular with all grades of people including even the Śūdras.

Notes and References

1. विद्यान्ते गुरुमर्थेन निमन्त्र्य कृतानुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् ॥ आ० गृ० II, 9, 4. विद्यान्ते गुरुरर्थेन निमन्त्र्यः । कृत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् ॥ गौ० ध० II, 55-56
2. यदेनमुपेयात् तदस्मै दद्याद बहूनां येन संयुक्तः ॥ मा० गृ० I, 1, 3 ; *Cf.* काठ० गृ० I, 12-13.
3. गुरुसमवाये भिक्षायामुत्पन्नायां यमनुबद्धस्तदधीना भिक्षा । आप० ध० I, 2, 7, 14.
4. तस्मिन्नभिजनविद्यासमुदेतं समाहितं संस्कर्तारमीप्सेत् ॥ आ० ध० I, 1, 1, 12.
5. Ap. D.S. I, 1, 1, 13 ; *cf.* Nirukta I, 4.
6. Gaut. D.S. I, 11-12 ; Vas. D.S. III, 21. *Cf.* Manu II, 140 ; Yaj. I, 34 ; Vi. D.S. XXIX, 1.
7. पुत्रमिवैनमनुकांक्षन् सर्वधर्मेष्वनपच्छादयमानः सुयुक्तो विद्यां ग्राहयेत् । न चैनमध्ययनविघ्नेनात्मार्थेषूपरुन्ध्यादनापत्सु ॥ आ० ध० I, 2, 8, 24-25.
8. Ap. D.S. I, 2, 7, 19 ; Gobh. G.S. III, 4, 1-2 ; *cf.* Manu II, 245 ; Yaj. I, 51. *See* n. 1.
9. Sankh. G.S. II, 14, 20 ; Kaush. G.S. III, 10, 23.
10. स्त्रीणां प्रत्याचक्षाणां समाहितो ब्रह्मचारीष्टं दत्तं हुतं प्रजां पशून् ब्रह्मवर्चसमन्नाद्यं वृङ्क्ते । तस्मादु ह वै ब्रह्मचारिसंघं चरन्तं न प्रत्याचक्षीतापि हैष्वेवंविध एवंव्रतः स्यादिति हि ब्राह्मणम् ॥ आ० ध० I, 1, 3, 26.
11. अक्रूरः श्रोत्रियो । १० । ये च विद्यार्था वसन्ति ॥ आ० ध० II, 10, 26, 10. 13.
अक्रूरः श्रोत्रियो राजपुमाननाथप्रव्रजितबालवृद्धतरुणप्रजाताः ॥ वा० ध० XIX, 23.
बिभृयाद् ब्राह्मणान् श्रोत्रियान् ॥ गौ० ध० X, 9.
12. अत ऊर्ध्वं पतितसावित्रीका भवन्ति । नैनानुपनयेयुर्नाध्यापयेयुर्नयाजयेयुर्नैभिर्विवहेयुः ॥ गो० गृ० II, 10, 4-5.
अत ऊर्ध्वं पतितसावित्रीका भवन्ति । नैनानुपनयेयुः । नाध्यापयेयुः । न याजयेयुः । नैभिर्व्यवहरेयुः ॥ शां० गृ० II, 2, 9-13. *Cf.* आ० गृ० I, 19, 6-7 ; पा० गृ II, 5, 39-40.
13. Par. G.S. II, 5, 42-43 ; *vide* Kat. S,S. XXII ; 4, 28.
14. न मे स्तेनो जनपदे नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान् ॥ छां० उप० V, 11, 5.
15. उपेतस्याचार्यकुले ब्रह्मचारिवासः ॥ आप० ध० I, 1, 2, 11.
आचार्यकुलवास्यश्नाति क्षारं लवणं शमीधान्यमिति । हि० गृ० I, 8, 9. *Cf.* बौ० गृ० II, 5, 72.
16. Baudh. D.S. I, 2, 3, 22 ; Ap. D.S. I, 1, 4, 28 ; Gaut. D.S. II, 27.
17. Gaut. D.S. II, 16-17 ; Baudh. D.S. II, 4, 7, 9-24 ; Ap. D.S. I, 11, 30, 8 ; Asv. G.S. III, 7, 3-6 ; Manu II, 101 ; Man. G.S. I, 2, 1-5 ; Kath. G.S. I, 25-30 ; Sankh. G.S. II, 9.

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18. Asv. G.S. I, 22, 6 ; Ap. G.S. IV, 11, 22-24 ; Sankh. G.S. II, 10, 2-6 ; Ap. D.S. I, 1, 4, 14-19.

19. Par. G.S. II, 5, 11 ; Ap. D.S. I, 1, 4, 17 ; *cf.* Var. G.S. VI, 16.

20. Man. G.S. I, 1, 15 ; Kath. G.S. I, 29.

21. Asv. G.S. I, 22, 5 ; Kath. G.S. I, 30-32 ; Ap. D.S. I, 1, 3, 25.

22. Kath. G.S. I, 11 ; Gaut. D.S. II, 27 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 2, 3, 22 ; Ap. D.S. I, 1, 4, 28.

23. Ap. D.S. I, 1, 2, 23 ; Gobh. G.S. III, 1, 21 ; Man. G.S. I, 1, 12 ; Kath. G.S. I, 7-8. The word '*Madhu*' is explained as 'honey' as well as 'wine' by some commentators, such as Devapāla and Ādityadarśana on the Kath. G.S. I, 7. As for the prohibition of eating salt, Devapāla on the Kath. G.S. I, 8, explains that salt made of sea-water etc. is prohibited and that the student must eat rock-salt (*Saindhava*) or sochal salt (*Sauvarchala*).

24. Gaut. D.S. II, 19. 22. 23 ; Ap. D.S. I, 1, 2, 25 30 ; *ibid.* I, 1, 3, 11-24 ; *ibid.* I, 2, 7, 3-9 ; Gobh. G.S. III, 1, 14-24 ; Man. G.S. I, 1, 7-14 ; Kath. G.S. I, 17-23.

25. Man. G.S. I, 1, 10 ; Kath. G.S. I, 20 ; Var. G.S. VI, 9.

26. Ap. D.S. I, 1, 3, 16 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 2, 3, 24.

27. Ap. D.S. I, 2, 7, 8-10.

28. Gaut. D.S. II, 28 ; Ap. D.S. I, 1, 3, 17-22.

29. Gaut. D.S. II, 23. 25 ; Ap. D.S. I, 2, 7, 24 ; Vas. D.S. VII, 7.

30. Ap. D.S. I, 1, 2, 31-32 ; Vas. D.S. VII, 11.

31. Man. G.S. I, 1, 2 ; Kath. G.S. I, 2-6.

32. Ap. D.S. I, 2, 5, 23-25 ; *cf.* Manu II, 191 ; Yaj. I, 26-27.

33. Gaut. D.S. II, 49-51 ; *cf.* Manu VIII, 299.

34. Par. G.S. III, 12 ; Baudh. D.S. II, 1, 1, 29-34 ; Ap. D.S. I, 9, 26, 8-9.

35. Baudh. D.S. II, 1, 1, 22.

36. आचार्योऽप्यनाचार्यो भवति श्रुतात् परिहरमाणः — आप० ध० I, 2, 8, 27.

37. Ap. D.S. I, 1, 4, 5-6.

38. शास्तुश्चानागमाद्वृत्तिरन्यत्र ॥ — आप० ध० I, 2, 7, 26.

39. Gaut. D.S. II, 37 ; *cf.* Manu II, 191.

40. Ap. D.S. I, 1, 2, 18-21 ; Gaut. D.S. II, 27 ; Baudh. D S. I, 2, 3, 23.

41. Ap. D.S. I, 1, 4, 3-4 ; *cf.* Vas. D.S. VII, 14.

42. Ap. D.S. I, 1, 4, 23-24 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. III, 6, 2, 15 ; Gop. Br. I, 2, 4.

43. Ap. D.S. I, 2, 6, 1-28 ; *cf.* Gaut. D.S. II, 20-35 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 2, 3, 29-39 ; Manu II, 192-204.

44. Par. G.S. II, 5, 29-31 ; *cf.* Gaut. D.S. II, 31-32 ; Vas. D.S. VII, 12 ; Manu II, 195-96.

45. Ap. D.S. I, 1, 2, 19 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 2, 3, 23.

46. Ap. D.S. II, 6, 14, 3 ; Baudh. D.S. I, 5, 11, 11 ; Vas. D.S. XVII, 82. *Cf.* Manu IX, 187 ; Yaj. II, 135.

47. Par. G.S. III, 3, 12 ; Asv. G.S. I, 9, 1.

48. वेदमधीत्य स्नास्यन्नित्युक्तं समावर्तनम्। मन्त्रब्राह्मणं वेद इत्याचक्षते। मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेयम्। मन्त्रब्राह्मणे यज्ञस्य प्रमाणम्। मन्त्रब्राह्मणे अधीत्य चीर्णेषु वा व्रतेषु। एतावदेव नाना ॥ — वौ० गृ० II, 6, 1-6. *Cf.* आप० श्रौ० XXIV, 1, 31.

49. विधिर्विधेयस्तर्कश्च वेदः ॥ पा० गृ० II, 6, 5.

50. Ap. D.S. II, 4, 8, 12-13. *Cf. Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* I, 3, 9.

51. Ap. D.S. II, 4, 8, 10-11 ; *cf.* Mund. Up. I, 1, 5.

52. Sat. Br. XI, 5, 6, 8 ; *ibid.* XI, 5, 7 ; *cf. ibid.* IV, 6, 9, 20.

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53. A. V. XV, 6, 4 ; Tait. Samh. VII, 5, 11, 2 ; Ait. Br. VI, 32 ; Kaush. Br. XXX, 5 ; Kath. Samh. V, 5, 2 ; *ibid.* XIV, V ; Tait. Br. I, 3, 2, 6 ; Tait. Ar. II, 10. *Vide* n. 56.

54. SBE, vol. XLIV, p. 98, n. 2 ; *Vedische Studien* I, p. 290, n. 4.

55. Brih. Up. II, 4, 10 ; IV, 1, 2 ; IV, 5, 11.

According to Śaṅkara, 'Anuvyākhyāna' means explanation of Mantras and 'Vyākhyāna' is a sort of commentary on the Sūtras.

56. Asv. G.S. III, 3, 1.

Gāthās generally denote the versified accounts of ancient celebrities. The word *Gāthā* occurs in several compounds in the Ṛigveda, *e.g. Gāthāpati* in I, 43, 4 ; *Gāthin* in I, 7, 1 ; Ṛijugātha in V, 44, 5 ; *Gāthānī* in I, 190, 1, where it signifies 'a song or verse' ; it is classed with *Nārāśaṁsī* and *Raibhī* in one place (R. V. X, 85, 6). The Ait. Br. VII, 18, mentions Gāthā together with Ṛik. The Ait. Ar. II, 3, 6 seems to consider Gāthā as a form of verse with Ṛik and *Kumbyā*. Several Gāthās narrating the sacrifices of famous kings are preserved in the Sat. Br. (*e.g.* XIII, 5, 4, etc.) ; some of them sharing the nature of *Dānastutis* (*e g.* XIII, 4, 2, 8) or praises of gifts like Nārāśaṁsī verses as defined in the Bṛihaddevatā, III, 154. Sāyaṇa (on the Sat. Br. XI, 5, 6, 8) identifies Gāthās and Nārāśaṁsīs, and then he refers to the other view that Gāthās are verses like that about "the great snake driven from the lake" (*cf.* Sat. Br. XI, 5, 5, 8) while Nārāśaṁsīs (verses 'telling about men') would be such as that about Janamejaya and his horses (*cf.* Sat. Br. XI, 5, 5, 12). *Vide*, SBE, vol. XLIV, p. 98. n. 5 ; Vedic Index, I, pp. 224-25.

57. Asv. G.S. III, 4, 4 ; Kaush. G.S. II, 5, 3.

Many scholars believe that the word *Mahābhārata* mentioned here refers to the epic *Mahābhārata*. According to the authors of the *Vedic Index* (*vide* vol. II, pp. 140, 145), *Mahākaushītaka* and *Mahaitareya* mentioned in the Asv. G.S. (III, 4, 4) are the names of Vedic texts.

58. *Vedische Studien*, I, p. 290. *Cf.* Vedic Index, I, pp. 76-77.

59. Par. G.S. I, 2, 6=Sat, Br. XI, 5, 6, 1. Par. G.S. I, 11, 6=Sat. Br. I, 6, 1, 18 ; XIV, 9, 4, 11 (Brih. Up. VI, 4, 12). Par. G.S. I, 16, 1=Sat. Br. XIV, 9, 4, 22 (Brih. Up. VI, 4, 23). Par. G.S. I, 16, 3-4=Sat. Br. XIV, 9, 4, 25 (Brih. Up. VI, 4, 25). Par. G.S. I, 16, 10-16=Sat. Br. XI, 8, 3, 6. Par. G.S. I, 16, 18-21 =Sat. Br. XIV, 9, 4, 26 28 (Brih. Up. VI, 4, 27-28). Par. G.S. I, 19, 6=Sat. Br. XIV, 8, 9 (Brih. Up. V, 8). Par. G.S. II, 2, 13=Sat. Br. XI, 3, 3, 2. Par. G.S. II, 7, 4=Sat. Br. VI, 1, 1, 15. Par. G.S. II, 7, 6=Sat. Br. XI, 3, 3, 7. Par. G.S. II, 8, 1-3=Sat. Br XIV, 1, 1, 28. 30. 31. Par. G.S. II, 15, 8=Sat. Br. IX, 3, 1, 26. Par. G. S. III, 14, 15=Sat. Br. I, 8, 2, 9.

60. Kat. S.S. XXV, 8, 4 ; Ap. S.S. I, 4, 7 ; *ibid.* II, 9, 8 ; *ibid.* IV, 1, 5 ; *ibid.* V, 1, 3. 6 ; *ibid.* V, 15, 1 ; Ap. D.S. I, 5, 17, 31 ; *ibid.* I, 4, 12, 3 & 7 ; Vas. D.S. XII, 31 ; *ibid.* XXIII, 13.

61. Bhar. G.S. I, 12 ; Ap. G.S. I, 3, 3 (*vide*, p. 221, n. 74) ; Ap. G.S. I, 2, 10-12 (*cf.* Tait. Br. II, 1, 4, 5) etc.

62. Asv. G.S. III, 4, 4 ; Kaush. G.S. II, 5, 3 seq. ; Sankh. G.S. IV, 10, 3 ; Sankh. S.S. IV, 15, 7 ; Ap. S.S. I, 3, 12 ; *ibid.* III, 6, 3 ; *ibid.* X, 1, 13 ; *ibid.* X, 1, 10.

63. Ap. S.S. V, 15, 1 ; I, 20, 10 ; etc.

64. *Kaṅkati-Brāhmaṇa* : Ap. S.S. XIV, 20, 4 ; *cf.* Vedic Index I, p. 133 which identifies this Brāhmaṇa with the Chhāgaleya-Brāhmaṇa ; *vide* Caland's German Translation of the Ap. S.S. XIV, 20, 4, n. 2. *Kālabavi-Brāhmaṇa* : Ap. S.S. XX, 9, 9. *Chhandoga-Brāhmaṇa* ; Baudh. S.S. II, 2 ; *ibid.* XXV, 4 ; Ap.

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S.S. X, 1, 3 ; *ibid* X, 2, 5. *Chhāgaleya Brāhmaṇa* : Baudh. S.S. XXIII, 5. *Paiṅgalāyani Brāhmaṇa* : Baudh. S.S. II, 7. *Paiṅgāyani-Brāhmaṇa* : Ap. S.S. V, 14, 18; *ibid.* V, 29, 4. *Bhāllavika* : Ap. S.S. XXI, 16, 15. *Maitrāyaṇīya-Brāhmaṇa* : Baudh. S.S. (Śulvasūtra) XXXII, 8 ; *cf. Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, p. 41. *Śāṭyāyani-Brāhmaṇa* : Ap. S.S. V, 23, 3 ; *ibid.* X, 12, 13-14 ; *ibid.* XXI, 16, 4 & 18 ; Asv. S.S. I, 4 ; *see* also p. 38, notes 22-23. *Śailāli-Brāhmaṇa* : Ap. S.S. VI, 4, 7 ; *cf.* Vedic Index II, p. 394.

65. Gaut. D.S. XIX, 13 ; Baudh. D.S. III, 10, 10, 11 ; Vas. D.S. 22, 9.

66. Ap. D.S. I, 3, 11, 38. Haradatta explains *Parishatsu* as Dharmaśāstras, such as Manusmṛiti. Bühler (SBE, II, p. 44, n.) rightly holds that by *Parishad* are here intended the Vedic schools, and their writing and teaching. Gautama XVI, 50 also says the same and employs the term *Prativídyam*. Similarly *Prātiśākhya* is also an allied term, and the Nirukta I, 17, speaks of *Pārshadāni* as special texts of the Charaṇas.

67. Nirukta I, 12 : *Nairuktas* and *Vaiyākaraṇas* ; *ibid.* II, 8 : *Nairuktas*; *ibid.* II, 16 : *Aitihāsikas*, and *Nairuktas* ; *ibid.* VII, 4 : *Yājñikas* and Nairuktas, etc.

68. एकां शाखामधीत्य श्रोत्रियः । अंगाध्याय्यनूचानः । कल्पाध्यायी ऋषिकल्पः । सूत्रप्रवचनाध्यायी भ्रूणः । चतुर्वेदादृषिः । बौ० गृ० I, 7, 3-7.

69. Sankh. G.S. IV, 7, 53 ; Kaus. S. 141, 34.

70. Ap. D.S. I, 1, 4, 8 ; I, 4, 12, 11 ; II, 4, 8, 13 ; II, 6, 14, 13.

71. Nirukta, VII 4, etc. ; *see* n. 67.

72. Sat. Br. II, 1, 2, 3. *Cf.* H.I.L., pp. 295-98 ; Vedic Index I, pp. 421 *seq.*

73. उभे काष्ठे अभियजेत । माघमासे धनिष्ठाभिरुत्तरेणैति भानुमानर्धाश्लेषस्य श्रावणस्य दक्षिणेनोपनिवर्तत इत्येते काष्ठे भवतः ॥ बौ० श्रौ० XXVI, 29.

Cf. प्रपद्यते श्रविष्ठादौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावुदक् ।
सार्पार्धे दक्षिणार्कस्तु माघश्रावणयोः सदा ॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष, 5.

74. Tilak, *Orion*, 1955 Ed., pp., 39 *seq.* JASB, 1862, pp. 49-50 ; Haug, Ait. Br., Introduction, p. xxxiii ; Jones, Asiatic Researches II, p, 393 ; Thibaut, *Astronomie, Astrologie and Mathematik*, pp. 17-18. Though Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index I, p. 422, n. 126) hesitated to attach any value to this statement on the ground that Caland did not mention it, now its authenticity is certain beyond any doubt.

75. Baudh. G.S. II, 10, 8 ; Vi. D.S. XXI, 21.

76. Bhar. G.S. III, 5 : 72, 5 ; Par. G.S. II, 2, 1-3 ; Sankh. S.S. III, 8, 3-4.

77. Baudh. D.S. II, 2, 4, 23 ; Nidānasūtra II, 5 ; Thibaut, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

78. Par. G. S. III, 2, 2 ; Ap. S. S. XVI, 31, 1 ; Man. S. S. I, 6, 4, 21 ; Vaikh. G.S. II, 12. *Cf.* Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 369 ff.

79. Thibaut, *op. cit.*, p. 8 ; Vedic Index II, p. 159.

80. Thibaut, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9 ; Vedic Index II, p. 159.

81. Baudh. G.S. II, 10, 1-7 ; *cf.* Baudh. S.S. VII, 16.

82. Tait. Samh. I, 4, 14 ; Vaj. Samh. VIII, 30 ; Kath. Samh. XVII, 10.

83. Sankh. G.S. I, 1, 6, (*Vaiśākhī*) ; *ibid.* IV, 19, 1, (*Chaitrī*) ; *ibid.* IV, 15, 2, (*Śrāvaṇī*) ; *ibid.* IV, 16, 1 (*Āśvayujī*).

84. Bhar. G.S. II, 2 : 32, 13 ; Ap. S.S. I, 6, 4 ; Baudh. S.S. XXVIII, 12.

85. Ap. G.S. I, 1, 2 ; *ibid.* I, 1, 7 ; Bhar. G.S. II, 11 : 42, 16 ; Asv. G.S. II. 4, 1 ; Sankh. S.S. III, 8, 10.

86. Gobh. G.S. I, 5, 5-6 ; *cf.* Kaush. Bar. V, 2.

87 Bhar. G.S. II, 2 : 32, 12 ; Hir. G.S. II, 17, 2.

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88. Baudh. S.S. II, 12 ; III, 1 ; XXVI, 18 ; XXX, 3.

89. *Cf.* Tilak, *Orion*, p. 76 *seq.*

90. Par. G.S. II, 13, 1 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 26, 16.

91. Sankh. G.S. I, 25, 5-6 ; Man. G.S. I, 10, 9 ; *cf.* A. V. XIX, 7 ; Baudh. S.S. XXVIII, 3-4 ; Vedic Index I, 413 *seq.*

92. Kaus. S. 46, 25 ; *cf.* A.V. VI, 110.

93. Kaus. S. 99, 1-5 ; *ibid.* 100, 1-4.

94. Vaikh. G.S. IV, 13-14 : pp. 65-67 ; Jaim. G.S. II, 9 : 34, 1. Agni. G.S. II, 5.

95. Tait. Samh. IV, 4, 11, 4 ; *ibid.* VII, 2, 20, 1 ; Vaj. Samh. XVII, 2 ; Kath. Samh. XXXIX, 6 ; Mait. Samh. II, 8, 14 ; Sat Br. IX, 1, 2, 16 ; Panch. Br. XVII, 14, 2.

96. Lat. S. S. VIII, 10, 1 *seq.* ; Kat. S. S. XXII, 9, 1-6 ; Baudh. S. S. XVIII, 37.

97. *History of Sanskit Literature*, 1900 Ed., pp. 424-25. *Cf.* Thibaut, *op. cit.*, p. 78 ; Keith, JRAS, 1910, pp. 519-21 ; Kaye, JRAS, 1910, pp, 749-60.

98. Par. G.S. I, 13, 1 ; *cf.* A.V. VIII, 2, 6.

99. Hir. G.S. II, 7, 1-5 ; Bhar. G.S. II, 7 : 38, 1 ; Ap. G.S. VII, 18, 1-2 ; Par. G.S. I, 16. 24-25.

100. Man. G.S. I, 18, 8 ; *ibid.* II, 12, 2, 3. 19 ; Sankh. G.S. II, 14, 4.

101. Gaut. D.S. XVII, 15 ; Ap. D.S. I, 6, 18, 21 ; Vas. D.S. XIV, 19 ; III, 3.

102. Pāṇini VI, 3, 115 ; *cf.* Mait. Samh. IV, 2, 9. The word '*Ashṭakarṇyaḥ*' occurs in the Ṛigveda X, 62, 7. Some scholars like Grassman take this word to mean the cows with the mark of number eight on their ears. But other scholars such as R. Roth explain it as the cows whose ears are pierced. The authors of Vedic Index (*s. v.*) are inclined to accept the meaning suggested by Grassman. If the meaning given to this word by Grassman is accepted, it indicates the existence of the art of writing in the age of the Ṛigveda. *Cf.* Zimmer, Alt. Leb., p. 347 ff.

103. Ait. Ar. V, 3, 3 ; Compare Keith's remarks on this passage in the English Translation of the Ait. Ar., p. 301, footnote 9. As regards the discussion on the dates of the Ait. Ar. and Pāṇini, *see* Keith's introduction to the Ait. Ar., p. 15 *seq.*

104. Sankh. G.S. II, 7 ; *cf.* Vaikh. G.S. II, 12.

105. Sankh. G.S. IV, 6, 7-8 ; Kaush. G.S. III, 8, 3.

106. Sankh. G.S. IV, 6, 9 ; Kaush. G.S. III, 8, 4.

107. Ap. D.S. I, 3, 11, 35 ; *see* Haradatta's commentary on this text.

108. Vas. D.S. XIII, 5-7 ; Vaikh. G.S. II, 12 : 31, 3 ; *cf.* Nārāyaṇa's commentary on the *Asv.* G.S. III, 5, 23.

109. Sankh. G.S. IV, 5, 17 ; *cf.* Par. G.S. II, 11, 13 ; Ap. D.S. I, 3, 10, 2 ; Kaus. S. 141, 24-26.

110. Sankh. G.S. IV, 7, 7. 18 ; *cf.* Manu IV, 113.

111. Gobh. G.S. III, 3, 20-22 ; *cf.* Gaut. D.S. XVI, 35-40 ; Ap. D.S. I, 3, 10, 1 ; Manu IV, 113-114 ; Ap. D.S. I, 3, 9, 28.

112. Sankh. G.S. IV, 7 ; Par. G.S. II, 11 ; Gobh. G.S. III, 3, 16-29 ; Kaus. S. 141 ; Gaut. D.S. XVI, 5-49 ; Ap. D.S. I, 3, 9-12.

113. Sankh. G.S. IV, 7, 6. 9. 11. 13 ; Asv. G.S. IV, 4, 17-27 ; Gobh. G.S. III, 3, 24-26 ; Par. G.S. II, 11, 7-9 ; Kaus. S. 141, 27-31.

114. Sankh. G.S. IV, 7, 12 ; Par. G.S. II, 11, 2.

115. Par. G.S. II, 11, 6 ; Ap. D.S. I, 3, 9, 19.

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116. Sankh. G.S. IV, 7, 31 ; Gobh. G.S. III, 3, 27.
117. Par. G.S. II, 11, 6 ; Sankh. G.S. IV, 7, 21.
118. Gaut. D.S. XVI, 34 ; *cf.* Manu IV, 118.
119. Ap. D.S. I, 3, 9, 25.
120. Ap. D.S. I, 3, 9, 14-18 ; Kaus. S. 141, 38-39 ; Sankh. G.S. IV, 7, 20. 23. 24. 30. 41. 49.
121. Ap. D.S. I, 1, 2, 12-16 ; *cf.* Manu III, 1 ; Yaj. I, 36.
122. Par. G S. II, 5, 13-15 ; *cf.* Gaut. D.S. II, 52-54.
123. जीवितस्यास्थिरत्वात् । कृष्णकेशोऽग्नीनादधीतेति श्रुतिः ॥ बौ० ध० I, 2, 3, 5-6.
124. नात्मप्रयोजनश्चरेत् ॥ आप० ध० I, 1, 3, 35.
125. Bhar. G.S. II, 21 : 54, 9 ; Hir. G.S. I, 10, 6. *See* p. 130, n. 69.

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CHAPTER XVI

FUNERAL RITES AND SRADDHAS

Both the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras describe funeral rites ; the former are concerned with the obsequies of an *Āhitāgni* (one who had set up the Śrauta fires), while the latter deal with the funeral rites of an Āhitāgni as well as an *Anāhitāgni* (one who did not consecrate the three sacred fires). Thus the scope of the Gṛihyasūtras is in this respect wider than that of the Śrautasūtras. So the following description of funeral rites and Śrāddhas is mainly in accordance with the injunctions of the Gṛihyasūtras.

However, the description of funeral rites is not contained in all the Gṛihyasūtras. The Asv. G.S., the Kaus. S., the Kaush. G.S., the Vaikh. G.S., and the Agni. G.S. give a detailed account of funeral rites, and a partial account of the same is found in the Par. G.S. and the Jaim. G.S. also. The Śrāddha is, however, described in several Gṛihyas, as we shall see below.

It would not be unnecessary to point out here that the Vaikh. G.S. exhibits its peculiar features in the description of funeral rites. The Vaikh. G. S. and the Agni. G.S. describe the burial rites of ascetics.[1] No such description is given by the other Gṛihyas. Further, Vaikhānasa's account of post-death marriage is peculiar to the Vaikh. G.S. only. Though this custom has been found among the people of the South and some other people outside India, yet it is conspicuously unknown to the Indo-Aryans residing in other parts of India. The post-death marriage is described as follows : "When a man who sacrifices to the Ātman (Higher Self) dies ; or a Snātaka, who has not reached the stage of life of a householder (*i.e.* who was still unmarried) dies ; or one (*i.e.* a householder) who had lost his wife by death dies ; and if it is desired that *Brahman* (*i.e.* austerity, according to the commentary) of such a dead person may not be futile, the heir of the deceased should give a fee (to some one) in accordance with his resources, cause (the person to whom he has given this fee) to give the deceased a maiden of equal social status, and perform in the aforesaid manner the cremation of the deceased who has attained the state of a married person by staying with her. In the same way one should cremate the corpse of an adult girl, having made her reach the state of a married woman with a man of equal social status."[2]

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1. PRE-CREMATION RITES

Disease and Death : The Asv. G.S. (IV, 1, 1-6) says that if disease befalls a person who has set up the sacred Śrauta fires, he should leave his home and go out of the village in the eastern, northern, or north-eastern direction. Āśvalāyana here quotes a saying : "As the sacred fires are fond of the village, they, longing for it and being desirous of returning to the village, might restore him to health." In case he is restored to health, he should return to the village after having performed a Soma-sacrifice, or an animal-sacrifice, or any sacrifice, or even without a sacrifice. If he dies, preparations are made for his cremation. The Kauśika Sūtra (80, 3-4) states that when a person is about to die he is placed on Darbha grass spread on mats in the house ; and then certain verses are recited. The Vaikh. G S. (V, 1) lays down that when a person knows the approach of his death, he should summon on the third, fifth, or ninth day before his death, his relations of five kinds, should speak kind words to them, and should distribute his worldly possessions and the things concerning his obsequies and Śrāddhas ; when the day of his death has approached, Darbha grass is strewn with its points to the east or south on an underlayer of sand on a pure place ; he should sit or lie down there with his face to the south; and then follows the recitation of a number of verses. The Kaush. G.S. (V, 1, 4-14) says that when an Āhitāgni dies he is placed on the ground near the three sacred fires, and the oblations of clarified butter are offered into these fires with the recitations of certain Mantras ; and then the hair and nails of the dead person are cut off, he is washed with water, decorated (with garlands etc.) and clothed in new and unused garments.

Preparations for Cremation : When the death of a person has occurred, a piece of ground is selected for his cremation. In this connection the Asv. G.S. says, "On the death of an Āhitāgni one should have a piece of ground dug up in the south-eastern or south-western direction. The dug up place should be sloping down towards the south, south-east, or south-west. The piece of ground should be of the length of a man with upraised arms ; of the breadth of one *Vyāma* (*supra*, p. 141) ; and of the depth of a *Vitasti* (span). The cemetery should be open on all sides and should be fertile in herbs ; and plants having thorns and milky sap should be weeded out. The place from which waters flow off to all sides possesses the characteristics required for a cemetery."[3] The Vaikh. G. S. (V, 3) lays down the rule that the ground for

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cremating the dead should be situated in woods, on a river-bank, or on a mountain, and should be sloping down towards the south-west ; and for this purpose one should avoid such places as are split and rent and where filth, ant-hills, hair, potsherds, bones, chaff, coals, saline soil, naturally barren soil, stones, and roots of trees are lying.

The hair, the beard, the hair of the body, and the nails of the deceased are cut off ; and then the dead body is washed.[4] The Kauśika Sūtra (80, 15-17) adds that they anoint the dead body, adorn it with garlands, and dress it with a new garment still unused (*see* n. 4). The Vaikh. G.S. prescribes that a relation of the dead should sprinkle the deceased with clarified butter, adorn him with ornaments that are in vogue in his village, bind together with a string of kuśa grass his two thumbs and great toes, and cover him with a new unused garment so that its hem rests on his feet.[5] The Kauśika Sūtra prescribes the offering of oblations into the fire after the dead has been adorned ; and then *Ukhās* (small pots) are made of clay and the three sacrificial fires, namely, the *Āhavanīyāgni*, the *Dakshiṇāgni*, and the *Gārhapatyāgni* are put into them and are to be carried with the dead to the cremation ground.[6]

According to the Kauśika Sūtra, the corpse is carried to the cremation ground on a cart drawn by two bullocks or two men ; when these bullocks or men are yoked to the cart, a verse from the A.V. (XVIII, 2, 56) is recited ; the verse reads : "I harness these two bullocks to the cart, for the conveyance of your life, whereby you may repair to Yama's dwelling and his assemblies."[7] This verse shows that the custom of bearing the dead on a cart drawn by two bullocks is very ancient. The Asv. S. S. prescribes one bullock for this purpose. The Tait. Ar. (VI, 1) also suggests that the dead body was borne by aged slaves or by two bullocks yoked to the cart. The Asv. G.S., which prescribes that an odd number of aged persons should carry the dead behind the sacrificial vessels and fires, and that men and women should not go together, also refers to the view of some authorities that the corpse should be borne in a cart drawn by bullocks.[8] The Vaikh. G.S. enjoins that the bearers of the corpse should be *Sapiṇḍas* (*supra*, p. 211) ; or they should be related to the deceased up to five degrees ; or they may be other than these ; that they must be either two or four persons of the same social status ; and that they should have bathed and be dressed in undergarments made of Darbha strings and in upper garments of Darbha grass.[9]

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Funeral Procession : The Asv. G.S. lays down that the relations of the dead person carry his sacred fires and sacrificial vessels to the cemetery, and that aged persons forming an odd number, men and women not going together, carry the corpse behind them (*see* n. 8). A she-animal for covering the dead body is also prescribed—a cow or a she-goat of one colour ; some take a she-goat of black colour. They tie a rope to the left fore-foot of this animal and lead it behind the dead person. Then follow the relations of the dead person, wearing their sacrificial cords (or clothes) below (round their body), with their hair-locks untied ; the older ones walk in front and the younger ones last.[10] The Vaikh. G.S. (V, 2) says that the sons should take up, by means of three staffs joined together, the sacrificial fires in earthen vessels, keeping them well apart ; that the wife with a water pitcher follows them and is followed by others who carry other utensils ; and that then they lift the corpse on a bier and carry it away. The Par G.S. says that if a person of more than two years of age dies, all his relations should follow the corpse to the cemetery, singing the *Yama-Gāthā* and reciting the Yama-Sūkta, according to some authorities.[11] The Kaush. G.S. lays down the following procedure for carrying the dead person to the cemetery :

A fire-brand lighted with the *Gārhapatya* fire is carried in front of the funeral procession. The fire-brand is followed by a goat, and a special cow (meant for this purpose) is led after the goat. This cow is followed by the three sacred fires, and the sacrificial vessels are carried after the fires. The corpse is carried behind these things, and the verses (R.V. X, 17, 3-5) are recited when the corpse is taken away. On covering about one-fourth of the distance between the house and the cemetery, they lay down the corpse on the ground and perform a special ceremony as follows : All the near relatives of the deceased, including men and women, loosen their hair on the left side of the head and walk three times round the deceased from right to left (*i.e.*, with their left sides being turned towards him), beating their left thighs and fanning the wind with the hems of their garments ; the youngest among them walking in front of all of them. In the reverse way they walk three times round the dead person from left to right (beating their right thighs, being led by the oldest of them and having loosened their hair on the right side of the head). Then three lumps (of earth) are broken to the south of the deceased and three oblations of cooked food are sacrificed on them silently. The vessel in which the food of these oblations was prepared is broken there in such a way that it can not contain

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water, *i.e.*, it should be broken into very small pieces.[12]

2. RITES AT CREMATION

The Arrangement of the Fires and Fuel on the Pyre : The Asv. G.S. states that when they have arrived at the place of cremation, the performer of the rites walks three times round the place with his left side turned towards it. He sprinkles water on it with a *Śamī*-branch ; but with a *Kāmpīla*-branch, according to Kauśika.[13] As regards the arrangement of fires and fuel, Āśvalāyana enjoins that the performer places the *Āhavanīya* fire to the south-east on an elevated corner of the place of cremation ; the *Gārhapatya* fire to the north-west ; and the *Dakshiṇa* fire to the south-west. Then a person, who is expert in piling, piles up fuel between the fires. When the sacrificial grass and a black antelope's skin with its hair upward have been spread on the pyre, they place the corpse on the pyre with its head towards the Āhavanīya fire, after having carried the dead body to the north of the Gārhapatya fire.[14] The Kauśika Sūtra (80, 38-41) prescribes that the corpse is laid in the cemetery to the north of the fire, and that the Adhvaryu priests then offer oblations into the fire.

The Wife lies beside the Dead and is made to rise therefrom : Āśvalāyana adds that the wife of the dead man is then made to lie down on the pyre to the north of the deceased ; and that a bow is also placed there if the deceased was a Kshatriya. Thereupon her brother-in-law (*Devara*), or any person who may be a representative of her husband, or a pupil of the husband, or an aged servant should make her rise from the pyre with the verse : "Rise up, O woman, to the world of life" (R.V. X, 18, 8). If a Vṛishala (*i.e.* Śūdra) makes her rise from the pyre, this verse should be recited by the performer of funeral rites. The bow is taken away with the verse : "Taking the bow out of the hand of the deceased" (R.V. X, 18, 9). Having bent the bow, he should break it to pieces and throw it on the pile before the piling up of other things, such as sacrificial implements etc., is completed.[15]

The Kauśika Sūtra describes this rite differently. It says that the wife is made to lie down near the deceased with the verse : "This woman, desiring to obtain the *Patiloka* (*i.e.*, the region of the husband), lies by your corpse, O mortal ! She has followed the eternal law (*i.e.*, the law of fidelity to the husband) ; grant her progeny and prosperity in this world" (A.V. XVIII, 3, 1). He makes her rise with the next verse : "Rise up, O woman, to the world of life ; you lie by the side of the lifeless ; come away and become the

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wife of him who holds your hand and who is willing to marry you." Then the piece of gold, which the dead person bears, is put on the right hand and besmeared with Ājya : the oldest son is caused to take away this piece of gold with the verse : "Bear this gold which thy father bore in the past" (A.V. XVIII, 4, 56a). The right hand is besprinkled with the verse : "Besprinkle the right hand of your father who has gone to heaven" (A.V. XVIII, 4, 56b). The staff (*Daṇḍa*) is taken away from the hand of a Brāhmaṇa with the verse (A.V. XVIII, 2, 59) ; the bow from the hand of a Kshatriya with the verse (A.V. XVIII, 2, 60) ; and the goad from the hand of a Vaiśya dead with the verse : "The goad". Darbha grass as well as fuel is spread ; thereon the dead is laid flat with certain verses. Then seven pieces of gold are placed on his seven passages of breath.[16]

The Vaikh. G.S. (V, 3) enjoins that after the corpse has been laid on the ground and all the fires have been placed to the east of the pyre, the performer of rites offers oblations into the fire with his face to the south and being *Prāchīnāvītin* (*vide* p. 316, n. 21). Then he sprinkles the corpse with water and strews sesame seeds on the pyre. The corpse is then laid on the pyre. On the dead person's seven passages of breath, the performer puts, with his hand turned downward, seven pieces of gold which have been dipped in honey or in clarified butter. If pieces of gold are not available, some drops of melted butter may be poured on the seven passages of breath.

The Vaikhānasa Gṛihya does not mention the custom of the wife lying beside the deceased.

Sacrificial Vessels and Implements of the Dead are arranged : The sacrificial vessels and other implements which the deceased used to employ at his ceremonial rites are to be placed on the different parts of his body. The Kauśika Sūtra says that the antelope-skin belonging to the Āhitāgni (one who had established the sacred fires in his lifetime) is spread on the Darbha grass ; the hair of the skin should be downward. The dead is laid flat on it. Then his sacrificial vessels filled with a mixture of curds and clarified butter (*Pṛishadājya*) are placed on his limbs properly.[17] The Asv. G.S. says that those implements which have a cavity should be filled with *Pṛishadājya*.[18]

According to the Asv. G.S. (IV, 3, 1-18), the sacrificial vessels and implements should be arranged as follows : The spoon called *Juhū* is placed in the right hand of the dead ; the other spoon called *Upabhṛit* in his left hand ; the *Sphya* (the wooden sword) on his

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right side ; the *Agnihotra-Havaṇī* (*i.e.* the ladle with which the Agnihotra oblations are offered) on his left side ; the *Dhruvā* (*i.e.* big sacrificial ladle) on his breast ; the *Kapālas* (*i.e.* dishes) his on head ; the pressing stones (the *Grāvans*) on his teeth ; the two *Sruvas* on his nostrils—if there be only one Sruva, he should place it by breaking it into two ; on his two ears the two *Prāśitraharaṇas* (*i.e.* the vessels into which the portion of the sacrificial food belonging to the Brahman is placed)—if there be only one, breaking it into two pieces ; the *Pātrī* (a kind of vessel) and the *Chamasa* (a cup into which the cut off portions of the sacrificial food are put) on his belly ; the *Śamyā* (staff) on his genitals ; the two Araṇīs (kindling sticks) on the upper part of his thighs ; the mortar and pestle on his legs ; the two winnowing-baskets on his feet—if there is only one winnowing-basket, it may be torn into two pieces. The son of the deceased should take for himself the lower and the upper millstones, the implements made of copper and iron, and earthenware. The Kaush. G.S. contains similar rules for the arrangement of various vessels and implements. But it shows its differences in a few cases. It prescribes that one should put the Agnihotra-Havaṇī on the throat of the deceased, the two Pātrīs on his two sides, the skin of a black antelope on his left side, the two Araṇīs on the genitals, and the vessels used for the Agnihotra on his feet.[19]

The Kaus. S. (81, 4-19) gives different directions for the arrangement of the sacrificial implements. It prescribes that one should place the *Juhū* on the right hand of the deceased, the *Upabhṛit* on the left hand ; the *Dhruvā* on the throat ; the *Agnihotra-Havaṇī* on the mouth ; the *Sruva* on the nostrils ; the *Prāśitraharaṇa* on the forehead ; the *Iḍāchamasa* on the head ; the *Puroḍāśa* on the breast ; the *Sphya* on the right side of the dead ; and the *Upavesha* (a stick) on his left side ; the *Pātrī* on his belly ; the mortar and pestle on his knees ; the *Śakaṭa* (the cart) on his hips ; all other sacrificial vessels between the thighs ; and the winnowing-basket on the feet. The earthenware is taken away, and the vessels made of iron are placed safely. The relatives and sons of the dead take the millstone.

The Vaikh. G.S. (V, 4) gives a very different description of the whole process of distributing vessels and implements on the limbs of the dead. It prescribes that the performer of the rites should throw on the deceased's mouth a mixture of sesame, unhusked rice, sour coagulated milk, honey, and sweet milk, according to their availability. Then he should recite certain Mantras

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over different limbs of the dead, *viz.*, his mouth, nostrils, eyes, ears, and breast-bones. He puts behind the pyre on southward-pointed grass the vessels for sacrifice, sprinkles them with the water prepared for this purpose, and pours clarified butter in the *Juhū*, sour coagulated milk in the *Upabhṛit*, honey in the *Dhruvā*, and milk in the *Agnihotra-Havaṇī*, or clarified butter in all. Having removed the sesame, unhusked rice etc. in the same way, he arranges there all those vessels which the dead person used during his lifetime for the full-moon and new-moon sacrifices. He puts the *Sphya* and the *Juhū* on the deceased's right hand ; the *Upabhṛit* on the left hand ; the *Dhruvā* on his breast ; the *Araṇī* with its point to the head on the same place ; the *Agnihotra-Havaṇī* on his mouth ; the two *Sruvas* full of clarified butter on his nostrils ; the *Ājya-Sthālī* on his throat ; the *Prāśitra* vessel on his ears, after having broken it into two parts ; the mortar and pestle on his jaws ; the stones for pressing the Soma on his teeth ; the *Kapālas* on his head ; the vessel for mixing meal with butter on his belly ; the winnowing-basket on his sides, after breaking it into two ; the pitcher for milking the *Sāṁnāyya* on his stomach ; the two mill-stones on his testicles ; the vessel into which the milk for Agnihotra is milked and the vessel for cooking the *Anvāhārya*-mess on his back sides ; the *Upāvaharaṇī*-bundle on his feet ; the *Veda*-bundle on his top-lock ; the vessel for the *Iḍā* on his head and on the same place the bundle of grass to be used as a seat ; and the remaining vessels between his thighs.

The Limbs of the Animal to be sacrificed with the Corpse are distributed : The Kauśika Sūtra (81, 20-29) states that a verse (A.V. XVIII, 3, 34) is recited over the cow to be sacrificed, when she is being led round the pyre in the reverse direction (*i. e.* from right to left—with her left side to the pyre). She is immolated in the south-western direction. Having taken out her kidneys from behind, he (*i. e.* the performer of rites) places them in the hands of the dead—the right kidney in the right hand and the left one in the left hand, with the verse : "Escape the two hounds, the sons of Saramā" (A. V. XVIII, 2, 11 ; R. V. X, 14, 10). The heart of the animal is to be placed on the heart of the dead. He covers the face of the dead with the omentum having seven fissures, with the verse (A. V. XVIII, 2, 58, ; R.V. X, 16, 7). The limbs of the animal are placed on the corresponding limbs of the dead ; the right limbs on the right ones and the left limbs on the left ones. A goat is tied to the south of the pyre with the two verses (A. V. XVIII, 2, 8. 22). The Asv. G.S. (IV, 3, 19-21) also gives a similar

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account of distributing different limbs of the animal on the limbs of the dead. It, however, adds that two lumps of flour or rice should also, according to some teachers, be placed in the hands of the dead ; according to other authorities, these lumps are to be placed only if there are no kidneys.[20] The Kaush. G.S. prescribes that when the deceased has been brought to the cremation ground and the pyre has been made, the sacred fires are arranged properly, that is, the *Gārhapatya* fire to the west of the pyre, the *Dakshiṇa* fire to its south, and the *Āhavanīya* fire to its east. The cow which has been brought here for the dead is led to the west or south of the pyre. The two kidneys are taken out from the hind part of the cow which is either alive or has been immolated. They are slightly warmed on the *Dakshiṇa* fire and placed in the hands of the dead person ; and then a mixture of boiled and coagulated milk (*Āmikshā*) is also poured on his hands. They cover the face of the deceased with the marrow, carry him between the *Gārhapatya* and *Āhavanīya* fires, and lay him flat on the pyre.[21] The wife of the deceased is made to lie by his side and to rise therefrom ; different vessels are distributed on his limbs ; then a goat is tied to the funeral pyre with a Darbha-string or with a very weak rope ; and the performer of the rite recites a verse (R. V. X, 16, 4), when the goat runs away having broken loose the rope.[22]

The Vaikh. G.S. does not mention the custom of placing the limbs of an animal on the limbs of the dead. The Agni. G.S. (III, 5, 6) prescribes the sacrifice of a cow in the case of an *Āhitāgni* (one who had established the sacred fires in his lifetime). But it further says that if they do not wish to sacrifice a cow they may let her go or may give her to Brāhmaṇas ; and that when they choose to let the cow go they should pull out hairs from the ears of the cow and put them in the hands of the deceased—the hair from the right ear in the right hand and that from the left in the left hand of the dead.[23]

The Offering of Ājya-oblations : The Asv. G.S. says, "Having distributed the whole animal limb by limb (placing its different limbs on the corresponding limbs of the deceased), and having covered the entire body with its hide, he recites the verse (R.V. X, 16, 8) while the Praṇītā water is brought forward. Bending his left knee he should offer Ājya-oblations into the Dakshiṇa fire with the formulas : 'To Agni Svāhā !' 'To Kāma Svāhā !' 'To Loka Svāhā !' 'To Anumati Svāhā !' He offeres a fifth oblation on the chest of the deceased with the formula : 'From this one verily you were born. May he now be born out of you, named so-and-so (the name of the

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deceased)! To the *Svarga-loka* Svāhā.' "[24] The Kauśika Sūtra prescribes that the performer of the rites offers an oblation on the chest of the deceased with the verse (as given in the Asv. G.S.) and likewise offers oblations into the fires with the formulas (as given in the Asv. G.S.); according to some authorities he offers oblations into the *Dakshiṇa* fire.[25]

The Pyre is set on fire : The Asv. G.S. (IV, 4, 1) enjoins that when the performer of the rites gives the order : "Light the fires together", the fires are lighted. According to the Kauśika Sūtra, the youngest (son) lights the fire, reciting the verses (A.V. XVIII, 2, 4. 36 ; 3, 71 ; II, 34, 5).[26] The Vaikh. G.S. (V, 5) lays down that the Adhvaryu (priest) should set fire to the pyre with his left hand, having his *Śikhā* (top-knot) loosened and wearing his sacred thread on his right shoulder.

The Asv. G. S. narrates the results flowing from different fires. It states that if the *Āhavanīya* fire first reaches the corpse, he should know : "This has taken him (the dead) to the *Svargaloka* (celestial region) ; he will live there in prosperity and so will live this one, *i.e.*, his son, in this world ;" that if the *Gārhapatya* fire first reaches the corpse, he should know : "This has taken him to the *Antarikshaloka* (the atmospheric region), he will live there in prosperity and so will live this one, *i.e.*, his son, in this world ;" that if the *Dakshiṇa* fire first reaches the corpse, he should know : "This has taken him to the *Manushyaloka* (the region of men) ; he will live there in prosperity and so will live this one, *i.e.* his son, in this world" ; and that if the three fires reach the corpse simultaneously, it is believed that this signifies the highest luck.[27]

The Asv. G. S. (IV, 4, 6) further lays down that, while the corpse is burning, the performer of the rites recites over it the same verses, "Go on, go on, on the ancient paths" (R. V. X, 14, 7 etc., as have been prescribed for this purpose in the Asv. S.S. VI, 10, 19). Then Āśvalāyana (IV, 4, 7-8) mentions certain beliefs concerning the cremation of the dead and says, "Being burnt by a person who knows this, he (the dead) goes to the Svargaloka along with the smoke of the funeral pyre—thus it is known. To the northwest of the Āhavanīya fire he (the performer of the rites) should have a knee-deep pit dug up and should have an *Avakā, i.e.* (the water plant called) *Śīpāla* placed in it. From that pit the deceased goes out and reaches the Svargaloka along with the smoke—thus it is known."

According to Kauśika Sūtra (81, 34-48), the oblations of Ājya are offered into the fire when it is ablaze ; and then the performer

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of the rites washes his hands and sips water. The Par. G. S. (III, 10, 11-12) says that they should burn the dead person with the *Śālāgni* (the sacred domestic fire) if he had kept that fire ; and that other persons (who did not establish the sacred fires during their life) are to be cremated silently with the ordinary fire (*Grāmāgni*).

3. POST-CREMATION RITES

Departure from the Cremation-ground : The Asv. G. S. states that when the performer of the rites has recited the verse : "These living ones have separated from the dead" (R. V. X, 18, 3), they turn round from right to left and go away without looking back. Having come to a reservoir of standing water, they once plunge into and emerge from it. Then they offer a libation of water to the deceased, pronouncing his *Gotra* name as well as his proper name. After they have come out of water, they put on other garments, wring out the wet garments once, lay them away with their skirts to the north, and sit down there till the stars appear ; or they may enter their houses when a part of the disk of the sun is still visible. The younger persons enter the houses first, and the older ones last. On their return to the house they touch a stone, fire, cow-dung, fried barley, sesame seeds, and water.[28] According to the Kauśika Sūtra (82, 2-3), seven *Śarkarās* (pebbles) are put into the hands of each person present there ; scattering the Śarkarās one by one from the downward palm of the left hand, they go away without looking back.

The Par. G. S lays down the rule that on the occasion of performing water-libation they should ask for the permission of the man who is related to the dead by blood or by marriage. They say, "Shall we perform the libation ?" He replies, "Do so now and never again," if the deceased was not a hundred years old. In case the dead was a centenarian, the reply is : "Do so." All the relations of the deceased, up to the seventh or the tenth degree, and those who, living in the same village, can trace any relationship with the deceased, should enter water. They wear only one garment and become *Prāchīnāvītinaḥ* (*vide* p. 316). With the fourth finger of the left hand they spirt away water, reciting a verse (Vaj. Samh. XXXV, 6). Facing the south, they plunge into water and pour out with joined hands a libation of water to the deceased with the words : "Named so-and-so ! this water to thee." When they have come out of water and sat on a pure spot covered with grass, the *Itihāsas* of yore are narrated

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to them. They return to the village, in a row, without looking back ; the youngest persons walking in front. At the doors of their houses they chew leaves of a Pichumanda (*Nimba*) tree ; sip water ; touch water, fire, cow-dung, seeds of white mustard, and oil ; and tread upon a stone. Then they enter their houses.[29] Pāraskara further adds that those who have touched the dead person should not enter the village until the stars appear, or until sunrise if the cremation is performed in the night.[30] Pāraskara (III, 10, 5. 7) opines that in the case of a child below two years of age burial is performed and no water-libation is offered. The same authority (III, 10, 46-47) further says that the water-libation may be optionally offered to an officiating priest, a father-in-law, a friend, distant relations, a maternal uncle, a sister's son, and married female relations.

The Post-Cremation Observances and the Period of Impurity : The Asv. G.S. (IV, 4, 14-27) prescribes that the relations of the deceased should not cook food during the night following the cremation ; they should live on bought or ready-made food and abstain from saline food for three days ; they may, if they like, suspend the distribution of gifts and the study of the Vedic texts for a period of twelve nights on the death of any of their chief *Gurus* (*i.e.* "father, mother, and the teacher who, having performed the Upanayana, taught him the Veda"—*Nārāyaṇa*) ; for ten days on the death of *Sapiṇḍas*, a Guru who is no Sapiṇḍa, and unmarried female relations ; for three nights on the death of other teachers, a non-Sapiṇḍa relation, married female relations, a child before teething, and a child born dead ; for one day on the death of a class-fellow and a *Śrotriya* (learned scholar) of the same village. The Kaush. G.S. says that the relatives of the deceased should sleep on the ground, eat such food as is fit for sacrifice, and suspend all activities (such as studies, sacrifices, the giving of gifts, etc.) for one night, three nights, or nine nights ; and then the Kaush. G.S. adds : "Kaushītaki has said that the days of mourning should not be increased ;" and another view is that these observances should be kept till the collecting of bones.[31]

The Par. G.S. enjoins that the relations of the deceased should remain chaste, sleep on the ground, do no work, and cause no one to do it for them for a period of three nights ; that they should eat food which has been bought or received from others ; that they should eat it in the day-time only, and refrain from eating meat ; and that, having offered a *Piṇḍa* (a ball of cooked rice) to the dead person, pronouncing his name at the first washing, at the offering

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of the Piṇḍa, and at the second washing, they should in the first night place milk and water in an earthen vessel in the open air with the words : "O deceased one, bathe here."[32]

As regards the impurity caused by decease, Pāraskara says that the impurity lasts for a period of three nights, or for a period of ten nights according to some authorities.[33] The same Sūtra writer further states that on the death of a child who has not reached the age of two years, only the father and the mother become impure, and other relations remain pure ; that this impurity lasts for one night or three nights ; and that if a child dies during the period of confinement, the impurity lasts till the mother's getting up from child-bed (*supra*, p. 271).[34] Impurity lasts for one or two fortnights for those who have touched the dead body.[35] During the period of impurity they should not perform Svādhyāya (Vedic studies) and daily rites excepting those performed with the three Śrauta fires, and those performed with the *Śālāgni* (the sacred domestic fire) according to some authorities ; and others should perform these excepted rites for them.[36]

The Kaus. S. (82, 32-35) says that they are to keep observances for three nights without eating delicious food, or for ten nights according to some authorities, or as the custom in the family may be. The Vaikh. G.S. (V, 7) enjoins that they should eat only once a day, be cheerless and, sleep on the ground ; on the death of any of his parents a man should wear an old garment and keep the vows prescribed for a Brahmachārin for a year, for he who keeps the vows of the manes is likely to increase the welfare of his family.

Funeral Ceremonies for those who die away from Home : The Par. G.S. states that if a person dies during the course of a journey his relations having performed the water-libation, should observe mourning from the time of hearing the sad news till the expiry of the remaining period of impurity caused by the demise ; and that they should observe mourning for one night or three nights if that period has already elapsed.[37]

The Jaim. G.S. says that, when the corpse of a person who had consecrated and maintained the three sacred fires is lost, his relation should fetch 360 Palāśa-stems and arrange them into the shape of a human frame on the skin of a black antelope ; he should lay down 40 stems for the head, 10 for the neck, 100 for the arms, 10 for fingers again, 30 for the breast, 20 for the belly, 100 for the thighs, 10 for the organ of generation, 30 for the knees and legs, and 10 for the toes ; and this frame should be cremated with due rites.[38] According to the Vaikh. G.S. (V, 12), an effigy of the dead person is

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made of 360 Palāśa branches a month or a year after the death, even though the corpse is not lost ; and the burning of the effigy with all the rites necessary for the cremation of a corpse is regarded auspicious for the welfare of the family.

The Collecting of Bones (Saṁchayana) and their Burial : According to the Asv. G.S., the ceremony of collecting the bones of the dead takes place after the tenth Tithi of the dark fortnight on any Tithi with an odd number (*i.e.*, on the 11th, 13th, or 15th day of the dark fortnight) under a single Nakshatra.[39]

They should collect the bones of a man into a male urn without special marks, and those of a woman into a female urn without special marks.[40] This rite is performed by an odd number of aged persons, and men and women should not join together for this rite. Circumambulating thrice the spot of cremation with his left side turned towards it, the performer of the rite sprinkles that spot with a mixture of milk and water by means of a Śamī-branch with a verse (R. V. X, 16, 14). With the thumb and the fourth finger they should put each single bone into the urn without making any sound —the bones of the feet first and those of the head last. When they have gathered the bones and winnowed them with a winnowing-basket, they should deposit the urn containing the bones in a pit at a place where waters, except for those of rains, do not flow together from different sides ; and on that occasion they recite the verse : "Go to thy mother earth" (R. V. X, 18, 10). He should throw earth into the pit with the next verse (R.V. X, 18, 11). After he has done so, he recites the following verse (R. V. X, 18, 12). Having covered the urn with a lid reciting a verse (R. V. X, 18, 13), they go away without looking back. Then they should bathe in water and perform a Śrāddha for the deceased.[41] The Kaush. G.S. says that the rite of collecting the bones is performed in the dark fortnight ; according to some authorities, however, it is performed before the fire of the pyre cools down. The person who performs the rite goes to the cremation-ground, pushes the embers to the south of the spot of cremation, and offers three oblations (of clarified butter) with the verses : "Give up, O Agni, again !" (R. V. X, 16, 5). Then he sprinkles that fire with a mixture of milk and water by means of Udumbara-branches, reciting certain Mantras. With the recitation of two other verses he sprinkles the fire with water. Having collected the bones in an urn, they bury it in a forest reciting the verses (R. V. X, 18, 10-12) ; and it is then covered with a lump of earth with the verse (R. V. X, 18, 13).[42]

The Kaus. S. (82, 26-32) prescribes that the cremation-spot of

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a Brāhmaṇa is besprinkled with water mixed with milk ; that of a Kshatriya with water mixed with honey ; and that of a Vaiśya with water only ; having collected the bones into an urn, they cover them with the powder of all fragrant substances and bury the urn at the root of a tree.

The Jaim. G.S. (II, 5) lays down that on the following day after the cremation the performer of the rite sprinkles the bones with a mixture of milk and water by means of a goat's horn, or a cow's horn, or an earthen vessel. On the third day he mixes herbs and perfumes into water and sprinkles this mixture on the bones by means of a Śamī-branch or a Palāśa-branch. Then he puts the bones into an urn without making any sound. If the deceased was a woman, the bones should be collected in a female urn (*vide* n. 40). Having passed a cross-road, or a big tree, or a river, he should bury the urn at a fordable place in the river.

The Par. G.S. (III, 10, 5) prescribes complete burial in the case of a child who dies before reaching the age of two years. The Vaikh. G.S. describes the rites of complete burial for the Yatis, Yogins, and Saṁnyāsins.[43]

Śāntikarman or Paridhikarman (The Rites for the welfare of the living members of the family) : This ceremony is performed with a view to obviating the evil effect of the death in the family. It is called *Śāntikarman* in the Asv. G.S., and *Paridhikarman* in the Sankh. S.S. and the Kaush. G.S. This rite, according to the Asv. G.S., is performed on the new-moon day by those who have lost a Guru, or are afflicted with any other misfortune. The Asv. G.S. (IV, 6, 1-18) lays down the following procedure for its performance :

Before sunrise they should carry their fire together with its ashes and its receptacle to the south, reciting the hemistich : "I send far away the flesh-devouring Agni" (R.V. X, 16, 9). Having thrown down that fire at a cross-road or somewhere else, they walk round it three times, with their left sides turned towards it, beating their left thighs with their left hands. Then they return home without looking back ; take a bath ; have their hair, beard, the hair of their bodies, and nails cut off ; and provide themselves with new jars, pots, vessels for rinsing the mouth, garlands of Śamī-flowers, the fuel of Śamī wood, two pieces of Śamī wood for producing fire, enclosing sticks (*Paridhis*) to be laid round the fire, cow-dung and a bull's hide, fresh butter, a stone, and as many bunches of Kuśa grass as there are young women in the family. At the time of the Agnihotra the performer of the rite kindles a new fire by the attrition of two new kindling-sticks, reciting the hemistich ;

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"Here may this other Jātavedas, the knowing one, bear the offerings to the gods" (R.V. X, 16, 9). Keeping that fire burning, they sit till the silence of night, repeating the tales of the longlived ones, and listening to the stories of auspicious contents, *Itihāsas*, and *Purāṇas*. When all sounds have subsided, or when other people have gone to their house or resting-place, the performer of the rite should pour out an uninterrupted stream of water, beginning at the southern side of the door, with the verse: "Spinning the thread, follow the light of the aerial space" (R.V. X, 53, 6), and going round the house in such a manner that the stream ends at the northern side of the door. Having established the fire at its proper place and having spread to its west a bull's hide with its neck to the east and with its hair upward he should make the members of the family step on that hide, reciting the verse (R.V. X, 18,6). He should lay the enclosing sticks round the fire with the verse (R. V. X, 18, 4). When he has placed a stone to the north of the fire with the words: "They shall place a mountain between themselves and death", and when he has offered four oblations with the four verses (R. V. X, 18, 1-4), he should look at his people with the verse (R. V. X, 18, 5). Then the young women of the family should anoint their eyes with fresh butter by means of young Darbha blades held in the thumbs and fourth fingers of each hand separately (*i. e.* they should anoint both the eyes simultaneously with both the hands separately and not turn by turn); and they should throw away the Darbha blades behind them without looking back. While they are anointing the eyes, the performer of the rite (*i. e.* the chief mourner in the family) should look at them with the verse: "Let these women, who are no widows and who have good husbands, apply the collyrious butter to their eyes; without tears, without disease, worthy of every attention, let these wives enter the house" (R. V. X, 18, 7). The performer of the rite touches the stone, reciting the verse (R.V. X, 53, 8). Sitting to the north-east of the fire, the performer of the rite recites the verse (R. V. X, 155, 5), while the other members circumambulate the sacred fire, holding fire and a bull's dung in their hands and pouring an uninterrupted stream of water with the recitation of the three verses (R. V. X, 9, 1-3). Āśvalāyana mentions the view of some authorities that the performer of the rite should lead a tawny-coloured bull round the fire. Having put on new and unused garments, they wakefully sit at a comfortable place till sunrise. After sunrise he recites the *Sūrya-Sūktas* and the auspicious hymns, prepares food, and offers oblations into the fire with the Sūkta (R. V. I, 97). Having regaled Brāhmaṇas with

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food, he causes them to pronounce auspicious words. A cow, a cup of metal, and a new and unused garment constitute the sacrificial fee.

The Kaush. G.S. briefly describes the *Paridhikarman* as follows : The performer of the rites sits on the skin of a red bull spread with its neck to the east or north and with its hairy side upward, to the west of the fire. The relatives of the dead sit to the north of the fire, and a stone is placed between them and the performer. While they touch him, the performer offers twelve oblations of clarified butter into the fire, reciting certain Mantras. And then he mixes up the eye-salve with clarified butter, and anoints with it the eyes of the women of the family by means of bunches of Darbha-grass—once with a Mantra (R.V. X, 18, 7) and twice silently. He recites a Mantra (R.V. I, 40, 1) for them when all the members stand up, after having touched the arm of a Brāhmaṇa, or the tail of a bull.[44]

4. SRADDHAS

According to our Sūtras, the memory of the dead person was long cherished by his near relatives who gave away gifts and performed many Śrāddhas for the departed soul. The authors of the Sūtras held the belief that the performance of such rites is conducive to the happiness of both the departed soul and the bereaved family. The various Śrāddhas treated of in the Gṛihyasūtras have been described below.

The Asv. G.S. (IV, 5, 8) prescribes a Śrāddha on the day of performing the *Sañchayana* ceremony, and the commentator Nārāyaṇa construes it as *Ekoddishṭa Śrāddha.* The Par. G.S. lays down that on the 11th day after the death the relatives of the dead should feed an odd number of Brāhmaṇas with a meal at which meat is served ; that a cow is also immolated by some in honour of the dead ; that when the son of the dead offers *Piṇḍas* (rice-balls) to the Pitṛis the recently-deceased ancestor (*i.e.* his father) is the first Pitṛi to receive the Piṇḍa and the fourth Piṇḍa is excluded (*vide* Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa below) ; that though some provide a Piṇḍa for the newly-deceased ancestor separately for a year, this practice which countenances the fourth Piṇḍa is contrary to the Śruti ; and that food and water should be daily given to a Brāhmaṇa (for a year) for the sake of the departed soul.[45]

SAPIṆḌĪKARAṆA

The *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* signifies the rites of admitting the soul of the deceased into the community of those Pitṛis to whom Piṇḍas are

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offered at Śrāddhas. The Sankh. G.S. describes this rite in two places (IV, 3 and V, 9), which, according to Oldenberg are later additions.[46] Dr. Caland holds the view that the description of Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa and that of Ekoddishṭa Śrāddha have both been borrowed by the Sankh. G.S. from the Vājasaneyins.[47] Describing this rite, the Sankh. G.S. states that when a year or three fortnights have elapsed after the death, or when something good happens on any day, he fills *four* water-pots with sesame seeds, perfumes, and water. Three of them are for the Pitṛis, and the fourth one for the newly-deceased person. He should pour the water of the pot assigned to the newly-deceased person into the other three pots with certain verses (Vaj. Samh. XIX, 45-46). And in the same way he should distribute the Piṇḍa belonging to the newly-deceased person on the other three Piṇḍas. This is called Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa.[48] The Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa has been described by the Bhar. G.S., the Kath. G.S., and the Vaikh. G.S. also.[49]

EKODDISHṬA ŚRĀDDHA

This form of Śrāddha is intended for a single dead person who has passed away recently. The Sankh. G.S. prescribes that the *Ekoddishṭa* Śrāddha is performed with one strainer, with one pot of Argha-water and, with one Piṇḍa only. In this Śrāddha no inviting (*Āvāhana*) takes place (as it does in the monthly Śrāddha) ; nor is food offered into the fire ; nor do the Viśvedevas participate in this rite. The question regarding satiation should be asked with the word : "Relished ?" The performer should use the expression : "May it approach", instead of "Imperishable" (which is used in the monthly Śrāddha, *cf.* Yaj. I, 252). At the time of sending away (*Visarga*), he uses the expression : "Be satisfied." It is thus performed monthly for one year after the death. After one year the Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa takes place and the fourth Piṇḍa is omitted.[50]

ĀBHYUDAYIKA ŚRĀDDHA

This Śrāddha is known as *Vṛiddhi-Śrāddha*, *Nāndī-Śrāddha*, and *Nāndīmukha-Śrāddha* also. It is performed as preliminary to any festive occasion, such as the birth of a son, or the marriage of a son or daughter, etc. In this connection the Vaikh. G.S. says, "On the occasion of performing Saṁskāras, excepting Ṛitusaṅgamana, he should perform the Nāndīmukha-Śrāddha. On the day preceding the performance of ceremonies such as Garbhādhāna etc., there is gladness (*Nāndī*). Its face (*Mukha*), which has as its deity all the gods and the Pitṛis, is the Nāndīmukha or Abhyudaya Śrāddha. It is performed as a rite dedicated to the gods."[51]

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According to the Sankh. G. S. (IV, 4, 1-15), the Ābhyudayika Śrāddha should be performed as follows :

In the bright fortnight on an auspicious day, after a sacrifice for the mothers (*i. e. Mātṛiyāga*) has been performed, an even number of Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas should be invited to sit in the forenoon. The rite is performed from left to right (*Pradakshiṇam*). The Mantras are recited with the exception of those belonging to the Pitṛis. The Darbha blades are straight, and barley is used instead of sesame. The Piṇḍas are mixed with jujube fruits, curds, and fried grains. At the time of inviting the Nāndīmukha Pitṛis, he recites the formula : "I shall invite the Nāndīmukha Pitṛis". He should use the expression : "May the Nāndīmukha Pitṛis be rejoiced" in place of "Imperishable" (which is used in the monthly Śrāddha). When he makes the Brāhmaṇas speak, he pronounces the formula : "I shall make the Nāndīmukha Pitṛis speak." "(Was it) well done ?"—thus are they (*i.e.* the Brāhmaṇas) to be asked about satiation. The other rules are the same (as in the monthly Śrāddha), so far as there is nothing to the contrary. The Gobh. G.S., the Baudh. G.S., the Asv. G.S., and the Bhar. G.S. also lay down almost similar rules regarding this Śrāddha.[59]

MĀSIKA-ŚRĀDDHA, MĀSI-ŚRĀDDHA, OR PĀRVAṆA-ŚRĀDDHA

This is a regular monthly sacrifice to be offered to the Manes. The Gṛihyasūtras exhibit differences among themselves with regard to precise and minute details of the Māsika Śrāddha. Nevertheless, inviting an odd number of Brāhmaṇas, performing a Homa, honouring, and feeding of the invited Brāhmaṇas, and offering of Piṇḍas (rice-balls) to the Pitṛis constitute the main ingredients of this Śrāddha, according to the Gṛihyas.

Time : The monthly Śrāddha should be performed in the afternoon on the new-moon day, or on any other odd Tithi of the dark fortnight, such as 11th, 13th, etc.[53]

Brāhmaṇas to be invited : The Sankh. G.S. (IV, 1, 2) states that the performer of the ceremony should invite an odd number of Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas, at least three, to sit down as representatives of the Pitṛis ; in other words, he invites the youngest, middle-aged, and oldest Brāhmaṇas to sit down in the place of the father, the grandfather, and the great-grandfather respectively. In this connection the Asv. G.S. says, "He causes the Brāhmaṇas who are endowed with learning, moral character, and right conduct, or with any of these qualities, who have been

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invited in time, who have taken a bath, washed their feet and sipped water, to sit down as representatives of the Pitṛis with their faces turned to the north. There should be one Brāhmaṇa for each of the Pitṛis, or two for each, or three for each. The larger the number of Brāhmaṇas, the greater is the reward. But in no case there should be only one Brāhmaṇa for all the Pitṛis."[54]

The Ap. G.S. (VIII, 21,2) lays down that the performer of the rites should feed, without any consideration of worldly purposes, an odd number of pure Brāhmaṇas—at least three—versed in the Mantras, who are not related to him by consanguinity or Gotra or the Mantras, such as his teacher or pupils. To these qualifications the Hir. G.S. adds that the Brāhmaṇas to be invited at the Śrāddha should not be deficient in limbs.[55] The Dharmasūtras enumerate many disqualifications, such as bad character and deficiency in limbs etc., which render a Brāhmaṇa ineligible to be invited at a Śrāddha feast.[56]

The Ap. G.S. and the Hir. G.S. prescribe that after the invited Brāhmaṇas have been seated on the blades of Darbha grass with their points turned to the south, the performer of the ceremony offers into the fire the oblations of food (prepared for the ceremony) and Ājya, reciting certain Mantras intended for the occasion. Then he touches the food and causes the Brāhmaṇas to touch the food with Mantras. He feeds the Brāhmaṇas with this food. While they are eating, he looks at them, reciting certain Mantras. When they go away, after having finished their meal, he goes after them, asks for their permission to take the remainder of the meal, and circumambulates them keeping his right side turned towards them.[57]

The Asv. G.S. enjoins that after the invited Brāhmaṇas have been given water, double-folded Darbha blades and seats, the performer of the ceremony pours water into three vessels made of metal, stone, and earthenware respectively, or into three vessels made of the same substance, on which he has put Darbha grass. He drops sesame seeds into this water, reciting certain Mantras. The Asv. G.S. further lays down that the rites in the Śrāddha should be performed from right to left, with the part of the left hand between the thumb and the forefinger (this part is called *Pitrya-Tīrtha*, *cf.* Baudh. D.S. I, 5, 8, 13), being Yajñopavītin ; or with the right hand which he seizes with his left hand.[58] The performer of rites should offer the Arghya water to the Pitṛis (who are here represented by the Brāhmaṇas) with the words : "Father, this is thy Arghya. Grandfather, this is thy Arghya. Great-grandfather, this is thy Arghya." Then he offers perfumes,

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garlands, incense, lights, and garments to the Brāhmaṇas. With the permission of the Brāhmaṇas he sacrifices food and Ājya into the fire. The Brāhmaṇas are then served with food. While they are eating, he recites certain Mantras.[59] The Sankh. G. S. also gives an almost similar but brief description of these rites.[60] The Bhar. G.S. (II, 14), which omits the inviting and receiving of the Brāhmaṇas, prescribes the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas after the sacrifice of food into the fire and after the offering of the Piṇḍas to the Manes.

The Offering of the Piṇḍas to the Manes : The Hir. G.S. gives the following details of the rite regarding the offering of Piṇḍas to the Manes : When the Brāhmaṇas who have eaten food depart, he follows them and asks for their permission to take the rest of the food for the rites which he is going to perform. Then he takes a water-pot and a handful of Darbha grass, goes forth to a place that lies in the south-eastern intermediate direction, spreads out Darbha grass with its points to the south, and pours out on that grass with his hands turned downward three handfuls of water, ending in the south, with a formula. On that grass he puts down with his hands turned downward three Piṇḍas ending in the south. He offers a Piṇḍa to his father with the words : "This is to thee, father, named so-and-so !" Similarly to the grandfather with the words : "This is to thee, grandfather, named so-and-so !" to the great-grandfather with the words : "This is to thee, great-grand father, named so-and-so !" A fourth Piṇḍa may be offered silently, but it is optional. If he does not know the names of his ancestors, he offers the Piṇḍas to the father with the words : "*Svadhā* to the Pitṛis who dwell on the earth" ; to the grandfather with the words : "*Svadhā* to the Pitṛis who dwell in the air" ; to the great-grandfather with the words : "*Svadhā* to the Pitṛis who dwell in heaven." Then he gives collyrium, other salve, and something representing a garment, to each Piṇḍa. He gives the collyrium, saying three times "Anoint thy eyes, named so-and-so ! Anoint thy eyes named so-and-so !" Then he gives the salve saying thrice : "Anoint thyself, named so-and-so ! Anoint thyself, named so-and-so !" With the formula : "These garments are for you, O Pitṛis ! Do not seize upon anything else that is ours", he tears off a hem of his garment or a flake of wool and puts its down for the Pitṛis, if he is in the first half of his life (*i.e.* if he is not yet fifty years of age). If he is in the second half of his life, he plucks out some hair of his body. Then he washes the vessel of food and sprinkles water with which he has washed it, from right to left round the Piṇḍas with certain Mantras. After that he turns the vessel upright down and crosses his hands in such

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a way that the left hand is on the right side and the right hand is on the left side. Then he worships the Pitṛis with the words : "Adoration to you, O Pitṛis, for the sake of sap." Then he goes to the bank of some water-stream or water-reservoir, and pours down three handfuls of water, reciting certain Mantras. Having returned from that place, he puts the substance sticking to the vessel of food into the water-pot and pours it out (to the south) with the words : "Go away, O Fathers, friends of Soma, by your hidden ancient paths. Return again to our house after a month and eat our offerings, (O Fathers) rich in offspring and in valiant sons !"[61]

The Bhar. G.S. and the Ap. G.S. briefly describe this ceremony in a similar way, but they do not prescribe that the performer should go to a place of water ; they add that the performer should eat the remnants of the food prepared for this Śrāddha, with the recitation of a Mantra.[62]

The Asv. G.S. (IV, 8, 10-15) lays down the following procedure for the offering of the Piṇḍas :

When the performer of the sacrifice sees that the Brāhmaṇas are satiated with food, he should recite the verses containing the word *Madhu* and the verse (R. V. I, 82, 2). Then he asks the Brāhmaṇas, "(Have you) relished ?" They should say, "Relished." Having taken some portion of the food used there together with the Sthālīpāka, he should make the Piṇḍas and give the rest of the food to the Brāhmaṇas. After they have either accepted the rest of the food or left it to him and have finished eating, he should put down the Piṇḍas for the Manes, before the Brāhmaṇas have sipped water. According to some teachers, he should put down the Piṇḍas after the Brāhmaṇas have sipped water. Having strewn the food on the ground and being *Yajñopavītin*, he should see off the Brāhmaṇas with the words : "Say Om ! Svadhā !" or, "So be it ! Svadhā !"

The Sankh. G.S. (IV, 1, 9-12) says that when the Brāhmaṇas have finished eating, he should offer the Piṇḍas ; according to some authorities, however, he should offer the Piṇḍas before the Brāhmaṇas have taken the food ; behind these Piṇḍas he should place the Piṇḍas for the wives of the ancestors, putting something (such as Darbha grass) between the Piṇḍas for the Pitṛis and those for their wives ; and he should announce to the Brāhmaṇas the rest of the food. The Kaus. S. (88, 11-12) prescribes that the Piṇḍas for the wives should be placed to the south of the Piṇḍas for the Pitṛis.

The Śrāddha in the Jaim. G.S. : The Jaim. G.S. describes the Śrāddha in detail without giving any particular name to it. The details of the Śrāddha contained in this Gṛihya resemble those of

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the Māsika-Śrāddha—especially those given in the Hir. G.S. The Jaim. G.S. adds that the Piṇḍas may be eaten by a sick person, or by one who is desirous of food, or they may be thrown into fire or water, or they may be given to a goat, or a cow, or a Brāhmaṇa.[63]

The Piṇḍapitṛiyajña and Anvāhārya-Śrāddha : According to the Gobh. G.S., the Śrāddha which ought to be performed on the new-moon day is known as Piṇḍapitṛiyajña and its description is identical with that of the Sthālīpāka offered at the Anvashṭakya ceremony.[64] Commenting on the Gobh. G.S. IV, 4, 1, the commentator Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa opines that the word Sthālīpāka is here used by Gobhila to imply that the mess of meat which is prepared at the Anvashṭakya ceremony is to be omitted at the Piṇḍapitṛiyajña, and that the word 'Piṇḍa' in Piṇḍapitṛiyajña is used to imply that there is to be no food for the Brāhmaṇas and only Piṇḍas are to be offered to the Pitṛis.[65] The Piṇḍapitṛiyajña, which is declared to be identical with the Anvashṭakya (*vide* Chap. XVIII below) by Gobhila, is similar to the Māsika-Śrāddha in many respects ; for the details which Gobhila furnishes in the description of the Anvashṭakya with regard to the inviting of an odd number of Brāhmaṇas, the sacrifice of the Sthālīpāka, and the offering of Piṇḍas, are similar, to a large extent, to the details of corresponding rites of the Māsika-Śrāddha described above. Gobhila (IV, 3, 27) adds that the middle Piṇḍa offered to grandfather may be eaten by the wife of the sacrificer, if she is desirous of getting a son. The Kauśika Sūtra (87-89) also describes the Piṇḍapitṛiyajña ceremony in detail. As regards the disposal of the Piṇḍas offered to the Manes, Kauśika (89, 5-9) lays down that the middle Piṇḍa should be given to the wife desirous of a son ; if the sacrificer has another wife, the other Piṇḍa should be given to her ; the easternmost Piṇḍa should be given to a Śrotriya ; and if the wife or female slave (*Dāsī*) of the sacrificer happens to be a truant, he should give her the grains lying scattered there.

The Piṇḍapitṛiyajña, as a matter of rule, is described in the Śrautasūtras, whereas the Śrāddha is found described in the Gṛihyasūtras. Some of the Gṛihyasūtras also refer to their respective Śrautasūtras with regard to the description of the Piṇḍapitṛiyajña.[67] Dr. Caland opines that the Piṇḍapitṛiyajña is a Śrauta ceremony while the Śrāddha is a Gṛihya one.[68]

THE ANVĀHĀRYA ŚRĀDDHA

A monthly Śrāddha known as *Anvāhārya* is also described in the Gobh. G S. Showing its difference from the Piṇḍapitṛiyajña,

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Gobhila states that in this Śrāddha the Havis (the sacrificial oblation) is prepared on the Dakshiṇāgni, and the fire for the performance of the ceremony is to be taken from the same fire. But the person who has not set up the sacred fires should use the Gṛihyāgni instead of the Dakshiṇāgni. In this ceremony, only one pit is made. The sacrificer should here omit the rites of laying down the firebrand, spreading out the layer of grass, anointing the bunches of Darbha grass, anointing the Pitṛis, offering the perfume, and *Nihnavana* (deprecation), which are performed in the Piṇḍapitṛiyajña. The performer should, however, put the garment for the Pitṛis. The ceremony, which consists in sprinkling water from the vessel round the Piṇḍas in the Piṇḍapitṛiyajña, marks the conclusion of the *Anvāhārya*.[69] Manu declares that Anvāhārya is a monthly Śrāddha sacred to the Fathers, at which a feast of approved meat is given.[70] Gobhila (IV, 4, 1-3) states that the Piṇḍapitṛiyajña Śrāddha which has been explained by the *Avashṭakya* Sthālīpāka is performed on the Amāvāsyā and Anvāhārya is another. The commentator Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa explains Anvāhārya as that Śrāddha which follows the monthly Piṇḍapitṛiyajña on the Amāvāsyā, and believes that at the Anvāhārya both the feasting of the Brāhmaṇas and the offering of the Piṇḍas are performed.

Notes and References

1. Vaikh. G.S. V, 8 ; Agni. G.S. III, 19.
2. यो वाग्मयाजी स्नातकोऽप्राप्तगृहवृत्तो मृतदारो वा म्रियेत तस्य ह वै तद्ब्रह्म विफलं मा भूदिति विशेषार्थी यथाविभवानुरूपं दक्षिणां दत्वा तुल्यां कांचित्कन्यां तस्मै दापयित्वा तया सहोषितस्य प्राप्तगृहवृत्तस्य पूर्वोक्तेन विधिना दहनं कुर्यात् । तथैव कन्यां च मृतां प्राप्तयौवनां तुल्येन पुंसा प्राप्तगृहवृत्तां दहेत् ॥ वै० गृ० V, 9.

In his English translation of the Vaikh. G.S., p. 142, note 8, Dr. Caland says, "This is one of the most interesting passages of our Sūtra. Nowhere else in Indian Literature this rite of 'Totenhochzeit' has been found; see on it O. Schrader's paper: 'Totenhochzeit' and *cf.* the passages in the Encycl. of Religion and Ethics Vol. IV, page 428a : 'Among the Bulgarians of the Volga it (viz., the custom of slaying after a death-fall the wife, etc.) was found by the Arab traveller Ibn Fadhlan, in the year 921 or 922, when he witnessed the immolation, on a young chief's funeral pyre, of a girl, who seems to have been formally wedded to the dead youth before being thus sacrificed.....Among the Bavenda in the Transvaal, if a virgin boy dies, a girl is sent after him into the other world to be his wife there. She is not now actually put to death, etc.' After the printing of this translation had begun some more cases of Totenhochzeit in Southern India have come to my knowledge, see my paper 'Over het Vaikhānasa-sūtra' (page 13 sq) in 'Mededeelingen der Kon Acad. van Wetensch te Amsterdam, afd. Letterkunde', deel 61 (1926)".

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In his well-known work entitled *'Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies'* (translated into English by Henry K. Beauchamp), pp. 16-17, Abbe J. A. Dubois states that, according to a custom prevalent among the Nambudiris of Travancore, if a girl who has attained puberty dies unmarried her relatives are required to formally perform her marriage with some man before her corpse is cremated.

3. Asv. G.S. IV, 1, 6-14 ; Jaim. G.S. II, 5 : 30, 8.

4. शान्त्युदकोदकेन केश-श्मश्रु-रोम-नखानि संहारयन्ति। आप्लावयन्ति। अनुलिम्पन्ति। स्रजोऽभिहरन्ति। एवं स्नातमलंकृतमहतेनावाग्दशेन वसनेन प्रच्छादयत्येतत्ते देव एतत्त्वा वासः प्रथमं न्वागन्नि'ति ।। कौ० सू० 80, 13-17. *Cf.* आ० गृ० IV, 1, 15.

5. Vaikh. G.S. V, 2 : 70, 4 ; *cf.* Alt. T. B., pp. 14-15.

6. अपेममित्यग्निषु जुहोति। उखाः कुर्वन्ति। ताः शकृदाभ्यन्तरं लिम्पन्ति शुष्केण वा पूरयन्ति। ताः पृथगग्निभिः संतापयन्त्या शकृदादीपनात्। तेषां हरणानुपूर्वमाहवनीयं प्रथमं ततो दक्षिणाग्निं ततो गार्हपत्यम् ।। कौ० सू० 80, 18-22,
Cf. Vaikh. G.S. V, 2 : 70, 10 ; Asv. G.S. IV, 2, 1.

7. अथोभयोरुत्तिष्ठेत्युत्थापयति। प्र च्यवस्वेति त्रिः संह्रापयति यावत्कृत्वश्चोत्थापयति। एवमेव कूर्दं जघने निबध्य। इमौ युनज्मीति गावौ युनक्ति पुरुषौ वा ।। कौ० सू० 80, 31-34.
अथैनमेतथासन्त्या तल्पेन वा कटेन वा संवेष्टय दासाः प्रवयसो वा वहेयुः। अथैनमनसा वहन्तीत्येकेषाम् ।। आग्नि० गृ० III, 5, 3. *Cf.* Act. T. B.P. 20.

8. अथैतां दिशमग्नीन्नयन्ति यद्भपात्राणि च। अन्वंचं प्रेतमयुजोऽमिथुनाः प्रवयसः। पीठचक्रेण गोयुक्तेनेत्येके ।। आ० गृ० IV, 2, 1-3.

9. शवस्य भारकाः सपिण्डाः पंचसम्बन्धिवर्गा वा तदन्ये समानौ द्वौ चत्वारो वा स्नाता दर्भरज्जुसंवीता दर्भाम्बरधराःस्युः ।। वै० गृ० V, 2.

10. Asv. G.S. IV, 2, 4-9 ; *cf.* Kaush. G.S. V, 2, 1-8.

11. Par. G.S. III, 10, 8-9.

The *Yama-Gāthā* is stated to be the second verse of the Tait. Ar. VI, 5, 3 (*viz.*, 'He who day by day') ; and the *Yama-Sūkta* is R. V. X, 14. *Cf.* SBE, vol. XXIX, p. 355, note 9 ; Yaj. III, 2 ; The Kaus. S, 80, 35, also prescribes the recitation of certain verses at the time of carrying the dead.

12. Kaush. G.S. V, 2, 1-12 ; *cf.* Agni. G.S. III, 5, 4.

13. Asv. G.S. IV, 2, 10 ; Kaus. S. 80, 42.

14. Asv. G.S. IV, 2, 11-15 ; Kaus. S. 80, 43 ; *cf.* Kaush. G.S. V, 3, 1 ; Sankh. S. S. IV, 14, 7-12.

15. उत्तरतः पत्नीम्। धनुश्च क्षत्रियाय। तामुत्थापयेद्देवरः पतिस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी जरद्दासो वोदीर्ष्व नार्यभिजीवलोकमिति। कर्ता वृषले जपेत्। धनुर्हस्तादाददानो मृतस्येति धनुः। उक्तं वृषले। अधिज्यं कृत्वा संचितमचित्वा संशीर्यानुप्रहरेत् ।। आ० गृ० IV, 2, 16-22.

16. उदीरतामित्युद्धृत्याभ्युद्य लक्षणं कृत्वा पुनरभ्युद्य प्राग्दक्षिणमेधश्चिन्वन्ति। इय नारीति पत्नीमुपसंवेशयति। उदीर्ष्वेत्युत्थापयति। यद्धिरण्यं बिभर्ति तद्दक्षिणे पाणावादायाज्येनाभिघार्य ज्येष्ठेन पुत्रेणादापयतीदं हिरण्यमिति। स्वर्गं यत इति दक्षिणं हस्तं निर्मार्जयति। दण्डं हस्तादिति मन्त्रोक्तं ब्राह्मणस्यादापयति। धनुर्हस्तादिति क्षत्रियस्य। अष्ट्रामिति वैश्यस्य। इदं पितृभ्य इति दर्भानेधान्स्तृणाति। तत्रैनमुत्तानमादधीतेजानश्चित्तमारुक्षदग्निमिति। प्राच्यां त्वा दिशीति प्रतिदिशम्। नेत्युपरिवभ्रवः। अनुमन्त्रयते। अथास्य सप्तसु प्राणेषु सप्त हिरण्यशकलान्यवास्यत्यमृतमस्यमृतत्वायामृतमस्मिन् धेहीति ।। कौ० सू० 80, 43-56.
Cf. Kaush. G.S. V, 3, 6.

Apropos of the A. V. XVIII, 3, 1, the reading in the Agni. G.S. III, 5, 6

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and the Tait. Ar. VI, 1, is '*Viśvaṁ Purāṇam*' instead of '*Dharmaṁ Purāṇam*'. According to the Tait. Ar. VI, 1, the piece of gold is taken away from the deceased by his wife. But the Mantra of the A. V. to be recited on this occasion lends support to the view of the Kaus. S., which states that the piece of gold is taken away by the son of the deceased.

17. Kaus. S. 81, 1-3 ; Vaikh. G.S. V, 4 ; Kaush. G.S. V, 3, 7.

18. Asv. G.S. IV, 3, 16 ; Kaush. G.S. V, 3, 24.

19. Kaush. G.S. V, 3, 8-23 ; *cf.* Sankh. S. S. IV, 14, 18-35.

20. पिण्ड्यौ चैके । वृक्कापचार इत्येके । सर्वां यथांगं विनिछिद्य चर्मणा प्रच्छाद्य ममाग्ने चमसं मा विजिह्वर इति प्रणीताप्रणयनमनुमन्त्रयते ॥-आ० गृ० IV, 3, 22-24.

21. Kaush. G.S. V, 2, 13 ; V, 3, 1-5 ; *cf.* Sankh. S. S. IV, 14, 9-17.

22. Kaush. G.S. V, 3, 24-25 ; *cf.* Agni. G.S. III, 6, 1.

23. अथ यद्यनुस्तरणीं नानुस्तरिष्यन्तो भवन्त्युसृजेद् वैनाम् । ब्राह्मणेभ्यो वा दद्यात् । ...अथास्याः कर्णलोमान्युत्पाट्य पाण्योरेवादध्यात्—'श्यामशबलाभ्यां त्वा' इति । दक्षिणे दक्षिणं सव्ये सव्यम् ॥ अथैनामुत्सृजति "माता रुद्राणाम्..." इति ॥ आग्नि गृ० III, 5, 8 ;
cf. Alt. T. B., p. 54.

24. Asv. G.S. IV, 3, 24-26. He who is born out of the deceased is Agni. *Vide* Sat. Br. II, 3, 3, 5 and XII, 5, 2, 15. The Kaush. G.S. V, 3, 26, gives a very similar Mantra. *Cf.* Tait. Ar. II, 1, 4 ; and Sankh. S. S. IV, 14, 36.

25. अस्माद्वै त्वमजायथा अयं त्वदधि जायतामसौ स्वाहेत्युरसि गृह्ये जुहोति । तथाग्निषु जुहोत्यग्नये स्वाहा कामाय स्वाहा लोकाय स्वाहेति । दक्षिणाग्नावित्येके ॥ कौ० सू० 81, 30-32 ;
Cf. Tait. Ar. VI, 2, 1.

26. मैनमग्ने वि दहः शं तप आ रभस्व प्रजानन्त इति कनिष्ठ आदीपयति ॥ कौ० सू० 81,33.
Cf. कौधी० गृ० V, 3, 27-28.

27. आहवनीयश्चेत् पूर्वं प्राप्नुयात् स्वर्गलोक एनं प्रापदिति विद्याद्रात्रयत्यसावमुत्रैवमयमस्मिन्निति पुत्रः । गार्हपत्यश्चेत्पूर्वं प्राप्नुयादन्तरिक्षलोक एनं प्रापदिति विद्याद्रात्र्यत्यसावमुत्रैवमयमस्मिन्निति पुत्रः । दक्षिणाग्निश्चेत्पूर्वं प्राप्नुयान्मनुष्यलोक एनं प्रापदिति विद्याद्रात्र्यत्यसावमुत्रैवमयमस्मिन्निति पुत्रः । युगपत्प्राप्तौ परामृद्धिं वदन्ति ॥ आ० गृ० IV, 4, 2-5.
Cf. Sat. Br. XII, 5, 2, 9-12 ; Agni. G.S. III, 5, 8.

28. Asv. G.S. IV, 4, 9-13 ; *cf.* Kaush. G.S. V, 3, 28-31 ; Sankh. S. S. V, 15, 1-5.

29. Par. G.S. III, 10, 13-24 : *cf.* Kaus. S. 82, 4-18 ; Jaim. G.S. II, 5.

30. Par. G S. III, 10, 35-36 ; *cf.* Yaj. III, 12-14.

31. अधःशय्या हविष्यभक्षता प्रत्यूहनं च कर्मणामेकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं नवरात्रं वा । नाद्याहानि वर्धयेयुरिति ह स्माह कौपीतकिः ॥ कौ० गृ० V, 4, 9-10.
आ वा संचयनाद्व्रतानि ॥ कौ० गृ० V, 5, 1. *Cf.* Sankh. S.S. IV, 15, 6-7.

32. त्रिरात्रं शावमाशौचम् । दशरात्रमित्येके ॥ पा० गृ० III, 10, 29-30. *Cf.* Yaj. III, 16-17.

33. Par. G.S. III, 10, 29-30 ; *cf.* Yaj. III, 18 ; Manu V, 59 ; Gaut. D. S. XIV, 1.

34. Par. G.S. III, 10, 2.3 4.6 ; *cf.* Manu V, 62 ; Yaj. III, 18-19.

35. Par. G.S. III, 10, 38 ; *contra* Manu V, 64.

36. Par. G.S. III, 10, 31-34 ; *contra* Manu V, 84.

37. Par. G.S. III, 10. 44-45 ; *cf.* Manu V, 75-76 ; Yaj. III, 21.

38. Jaim. G.S. II, 4 : 29, 11 ; *cf.* Ait. Br. VII, 2 ; Kaush. G.S. V, 6, 3-5 ; Agni. G.S. III, 10, 5 ; Sankh. S. S. V, 15, 9-22.

39. Asv. G.S. IV, 5, 1. The single Nakshatras are those the name of

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which does not denote plural Nakshatras like the Ashāḍhās and two Phalgunīs. *Vide* p. 333.

40. Asv. G.S. IV, 5, 2. Urns which have protuberances like female breasts are considered to be female and those without such protuberances are regarded as male. *Cf.* Nārāyaṇa on the Asv. G.S. IV, 5, 2 ; and Oldenberg, SBE, vol. XXIX, p. 245, note on IV, 5, 2.

41. Asv. G.S. IV, 5, 1-8.

42. Kaush. G.S. V, 5, 2 6 ; *ibid.* V, 6, 1-2 ; Sankh. S. S. V, 15, 8.

43. Vaikh. G.S. V, 8 : 81, 1 ; *cf.* Agni. G.S. III, 10, 4.

44. Kaush. G.S. V, 8, 1-10 ; Sankh. S. S. V, 16, 1-11.

45. Par. G.S. III, 10, 48-55 ; *cf.* Yaj. I, 255.

46. Oldenberg, SBE, vol. XXIX, p. 109, note on the Sankh. G.S. IV, 3, 1.

47. Caland, Alt. A. C., p. 162.

48. Sankh. G.S. IV, 3, 1-8 ; *cf. ibid.* V, 9 ; Yaj. I, 253-54.

49. Bhar. G.S. III, 17 : 85, 12 ; Kath. G.S. 66, 6-8 ; Vaikh. G.S. V, 14.

50. Sankh. G.S. IV, 2, 1-8. *Cf.* Yaj. I, 251-52.

51. Vaikh. G.S. II, 1 : 21, 1.

52. Gobh. G.S. IV, 3, 34-36 ; Baudh. G.S. III, 11, 2 seq. ; Bhar. G.S. III, 16 : 85, 1 ; Asv. G.S, IV, 7, 1 seq.

53. Bhar. G.S. II, 11 : 42, 1 ; Ap. G.S. VIII, 21, 1 ; Hir. G.S. II, 10, 1 ; Agni. G.S. III, 1, 1.

54. Asv. G.S. IV, 7, 2-3 ; *cf.* Gobh. G.S. IV, 2, 31.

55. Hir. G.S. II, 10, 2-3 ; Agni. G.S. III, 1, 1.

56. Gaut. D. S. XV, 15-18 ; Ap. D. S. II, 7, 17, 4-9 ; Vas. D. S. XI, 17-19.

57. Ap. G.S. VIII, 21, 3-9 ; Hir. G.S. II, 10-12.

58. Asv. G.S. IV, 7, 9-10. According to the commentator Nārāyaṇa, a person is considered to be *Prāchīnāvītin*, not only if the cord or cloth is suspended on the right shoulder, which is the ordinary way of being *Prāchīnāvītin*, but also in that case when the hand with which he performs the rites and the shoulder on which the cord or cloth is suspended are both either right or left. In this way also the sacrificer can become *Prāchīnāvītin* at a sacrifice dedicated to the Manes ; for it is laid down that a person should be *Prāchīnāvītin* at a sacrifice sacred to the Manes ; *vide* p. 316, n. 21.

59. Asv. G.S. IV, 7, 5-14 ; *ibid.* IV, 8, 1-9.

60. Sankh. G.S. IV, 1, 1-8 ; *cf.* Gobh. G,S. IV, 2, 32-37.

61. Hir. G,S. II, 12, 2-11 ; *ibid.* II, 13, 1-2 ; Agni. G.S. III, 1, 1-3.

62. Bhar. G.S. II, 11-14 : pp. 42-47 ; Ap. G.S. VIII, 21, 1-9.

63. Jaim. G.S. II, 1-2 : pp. 25-28. The rules that the Jaim. G.S. lays down with regard to the disposal of the Piṇḍas are very similar to those contained in the Gobh. G.S. IV, 3, 31-33.

64. Gobh. G.S. IV, 4, 1-2 ; Kh. G.S. III, 5, 33.

65. *See* Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa on the Gobh. G.S. IV, 4, 1 ; *cf.* Oldenberg, SBE, vol. XXX, p. 111, note on IV, 4, 1.

66. Gobh. G.S. IV, 2, 1-37, IV, 3, 1-36.

67. Sankh. G.S. IV, 1, 13=Sankh. S. S. IV, 3 seq. ; Asv. G.S. II, 5, 3= Asv. S. S. II, 6 seq. ; Par. G.S III, 3, 10=Kat. S. S. IV, 1.

68. Caland, Alt. Ah. C., pp. 15-17 ; *cf.* Hillebrandt, R. L., pp. 114-115.

69. Gobh. G.S. IV, 4, 3-16 ; *cf.* Caland, Alt. Ah. C., pp. 114-115.

70. पितॄणां मासिकं श्राद्धमन्वाहार्यं विदुर्बुधाः । तच्चामिषेण कर्त्तव्यं प्रशस्तेन समन्ततः ॥ मनु० III, 122.

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CHAPTER XVII

DAILY SACRIFICES

Both the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras describe the sacrifices to be performed daily. The sacrifices described in the Śrautasūtras are prescribed for those Aryas only who have set up the three sacred fires, while the daily sacrifices described in the Gṛihyasūtras are obligatory upon all the Aryan householders without any exception. We shall here deal with the daily sacrifices of the Gṛihyasūtras only.

1. THE SACRED DOMESTIC FIRE

As almost all the sacrifices prescribed by the Gṛihyasūtras are to be performed with the help of the *Gṛihyāgni* (the sacred domestic fire), it is incumbent upon every householder to maintain regularly the *Gṛihyāgni* which is also known as *Āvasathyāgni*, *Śālāgni*, *Aupāsanāgni*, and *Ekāgni* as distinguished from the *Vaitānika* fires serviceable in the Śrauta sacrifices.[1]

Time of Setting up Gṛihyāgni : The Gṛihyāgni is generally set up by the prospective householder at the time of his wedding.[2] The Sankh. G.S. and the Gobh. G.S. state that the fire, on which the student puts the last piece of wood at the time of Samāvartana after the completion of his studies, may be used by him as his Gṛihya fire; or the fire with which his nuptial ceremony is performed may be kept as the Gṛihyāgni.[3] If the married brothers live in a joint family with father as their chief householder, the eldest brother should set up the Gṛihyāgni on the death of their father.[4] In case the members of the joint family decide to live separately, the Gṛihyāgni should be set up by each householder at the time of partition.[5] The Sankh. G.S. says that the fire should be set up on the new-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha or on another new-moon day, or under some auspicious Nakshatra in accordance with the wishes of the sacrificer.[6] According to the Gobh. G.S. (I, 1, 13-14), the fire should be set up on the coincidence of an auspicious Tithi and an auspicious Nakshatra or under an auspicious Nakshatra on a new-moon day or on full-moon day.

Procedure of Setting up Gṛihyāgni : The person who is going to set up the Gṛihya fire should prepare a *Sthaṇḍila* (*i.e.* a piece of ground levelled and squared for a sacrifice) by besmearing it with cow-dung. The Sthaṇḍila should be inclined towards the

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north-east, or it should be level. Six, five, or four lines should be drawn on the Sthaṇḍila, and then it should be sprinkled with water.[7] He should fetch the fire from the house of a Vaiśya, or from a frying pan, or from the house of one who offers many sacrifices, or he may kindle a new fire by attrition and set it up.[8] He should carry forward the fire with a verse or silently, according to the Sankh. G. S. The Gobh. G.S., however, prescribes that he should carry forward the fire with the words: "Bhūr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ" to the place, keeping it in front.[9] It is set up on the Sthaṇḍila with the words: "Bhūr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ", according to the Jaim. G.S. (I, 1). Then a Homa is performed in the manner explained below.

Maintenance of Gṛihyāgni : As we have stated above, the fire with which the nuptials of a person were performed could also be adopted as Gṛihyāgni. The Gṛihyasūtras enjoin upon the married couple to maintain the Gṛihyāgni unceasingly throughout their life, and lay down rules for carrying the nuptial fire to the home of the married couple. So the Asv. G.S. says that the nuptial fire (*Vivāhāgni*) is to be carried in front of the newly-married couple to their home (when they return home from the house of the bride's father), and then it should be set up in their house.[10] According to the Ap. G.S. and the Hir. G.S., the nuptial fire should be carried behind the newly-married couple to their home.[11] The Bhar. G.S., the Ap. G.S., and the Hir. G.S. prescribe that this fire should be kept constantly, and if it goes out, a new fire should be kindled by attrition, or it may be fetched from the house of a Śrotriya ; moreover, either the wife or the husband should observe fast when this fire goes out.[12] The Asv. G.S. (I, 9, 1-3) says that from the time of marriage the householder himself should worship the Gṛihya fire daily ; or his wife, or his son, or his daughter, or a pupil may do so in his behalf ; the same Gṛihya further adds that the fire should be kept constantly and if it goes out, the wife should fast, according to some authorities.

2. THE PROCEDURE OF PERFORMING HOMA

The performance of *Homa* (*i.e.* the offering of oblations into the fire) is essential at almost all the Gṛihya sacrifices. The most essential features of Homa common to all the sacrifices are given below.

The way of establishing the fire is the same as given above. A piece of ground is prepared as Sthaṇḍila. Lines are drawn on it, and it is sprinkled with water. It should be borne in mind that at

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the sacrifices sacred to the gods all acts, such as sprinkling etc., are done from left to right, whereas at the sacrifices dedicated to the Manes all acts are performed from right to left. Similarly at the sacrifices sacred to the gods the performer should become Yajñopavītin, while at those sacred to the Manes he should become Prāchīnāvītin (*vide* p. 316, n. 21). He should sip water before he begins to perform the sacrifice. After the fire has been set up on the Sthaṇḍila, he should put fuel on it.[13] Then he thrice wipes off the place round the fire with his wet hand, this act being called *Samūhana*.[14] He should strew Kuśa grass round the fire in the eastern, southern, western, and northern directions, in three or five layers ; Kuśa grass should be strewn with its points to the east.[15] To the south of the fire he spreads out a seat for the *Brahman* priest, according to the Par. G.S. (I, 1, 1). The Sankh. G.S. prescribes that he places the Brahman to the south with the words : "Bhūr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ", and adorns him with flowers.[16] The Asv. G.S. (I, 3, 6) opines that the assistance of a *Brahman* priest is optional at the Gṛihya sacrifices except at a sacrifice to *Dhanvantari* and at the Śūlagava (*infra*, Chap. XVIII). In the description of the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices the Gobh. G.S. (I, 6, 21) first provides for the Brahman priest and then allows the option that if a person wishes to do himself the work of both the *Hotṛi* (sacrificer) and the *Brahman*, he should place a parasol, or an upper garment, or a water-pot, or a bunch of Darbha grass on the Brahman's seat.

The Ap. G.S. allows no option and lays down the rule that the sacrificer should cause a Brāhmaṇa to sit down on Darbha grass to the south of the fire.[17] The Hir. G.S. says that when the sacrificer has made ready all the requisite things, including the spoon called *Darvī*, a bunch of Darbha grass, the Ājya-pot and the pot for *Praṇītā* water, the Brahman wears the Yajñopavīta properly, sips water, passes by the fire from its western side to the southern side, throws away a blade of grass from the Brahman's seat, and sits down there with his face towards the fire.[18] The sacrificer should prepare two purifiers (*Pavitras*), *Praṇītā* water, and Ājya for the sacrifice in the following manner :

He takes as 'purifiers' two straight Darbha-blades which have unbroken points and bear no young shoots in them, cuts them off with something else than his nail, and keeps their length equal to a span each. He holds them with their points to the east and sprinkles them with water ; these are the 'purifiers'.[19] He pours water into a vessel on which he has laid the purifiers, fills that vessel up to its

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brim, purifies the water three times with the two Darbha-purifiers, holding their points to the north, places the water on Darbha grass to the north of the fire, and covers the water with Darbha grass ; according to the Hir. G.S., this is the manner of preparing the Praṇītā-water.[20] The *Prokshaṇī*-water is also consecrated similarly.[21] Implements to be used at the sacrifice are sprinkled with this water. The Gobh. G.S. (I, 7, 16) says that a *Sruva* full of water, which is placed to the north of the fire, is the *Praṇītā* water. Describing the way of preparing the Ājya, the Sankh. G.S. says that he takes up the Ājya-pot with the words : "Milk of the cows art thou" (Vaj. Samh. IV, 3a), puts it on the fire with the words : 'For sap thee' (Vaj. Saṁh. I, 22d), takes it from the fire towards the north with the words : "For juice thee" (Vaj-Samh. I, 30c) ; and holding the two Kuśa purifiers with their points to the north, seizing them on both sides with his two thumbs and fourth fingers, he bends them down with their points upward, and dips them into the Ājya with a Mantra (Vaj. Samh. I, 12b). The Gobh. G S. (I, 7, 22-26) says that after purifying the Ājya with the purifiers he should sprinkle them with water and should throw them into the fire ; and then, having put the Ājya on the fire, he should remove it from the fire towards the north ; in this case the Ājya is purified before it is put on the fire. The Ap. G.S., the Bhar. G.S., the Baudh. G.S., and the Hir. G.S. describe the process of preparing the Ājya as follows :

He melts the Ājya, pours it into the Ājya-pot which is placed to the west of the fire and on which he has laid two purifiers, draws some burning charcoals out of the sacrificial fire towards the north, puts the Ājya-pot on them, throws light on it by means of burning Darbha-blades, throws two Darbha blades into it, moves a fire-brand round it three times, takes it from the charcoals towards the north, pushes the charcoals back into the fire, purifies the Ājya three times with the two purifiers, holding their points towards the north, drawing them through the Ājya from west to east and taking them back to the west each time, and then throws the two purifiers into the fire.[23]

Some of the Gṛihyas lay down that he heats the implement to be used for sacrificing, wipes it off with Darbha blades, heats it again, sprinkles it with water, puts it down, touches the Darbha blades with water, and throws them into the fire.[24] The Bhar. G.S., the Baudh. G.S., the Hir. G.S., and the Ap. G.S. say that then he should lay three *Paridhis* (*i.e.* enclosing sticks of Palāśa wood etc.) of the shape of yoke-pins round the fire—one on the west with its broad end to the north, the second on the south with its broad end to the east so

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that it touches the first one, and the third on the north with its broad end to the east so that it also touches the first Paridhi.[25]

The sacrificer sits to the west of the fire with his face to the east and sprinkles water round it. The Man. G.S. (II, 2, 7) prescribes a seat for the sacrificer's wife also to the west of the fire. In this connection the Gobh. G.S., the Kh. G.S., the Baudh. G.S., the Ap. G.S., the Jaim. G.S., the Hir. G.S., and the Bhar. G.S. prescribe that he should sprinkle water on the southern side of the fire from east to west with the words : "Aditi ! give thy consent ;" on the western side of the fire from south to north with the words : "Anumati ! give thy consent ;" on the northern side of the fire from west to east with the words : "Sarasvati ! give thy consent ;" and then once or thrice on all sides from left to right with the Mantra : "God Savitṛi! give thy impulse" (M. Br. I, 1, 1 ; Tait. Samh. I, 7, 7, 1), so as to keep his right side turned towards it, encompassing what he is going to offer, with a continuous stream of water.[26] According to the Baudh. G.S., the Bhar. G.S., the Hir. G.S., the Ap. G.S., and the Jaim. G.S., then he takes a fuel-stick, anoints it with Ājya, and puts it on the fire with the Mantra : "This fuel is thy self, Jātavedas ! Grow and be inflamed with it! Grow us through offspring, cattle, and holy lustre, and make us increase through the enjoyment of food."[27] When the sacrificer begins to sacrifice, he first offers the two *Āghāras*, *i.e.* the two oblations of Ājya which are known as *Āghāras*. The Asv. G.S. says that he pours out the two *Āghāras* silently.[28] The Hir. G.S. says, "Approaching the *Darvī* (*i.e.* the spoon with which he is going to sacrifice) to the northern junction of the *Paridhis* (*i.e.* to the north-western part of the fire), he sacrifices a straight, long and uninterrupted stream of Ājya, directed towards the south-eastern part of the fire, thinking of the formula : 'To Prajāpati, to Manu Svāhā !' (he is only to think of it and not to pronounce it). Then approaching the Darvī to the southern junction of the Paridhis (*i.e.* to the south-western part of the fire), he sacrifices a straight stream of Ājya, directed towards the north-east, with the formula : 'To Indra Svāhā !' "[29] Laying down a similar procedure, the Bhar. G.S. (I, 4) says that he pours out the first Āghāra, thinking of Prajāpati in his mind, but he does not pronounce '*Svāhā*' ; and that he pours out the second Āghāra with the formula : "To Indra Svāhā !" Prescribing the same procedure the Baudh. G.S. states that he pours out the first Āghāra, thinking of the formula : "To Prajāpati Svāhā," and pours the second Āghāra, muttering, in low voice, the formula : "To Indra Svāhā !"[30]

Having thus poured out the two Āghāras, he sacrifices the

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two *Ājyabhāgas*. The two *Ājyabhāgas* are also two special oblations known by this technical term. He sacrifices the first Ājyabhāga over the eastern side of the northern part of the fire with the words : "To Agni Svāhā !" and then he sacrifices the second Ājyabhāga over the eastern side of the southern part of the fire with the words : "To Soma Svāhā !"[31] Differing from the other Gṛihyas (mentioned in n. 31), the Bhar. G. S. (I, 4) prescribes the formulas : "To Agni Medhapati Svāhā !" and "To Soma Medhapati Svāhā !" for the first Ājyabhāga and the second Ājyabhāga respectively. He sacrifices the other oblations between the places at which the two Ājyabhāgas have been offered.[32] So after having sacrificed the two Āghāras and the two Ājyabhāgas, he offers the principal oblations of the particular sacrifice in accordance with the prescription laid down in their description. After the two Āghāras and the two Ājyabhāgas, the Par G. S. (I, 5, 3-5) prescribes the *Mahāvyāhṛitis* (*i e.* the sacrifice of oblations with the Mahāvyāhṛitis), the *Sarvaprāyaśchitta* oblations, the *Prājāpatya* oblation, and the *Svishṭakṛit* oblation as regular oblations at every sacrifice ; and adds that the Svishṭakṛit oblation comes before the Mahāvyāhṛitis, if the sacrificial food is different from Ājya. As regards the Mahāvyāhṛitis, he offers three oblations of Ājya with the Mahāvyāhṛitis, one by one, *i.e.* with *"Bhūḥ Svāhā !" "Bhuvaḥ Svāhā !" "Svaḥ Svāhā !"* and the fourth oblation with the three Mahāvyāhṛitis together, *i.e.* with "Bhūr Bhuvaḥ Svaḥ Svāhā !"[33] The Sankh. G. S. prescribes that in this way one should sacrifice with the Mahāvyāhṛitis before and after in all sacrifices that bring about prosperity, provided no rule to the contrary is laid down.[34] The Sarvaprāyaśchitta comprises five oblations which are offered with the five verses, *viz.* Vaj. Samh. XXI, 3 ; *ibid.* XXI, 4 ; the two verses quoted in the Kat. S S. XXV, 1, 11 ; Vaj. Samh. XII, 12.[35] The Prājāpatya oblation is performed with the formula : "To Prajāpati Svāhā !" As for the Svishṭakṛit oblation, the Gobh. G.S. says that he should sacrifice it over the eastern side of the northern part of the fire with the words : "To Agni Svishṭakṛit Svāhā !"[36] The Hir. G.S. prescribes that he offers the Svishṭakṛit oblation over the eastern side of the northern part of the fire, separated from other oblations, with the Mantra : "What I have done too much in this sacrifice, or what I have done here deficiently,—all that may Agni Svishṭakṛit, who knows it, make well sacrificed and well offered for me. To Agni Svishṭakṛit, the offerer of everything, to him who makes us successful in our offerings and wishes, Svāhā !"[37] The Asv. G.S. also gives a similar formula for this oblation.[38]

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Now we shall discuss the rules with regard to *Āvāpa* (*i.e.* the insertion of the principal offerings of each sacrifice). In this connection the Gobh. G S. (I, 8, 15) holds the view that the principal oblations of each sacrifice are offered before the Svishṭakṛit oblation. The Par. G.S. lays down the rule that the principal oblations of a sacrifice are to be sacrificed after the Sarvaprāyaśchitta oblations (as explained above) and the Prājāpatya oblation.[39] The Kath. G. S. (47, 10) says that the Āvāpa is offered between the two Ājyabhāgas and the Svishṭakṛit. The Sankh. S.S. says, "Whatsoever is offered between the two Ājyabhāgas and the Svishṭakṛit oblation is called Āvāpa; this is the principal part of the sacrifice, other oblations being subordinate to it."[40]

The Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the Yajurveda prescribe the sacrifice of some special oblations, namely, *Jaya*, *Abhyātāna* and *Rāshṭrabhṛit* oblations, before the Svishṭakṛit oblation. So the Ap. G S. states that after having offered the principal oblations, he adds the following oblations : Jaya, Abhyātāna, and Rāshṭrabhṛit oblations, the oblation to Prajāpati, the Vyāhṛitis one by one, and the oblation to Agni Svishṭakṛit.[41] The Baudh. G.S. and the Bhar. G.S. also thus prescribe the sacrifice of Jaya, Abhyātāna and Rāshṭrabhṛit oblations before the Svishṭakṛit oblations.[42] After describing the Svishṭakṛit oblation, the Hir. G.S. (I, 3, 8-14) says that some add here Jaya, Abhyātāna and Rāshṭrabhṛit oblations as subordinate oblations before the Svishṭakṛit. Then this Sūtra explains that the sacrificer offers the Jaya oblations with (the thirteen Mantras) : "Thought Svāhā ! Thinking, Svāhā !"—or, "To thought Svāhā ! To thinking Svāhā !" etc. (Tait. Samh. III, 4, 4) ; that he sacrifices the Abhyātāna oblations with (the eighteen Mantras) : "Agni is the lord of beings ; may he protect me" etc. (Tait. Samh. III, 4, 5), adding to each section of the Abhyātāna formulas the words : "In this power of holiness, in this worldly power" etc. ; with the last of the Abhyātāna formulas : "Fathers, Grandfathers !" he sacrifices or worships, being Prāchīnāvītin ; that he sacrifices the Rāshṭrabhṛit oblations with (the twelve Mantras) : "The champion of truth, he whose law is truth" (Tait. Samh. III, 4, 7) ; and that, having quickly repeated each section, he sacrifices the first oblation with the words : "To him Svāhā !" and the second oblation with the words : "To them Svāhā !" The Par. G S. (I, 5, 7-10 also makes it optional to sacrifice Jaya, Abhyātāna and Rāshṭrabhṛit oblations and gives the full text of the Jaya and Abhyātāna formulas. The Man. G.S. prescribes that after the sacrifice of the two Ājyabhāgas the sacrificer should offer oblations

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to the Nakshatra (under which the sacrifice is performed), to the presiding deity of the Nakshatra, to the Tithi (lunar day), to the presiding deity of the Tithi, to the season, and to the presiding deity of the season [43]

The word '*Svāhā*' is to be constantly pronounced at the end of each Mantra. The oblations for which no Mantras are prescribed should be made with the words : "To such-and-such a deity Svāhā!" according to the deity to whom the oblation is offered. The Asv. G S. says that if there is no rule regarding the deities to whom the sacrifice belongs, Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, the Viśvedevas, and Brahman should be regarded as deities.[44] These rules are generally applicable to the Gṛihya sacrifices known as *Pākayajñas*, *Darvīhomas*, or *Sthālīpākas*.[45]

3. THE FIVE GREAT SACRIFICES

The *Pañcha Mahāyajñas* signify the five daily sacrifices which a householder ought to perform regularly. The earliest description of the Pañcha Mahāyajñas is found in the Sat. Br. which states : "There are five great sacrifices, the great *Sattras*. They are the Bhūta-yajña, the Nṛi-yajña, the Pitṛi-yajña, the Deva-yajña, and the Brahma-yajña;" and after this introduction the Sat. Br. gives an account of the Brahma-yajña.[46] The Asv. G.S. defines the Pañcha Mahāyajñas as follows : "Here now, if he makes oblations into the sacred fire, this is the sacrifice to the gods (Deva-yajña). If he makes Bali offerings, this is the sacrifice to the beings (Bhūta-yajña). If he makes offerings to the Fathers, this is the sacrifice to the Fathers (Pitṛi-yajña). If he studies Vedic texts, this is the sacrifice to Brahman (Brahma-yajña). If he gives (food) to men, this is the sacrifice to men (Manushya-yajña). He should perform these sacrifices every day."[47] The Baudh. G.S. and the Bhar. G.S. also give similar definitions of these Yajñas, but differ slightly about the Manushya-yajña. The Bhar. G.S. says that if he gives food to guests that is the sacrifice to men ; and the Baudh. G.S. says that if he gives food to Brāhmaṇas, that is the Manushya-yajña. Then these two Gṛihyasūtras give some verses extolling the Pañcha Mahāyajñas.[48] Most of the other Gṛihyasūtras which do not explicitly use the expression *Pañcha Mahāyajñas*, describe the *Vaiśvadeva-Yajña*. Prof. Stenzler remarks that the Deva-yajña, the Bhūta-yajña, and the Pitṛi-yajña are included in the Vaiśvadeva-Yajña.[49] The Vaiśvadeva offerings are generally divided into three parts : first of all the oblations of the Vaiśvadeva food are offered into the fire to various deities, it is the *Deva-yajña* ; secondly the

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oblations of the food are offered at different places (as we shall see below) but not into the fire, this is called *Bali-haraṇa* or *Bhūta-yajña*; and thirdly the oblations of the food are offered to the Manes, this is the *Pitṛi-yajña*. These rites are followed by the feeding of a guest; this act is called *Nṛi-yajña* or *Atithi-yajña*.

According to Manu (III, 73-74), *Ahuta*, *Huta*, *Prahuta*, *Brāhmya-huta*, and *Prāśita* are also the names of the five sacrifices: Ahuta stands for the recitation of Vedic texts (*i.e.* Brahma-yajña), Huta for Homa (*i.e.* Deva-yajña), Prahuta for the Bali offered to the Bhūtas (*i.e.* Baliharaṇa), Brāhmya-huta for the respectful hospitality shown to Brāhmaṇas (*i.e.* Manushya-yajña), and Prāśita for Tarpaṇa (*i.e.* Pitṛi-yajña). The Sankh. G.S. (I, 5, 1) and the Par. G.S. (I, 4, 1) employ these terms in a different context and declare that there are four kinds of *Pākayajñas*, namely, *Huta*, *Ahuta*, *Prahuta*, and *Prāśita*; and the Sankh. G.S. (I, 10, 7) in a verse explains that Ahuta means an offering in the form of *Agnihotra* (*i.e.* the offering of oblations into the fire), the offering of Balis is Ahuta, Prahuta stands for an offering to the Manes, and an offering in a Brāhmaṇa (*i.e.* food offered to a Brāhmaṇa) is called Prāśita. The Asv. G.S. (I, 1, 2-3) states that there are three kinds of Pākayajñas, namely, *Hutāḥ* which are the sacrifices offered into the fire, *Prahutāḥ* which are not offered into the fire, and *Brahmaṇi-Hutāḥ* which consist in the feeding of Brāhmaṇas.

As regards the manner of offering the oblations of food, the Gobh. G.S. prescribes the procedure as follows:

When the meal is ready in the morning or evening, he should make his wife say in an articulate voice, "It is ready!" He should then reply, "Om!" And then he says in a low voice: "To that (food) I bring adoration; may it not fail!" Afterwards he should make offerings of the food.[50] The Bhar. G.S. (III, 12) lays down that the husband instructs the wife that she should cook the food after having washed her hands and feet; that when the food has been prepared, she should tell the husband that it has been prepared and the husband says, "This splendid (*Virāṭ*) food is well prepared, may it not fail;" and that he offers its oblations into the fire with his right hand, having put four fuel-sticks on the fire, and having sprinkled water round it (*vide* Ap. D.S. II, 2, 3, 10-15).

DEVA-YAJÑA

In the morning and evening the householder or his representative offers the oblations of cooked food fit for sacrifice into the fire with the words: "To Agni Svāhā! To Soma Svāhā! To

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Prajāpati Svāhā !" etc., thus adding Svāhā to the names of the gods to whom the offerings are made. Though there is little unanimity among the Gṛihyasūtras with regard to the names of all such gods, yet the names of the following gods are generally mentioned in this connection by most of the Gṛihyasūtras: Agni, Soma, Prajāpati, Dhanvantari, Viśvedevas, Agni Svishṭakṛit, Anumati, and Brahman.[51]

Morning and Evening Sacrifice into the Fire : The Bhar. G.S. (I, 18) prescribes that the householder should worship throughout his life the Gṛihya fire in the morning as well as in the evening with the oblations of barley or rice. It further prescribes that in the evening he offers the first oblation into the fire with the words : "To Agni Svāhā !" and the second oblation with the words : "To Prajāpati Svāhā !" according to some authorities, in the morning he offers the first oblation to the sun (*supra*, p. 217, n. 7). The Man. G. S., the Ap. G. S., and the Hir. G. S. also lay down similar rules in this connection.[52] The Asv. G.S. (I, 9, 5-8) states that the householder should sacrifice into the fire the oblations of the sacrificial food excepting meat ; that he may perform the sacrifice, if he likes, with the oblations of rice, barley or sesamum ; that he should sacrifice in the evening with the words : "To Agni Svāhā!" and in the morning with the words : "To Sūrya Svāhā !" and that he should then sacrifice silently a second oblation both the times. Similarly the Par. G.S. (I, 9, 1-4) lays down that from the time of wedding the *Aupāsana* fire should be regularly worshipped every day after sunset and before sunrise, with the oblations of curds, grains, or fried grains—in the evening with the words : "To Agni Svāhā ! To Prajāpati Svāhā !" and in the morning with the words : "To Sūrya Svāhā ! To Prajāpati Svāhā !" According to the Sankh. G.S. (I, 3, 14-15), he should make oblations to Agni in the evening, and to Sūrya in the morning, and after that a second oblation should be offered to Prajāpati silently.

Describing the fire-worship in detail, the Gobh. G.S. says, "He should offer oblations of the sacrificial food, be it cooked or raw, into the fire. If it is raw, he should sacrifice it after it has been washed and water has dropped off. If it consists of curds or milk or rice-gruel (Yavāgū), he should sacrifice it with a brazen bowl (*Chamasa*), or with the pot in which the oblations of boiled rice are prepared (*i.e. Charusthālī*), or with the sacrificial spoon called *Sruva*. In the evening he makes the first oblation in the middle of the fire with the words : "To Agni Svāhā !" and the second one silently in the north-eastern part of the fire. In the morning the first oblation

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should be made in the middle of the fire with the words: 'To Sūrya Svāhā', and the second one silently in the north-eastern part of the fire. Having put a piece of wood on the fire and having sprinkled water round it, he should pour water out of his joined hands round the fire with the Mantras: 'Thou hast given thy consent' etc. (instead of 'Give thy consent' etc., *vide* n. 26). When he has circumambulated the fire, keeping his right side towards it, and when he has poured out the remaining water, he again fills the vessel with water and puts it at its proper place. Then this ceremony is over. In this way he should henceforth perform the sacrifice, or should have the sacrifice performed over the sacred domestic fire, till the end of his life. In this connection some authorities say, 'If he likes, his wife may offer the morning and evening oblations into the domestic fire; for his wife is, as it were, his house, and that fire is the domestic fire.' "[53]

BALI-HARAṆA OR BHŪTA-YAJÑA

The Deva-yajña is followed by the *Bali-haraṇa* which signifies the distribution of *Balis* (*i.e.*, the offerings of food) in various places outside the fire. The Bhūta-yajña, as defined by Āśvalāyana and Bhāradvāja, is the same as the Bali-haraṇa. The householder offers Balis in particular places to particular deities and beings with the word '*Namaḥ*'.

The Gobh. G.S. describes the Bali-haraṇa as follows:

He should then offer Balis outside or inside (the Agnyāgāra, *i.e.* the fire-sanctuary), having well cleaned the ground. Let him pour out water once and put down Balis at four places and finally once sprinkle water on the four Balis; or let him sprinkle water before and after for each Bali which he puts down. The first Bali that he puts down belongs to the *Pṛithivī* (Earth), the second to *Vāyu*, the third to the *Viśvedevas*, and the fourth to *Prajāpati*. Then he should offer a Bali near the water-pot to the waters, a Bali at the middle supporting-pillar to the herbs (*Oshadhīs*) and trees (*Vanaspatis*), and a Bali at the door to the sky (*Ākāśa*). Then he should offer another Bali in the sleeping-chamber or in the privy; this Bali belongs either to *Kāma* or to *Manyu*. Then on the heap of sweepings is offered a Bali which belongs to the host of *Rākshasas*.[54]

The Sankh. G.S., which describes the Bali-haraṇa in a different way, lays down the following procedure:

He should offer Balis in the centre of the floor of the house to the same gods (to whom the oblations have been offered into the

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fire, *vide* II, 14, 4), another Bali also there with the words: "Adoration (*Namaḥ*) to *Brahman* and to the *Brāhmaṇas*", and still another Bali in the centre of the floor to Vāstoshpati with the verse (R. V. VIII, 54, 1). Then he offers Balis to the presiding deities of different quarters of horizon in due order from left to right. So he offers Balis in the east to *Indra* and his men, in the south to *Yama* and his men, in the west to *Varuṇa* and his men, in the north to *Soma* and his men, in the north-east to *Bṛihaspati* and his men. Then he offers a Bali towards the disk of the sun (or in a place or an apartment of circular form, according to some commentators, *vide* SBE, XXIX, p. 85, n. 8; in a sun-shaped circle made of cow-dung, according to the *Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛihyasaṅgraha*, p. 42) with the words: "Adoration to *Aditi* and the *Ādityas*! Adoration to the Nakshatras, to seasons, to months, to half-months, to days and nights, and to years!" He offers a Bali on the thresholds of his house with the words: "Adoration to *Pūshan*, the path-maker, to *Dhātṛi*, to *Vidhātṛi* and to the *Maruts*!" Then he should offer a Bali each on the millstone to *Vishṇu*; in the mortar to the *Vanaspati*; at the place of herbs (*i.e.* food grains) to the *Oshadhīs* (herbs); near the water-pot to *Parjanya* and to the waters; near the bed towards the head with the words: "Adoration to *Śrī*"; and at the foot of the bed to *Bhadrakālī*; and in the privy with the words: "Adoration to *Sarvānnabhūti*". Then he throws a Bali into the air in the evening with the words: "To the night-walkers", and in the morning with the words: "To the day-walkers", and with the verse (R.V. I, 139, 11). In the north should be thrown Balis to the unknown deities as well as to *Dhanapati* (*i.e.* the lord of treasures).[55] The Asv. G.S, the Par. G.S, and the Vaikh. G.S. also give a similar description of this sacrifice.[56]

The Man. G.S., the Kath. G.S, and the Kaus. S. prescribe the offering of Bali at the door to *Dharma* and *Adharma* also[57] Besides, the Man. G.S. (II, 12, 17) adds that Balis are to be offered in the east to the *Āpātikas*, *Saṁpātikas*, *Ṛikshas*, *Yakshas*, *Pipīlikās*, *Piśāchas*, *Apsarases*, *Gandharvas*, *Guhyakas*, *Śailas*, and *Pannagas*[58] According to the Kauśika Sūtra (74, 8-10), Balis should be offered to *Vāsuki*, *Chitrasena*, *Chitraratha*, *Taksha* and *Upataksha*, in the corners of the house; to *Āśā*, *Śraddhā*, *Medhā*, *Śrī*, *Hrī* and *Vidyā* around the fire; to the domestic deities and to the wives of the gods, towards the east of the fire. There are numerous differences of minute details among the Gṛihyasūtras with regard to the description of the Bali-haraṇa.

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PITṚI-YAJÑA

The Pitṛi-yajña means an offering to the *Pitṛis* (Manes). According to the Ap. D.S. (II, 2, 4, 5) and other authorities, the performance of the Pitṛi-yajña follows that of the Bhūta-yajña. Being *Prāchīnāvītin* (*vide* p. 316, n. 21), he pours out the remnants of the *Vaiśvadeva* food towards the south as an offering to the Manes with the words : "*Svadhā* to the Pitṛis !", or with a Mantra (R.V. X, 15, 14, according to the Sankh. G.S.). This is the way of performing the Pitṛi-yajña, according to the Sūtras.[58] Defining the Pitṛi-yajña, Manu says that Pitṛi-yajña is *Tarpaṇa* (*i.e.*, the offering of libations of water to the Manes) ; and Yaj. prescribes that food and water should be offered to the Manes and men every day.[59] So it follows that the Pitṛi-yajña includes the offering of both food and water to the Manes.

NṚI-YAJÑA OR MANUSHYA-YAJÑA

The Baudh. G.S. and the Bhar. G.S. lay down that when the householder has offered the Vaiśvadeva, he should wait for a guest for the duration of milking a cow, or he may in advance set apart a portion of food for a guest ; for a guest (*Atithi*) is the fifth sacrifice indeed.[60] Having washed his hands and having sipped water, the householder, according to the Man. G.S. (II, 12, 21), should feed the guest and then himself partake of the rest of the food.

The Par. G.S. says, "The householder, having set apart some portion of the food (*Agra*), should give it to a Brāhmaṇa with the words : 'Well ! this is to thee !' Then they should give due food to beggars and guests. The members of the family, young and old, should take their due share of food. Afterwards the householder and his wife take their meal, or the householder may eat first ; for the Śruti says, 'Therefore, the householder should eat the most delicious food prior to his guests.' "[61]

The Sankh. G.S. also enjoins similar duties upon the householder towards his fellow-beings and says, "When he has made his offerings to the gods, Manes and men, he should give food to a *Śrotriya* (a learned Brāhmaṇa) and should give alms of food to a Brahmachārin (student). Then he should feed a female under his protection (*i.e.*, daughters, sisters, etc.), a pregnant woman, children, and old people. He should throw some food on the ground for dogs, *Śvapachas* (low-caste people), and birds. He should never eat food without having set apart and offered as a Bali a portion thereof ; nor should he eat alone, nor before others. In this connection the

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Ṛigveda also says, 'In vain the fool gains food' (R.V. X, 117, 6)."[62]

Though the Nṛi-yajña is declared to be the fifth Yajña and the Brahma-yajña the fourth, we have first described the Nṛi-yajña, because this Yajña is described in the Gṛihyasūtras immediately after the Vaiśvadeva offering. We have, therefore, followed in this regard the scheme adopted in the Gṛihyasūtras.

BRAHMA-YAJÑA

The *Brahma-yajña*, as we have seen above, consists in the recitation of Vedic texts or *Svādhyāya*. It has been described by the Gṛihyasūtras in different ways, and some of the Gṛihyas, such as the Gobh. G. S., the Hir G.S., and the Ap. G.S. are silent on the Brahma-yajña or Svādhyāya. The Dharmasūtras highly praise the daily recitation of the sacred texts.[63] The Baudh. G.S. describes the *Brahma-yajña* as follows :

He should sit to the west of the *Gārhapatya* or *Aupāsana* fire and request the sacred fire with the words : "Recite, sir !" Then having performed three *Prāṇāyāmas* (*i.e.*, the act of restraining the breath), he should repeat the Sāvitrī a thousand times, or a hundred times, or any number of times but not less than ten. He should then recite the first verse of each Veda, certain other verses of the Veda, and the Vedic Mantras known as *Kūśmāṇḍas*.[64] The Bhar. G.S. (III, 15) also gives a similar description of the Brahma-yajña. The Sankh. G.S. (I, 4, 1-2) prescribes the daily recitation of certain Mantras of the Ṛigveda in the morning.

The Asv. G.S. (III, 2-3) lays down the following procedure for the performance of Svādhyāya :

He should go out of the village to the east or the north, take his bath, sip water on a clean spot and become *Yajñopavītin* (*vide* p. 316, n. 21). His garments should not be wet. He should then spread a large quantity of Darbha grass with its points to the east. He should sit on it, facing the east, making a lap and putting together his hands with purifiers (*i.e.*, Kuśa blades) in such a manner that the right hand lies uppermost. Looking at the horizon, or closing his eyes, or keeping his body in any other posture that he may deem fit, he should perform the Svādhyāya. The *Vyāhṛitis* (*i.e.*, Bhūr Bhuvaḥ Svaḥ) preceded by the syllable *Om* are to be pronounced first. Then he repeats the Sāvitrī—first Pāda by Pāda, then hemistich by hemistich, and finally the whole verse. Then he recites for himself the *Ṛichaḥ*, the *Yajus*-formulas, the *Sāmans*, the *Atharvan* and *Aṅgiras* hymns, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Kalpas*, the *Gāthās*, the *Nārāśaṁsīs*, the *Itihāsas*, and the *Purāṇas* (*supra*, pp. 328 ff.). After he has recited those texts as

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far as he thinks fit, he should conclude the Svādhyāya with the verse : "Adoration to Brahman ! Adoration to Agni ! Adoration to the Earth ! Adoration to the Herbs ! Adoration to Vāk (Speech) ! Adoration to Vāchaspati (the Lord of Speech) ! Adoration I offer to great Vishṇu."

Tarpaṇa (The Offering of Water-libations) : The Asv. G.S. (III, 4, 1-5) lays down the injunction that when the householder has finished the Svādhyāya (as described above) he should, being *Yajñopavītin*, satiate with water-libations the deities and the Ṛishis (enumerated in the Gṛihya). Then becoming *Prāchīnāvītin*, he should satiate with water-libations the ancient teachers, such as Sumantu, Jaimini, etc. (enumerated in the Gṛihya), and his Pitṛis one by one. He should then return home and give away something in charity. The Bhar. G.S. and the Hir. G S. also prescribe that he should thus always satiate the deities, the Ṛishis, and the Pitṛis with libations of water.[65] Both of these Gṛihyas lay down this injunction, after having described the Utsarjana ceremony. The Sankh. G S., the Baudh. G.S., and some other Gṛihyas also describe the *Tarpaṇa* in the Utsarjana ceremony (*supra*, pp. 305ff.).

Sandhyā (The Twilight Devotion) : The performance of *Sandhyā* is prescribed twice a day—in the morning and evening. According to the Sankh. G.S. (II, 9, 1-3), Sandhyā should be performed in the following manner :

Sitting in the forest, with a piece of wood in his hand, he performs Sandhyā daily, observing silence. In the evening, he should recite the Mahāvyāhṛitis, the Sāvitrī, and the auspicious hymns (*Svastyayanāni*), with his face to the region between the chief western point and the intermediate north-western point of the horizon, until the stars appear. In the same way he should perform Sandhyā in the morning, while standing, with his face to the east, until the disk of the sun appears. The Asv. G S. (III, 7, 3-6) also describes Sandhyā in a similar way and prescribes that one should be *Yajñopavītin* at the time of Sandhyā.

General Rules concerning the Pañcha Mahāyajñas : The Sūtras state that the householder should sacrifice every day with the word '*Svāhā*' ; and that if he has no food to offer he should make his offering with something else—even with a piece of wood to the gods, and even with a vessel of water to the Manes and men.[66] In this connection the Sankh. G S. gives a Śloka which reads as follows : "One should give something, even if it were only a water-pot ; one should sacrifice something, even if it were a piece of wood. The Brahma-yajña is enjoined even down to a hymn or an Anuvāka."[67]

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The Gobh. G.S. says that both the husband and wife should make these offerings—the wife in the evening and the husband in the morning ; this is the rule for householders.[68] Then Gobhila adds the following rules :

The householder should offer Balis from every food whether it is prepared for the Manes, or for auspicious purposes, or for ordinary purposes. However, this does not apply to the food prepared for a sacrifice. If rice and barley are prepared for one and the same meal, Balis need be offered from one kind of food only. If the food is prepared at different times for one meal, he should make the Bali offering only once. If food is prepared at different places for one family, the Bali offering should be made from the food which is prepared in the kitchen belonging to the householder. However, among the householders belonging to the same family he whose food is prepared first should offer the prescribed portion in the fire and give due share to a Brāhmaṇa ; then he should take his meals ; and he whose food is ready after the Bali offering may eat it without offering Balis.[69]

As for the performance of daily sacrifices during a journey, the Sankh. G.S. states that he should not fast during a journey ; that his wife should keep the vow at that time ; and that the Bali offering is then performed by his son, brother, wife, or pupil.[70] The Bhar. G.S. puts forward the view that a woman and an uninitiated (*Anupeta*) person are not entitled to use the Mantras at the Bali offering ; and then this Sūtra puts forward the alternative viewpoint that a woman may optionally sacrifice without pronouncing the Mantras, but in no case should an uninitiated person perform a sacrifice.[71] One of the *Ślokas* quoted by the Bhar. G.S. prescribes *Kūśmāṇḍa-Homa* for that person in whose family Balis are offered by a woman or an uninitiated person.[72]

Regarding the observance of hospitality without adequate means, the Sūtras state that even when the householder is unable to serve his guest with food he should offer him a seat, room for resting, water, and gentle words ; for these things never fail in the houses of good men.[73]

Notes and References

1. Gobh. G.S. I, 1, 21 ; Par. G.S. I, 2, 1 ; Hir. G S. I, 26, 1 ; Man. G.S. II, 1, 1 ; Kh G.S. I, 5, 1 ; *cf.* Hillebrandt, R.L., p. 69 ; Kaus. S. 69 1.
2. Par. G.S. I, 2, 1; Baudh. D.S. II, 2, 4, 22 ; Manu III, 67 ; Yaj. I, 97.
3. Sankh. G.S. I, 1, 2-3 ; Gobh. G.S. I, 1, 7-8 ; *ibid.* I, 1, 20-21 ; Kh. G. S. I, 5, 1-2.

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4. Sankh. G.S. I, 1, 5; Gobh. G.S. 1, 1, 12.

5. Sankh. G.S. I, 1, 4 ; Par. G.S. I, 2, 2 ; Man. G.S. II, 1, 1 ; Kath. G.S. 45, 1-2 ; Kaus. S. 69, 1 ; Gaut. D.S. V, 7 ; Vi. D.S. LIX, 1-2.

6. Sankh. G.S. I, 1, 6-7 ; *cf.* Kaus. S. 69, 2.

7. Gobh. G.S. I, 1, 9-10 ; Par. G.S. I, I, 2 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 1 ; Asv. G.S. I, 3, 1 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 7, 2-8 ; Kh. G.S. I, 2, 2-3.

The Gṛihyasūtras contain different rules regarding the number of lines and the manner of drawing them on the altar. The Asv. G.S. and the Kh. G.S. prescribe six lines and the Jaim. G.S. prescribes five lines, but the Sankh. G.S. mentions four lines in this connection.

8. Gobh. G.S. I, 1, 15-17 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 1, 8-9 ; Kh. G.S. I, 5, 3-5.

9. Sankh. G.S. I, 7, 9-10 ; Gobh. G.S. I, 1, 11.

10. Asv. G.S. I, 8, 5. 9 ; see p. 252, n. 67.

11. Ap. G.S. II, 5, 13 ; Hir. G.S. I, 22, 2.

12. Bhar. G.S. I, 18 : 19, 4 ; Ap. G.S. II, 5, 14-18 ; Hir. G.S. I, 22, 3-5.

13. Hir. G.S. I, 1, 10 ; Asv. G.S. I, 3, 1.

14. Sankh. G.S. I, 7, 11 ; Asv. G.S. I, 3, 1.

15. Asv. G.S. I, 3, 1 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 8, 1-4 ; Hir. G.S. I, 1, 11-13 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 1 : 2, 4.

16. Sankh. G.S. I, 8, 6-7.

Vide Oldenberg, SBE, XXIX, p. 24, f.n. : "Ordinarily there was no real *Brahman* present and his place was filled by a bundle of Kuśa grass that represented him. Nārāyaṇa states that this bundle should consist of fifty blades of Kuśa grass. Comp. also the Gṛihyasaṁgraha-pariśishṭa I, 89-90."

17. Ap. G.S. I, 1, 21 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 3, 10 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. I, 1, 21.

18. Hir. G.S. I, 1, 22 ; *cf.* Gobh. G.S. I, 6, 14 ; Kh. G.S. I, I, 23.

19. Sankh. G.S. I, 8, 14-16 ; Hir. G.S. I, 1, 23 ; Asv. G.S. I, 3, 3 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 2 : 2, 7 ; Gobh. G.S. I, 7, 19-21.

20. Hir. G.S. I, 1, 23 ; *cf.* Ap. G.S. I, 1, 20 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 3 : 3, 3 (the same as in the Ap. G.S. ; note the difference in their styles) ; Sankh. G.S. I, 8, 8.

21. Par. G.S. I, 1, 1. 4 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 8, 24-25 ; Hir. G.S. I, 1, 24.

22. Sankh. G.S. I, 8, 18-23 ; *cf.* Asv. G.S. I, 3, 3.

23. Ap. G.S. I, 1, 22 ; Hir. G.S. I, 1, 27 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 3, 11 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 3 : 3, 9 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 2 : 2, 10 ; Par. G.S. I, 1, 2. 4.

24. Ap. G.S. I, 2, 1 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 3, 12 ; Hir. G.S. I, 1, 25 ; Par. G.S. I, 1, 3 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 3 : 3, 7. As regards the implement with which he is to sacrifice, the Bhar. G.S., the Hir. G.S., and the Baudh. G.S. mention the *Darvī* spoon, whereas the Par. G.S. mentions the *Sruva*. The Sankh. G.S. I, 9, 1, also prescribes the *Sruva* spoon for Gṛihya sacrifices.

25. Bhar. G.S. I, 3 : 3, 13 ; Hir. G.S. I, 2, 1-4 ; Ap. G.S. I, 2, 2 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 3 : 3, 12 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 3, 13.

26. Gobh. G.S. I, 3, 1-5 ; Kh. G.S. I, 2, 17-20 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 3 : 3, 13 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 3, 21-25 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 4 : 4, 1 ; Hir. G.S. I, 2, 7-10 ; Ap. G.S. I, 2, 3.

The Gṛihyasūtras belonging to the Yajurveda simply say, "he sprinkles water round the fire", while the Gobh. G.S. and the Kh. G.S. prescribe that he should sprinkle water round the fire with his joined hands (Añjali), bending his right knee. The Jaim. G.S. says that he pours a *Kośa* of water round the fire

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on the prescribed sides. The commentator, Śrīnivāsa, explains *Kośa* as *Dhārā* (stream), while Dr. Caland translates it as "a pail of water".

27. Bhar. G.S. I, 4: 4, ; Hir. G.S. I, 2, 11; Jaim. G.S. I, 3 : 3, 18 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 3, 26 ; Ap. G.S. I, 2, 5 ; Asv. G.S. I, 10, 12.

The Baudh. G.S. and the Ap. G.S. do not prescribe the recitation of this Mantra here.

28. Asv. G.S. I, 10, 13 ; *cf.* Par. G.S. I, 5, 3.

29. Hir. G.S. I, 2, 12-16 ; *cf.* Jaim. G. S. I, 3 : 3, 20.

Commenting on the Hir. G.S. I, 2, 14, Mātṛidatta says that he (*i. e.* ths sacrificer) pours out (this Āghāra), pronouncing the formula.

30. Baudh. G.S. I, 3, 26-28 ; Ap. G.S. I, 2, 5 ; Man. G.S. II, 2, 13.

31. Hir. G.S. I, 2, 16 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 3, 29-31 ; Ap. G.S. I, 2, 6 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 3 : 3, 22 ; Man. G.S. II, 2, 14 ; Kath. G.S. 47, 5 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 9, 7.

32. Sankh. G. S. I, 9, 8 ; Hir. G. S. I, 2, 17 ; Asv. G. S. I, 10, 17 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 3 :4, 1.

33. Gobh. G.S. II, 1, 24-25 ; Sankh. G.S. I, 12, 11-12 ; Hir. G.S. I, 3, 4.

34. Sankh. G.S. I, 12, 13 ; Gobh. G.S. I, 9, 23 speaks of this rule in Ājya-sacrifices.

35. Oldenberg, SBE, XXIX, p. 271, note 8. *Vide* Jayarāma's commentary on the Par. G.S. I, 5, 3.

36. Gobh. G.S. I, 8, 13 ; *cf.* Man. G.S. II, 2, 22 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 3 : 4, 5.

37. Hir. G.S. I, 3, 7 ; *cf.* Ap. G.S. I, 3, 7 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 4, 34.

38. Asv. G.S. I, 10, 22 ; *cf.* Par. G.S. I, 2, 11.

39. Par. G.S. I, 5, 6. *Vide* Oldenberg's note in SBE, vol, XXIX, pp. 28 and 279 ; Sankh. G. S. I, 9, 12.

40. अन्तरेणाज्यभागौ रिक्तकृतं च यदिज्यते तमावाप इत्याचक्षते तत्प्रधानम् । तदङ्गानीतराणि ॥
शां० श्रौ० I, 16, 3-4.

41. Ap. G.S. I, 2, 7 ; *cf.* Kath. G.S. 47, 8.

42. Baudh. G.S. I, 4, 32-34 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 6 : 6, 14.

43. Man. G.S. II, 2, 15 ; *cf.* Kath. G.S. 47, 12.

44. Asv. G.S. I, 3, 7-8 ; *cf.* Hir. G.S. I, 3, 2-4.

45. Ap. G.S. I, 2, 9-10 ; Kh. G.S. I, 1, 20 ; Hir. G. S. I, 3, 1 ; Bhar. G.S. I, 4 : 4, 12 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 4, 39 ; Man. G.S. II, 2, 30.

46. Sat. Br. XI, 5, 6, 1 seq. *Cf.* Tait. Ar. II, 10 ; Baudh. D.S. II, 6, 11, 1 ; Ap. D.S. I, 4, 12, 14.

47. ॐ अथातः पञ्चयज्ञाः। देवयज्ञो भूतयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञ इति । तद्यदग्नौ जुहोति स देवयज्ञो यद्बलिं करोति स भूतयज्ञो यत्पितृभ्यो ददाति स पितृयज्ञो यत्स्वाध्यायमधीयते स ब्रह्मयज्ञो यन्मनुष्येभ्यो ददाति स मनुष्ययज्ञ इति । तानेतान्यज्ञानहरहः कुर्वीत ॥ आ०गृ०
III, 1, 1-4.

48. Bhar. G.S. III, 15 : 83, 11 ; and *ibid.* III, 15 : 84, 1 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 9, 6-16.

49. Stenzler's note on the Asv. G.S. I, 2, 1.

50. Gobh. G.S. I, 3, 17-19 ; Kh. G.S. I, 5, 19-20.

51. Sankh. G.S. II, 14, 1-4 ; Asv. G.S. I, 2, 1-3 ; Par. G.S. II, 9, 1-2 ; Gobh. G.S. I, 4, 4 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 23 : 24, 4 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 8, 9 ; Bhar. G.S. III, 12 : 79, 12 ; Vaikh. G.S. III, 7 ; Kath. G.S. 54, 1.

52. Man. G.S. II, 3, 1-2 ; Ap. G.S. III, 7, 19-21 ; Hir. G.S. I, 23, 8-9.

53. Gobh. G.S. I, 3, 6-16 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. I, 5, 6-18.

54. Gobh. G.S. I, 4, 5-11 ; Kh. G.S. I, 5, 22-34.

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55. Sankh. G.S. II, 14, 5-17 ; *cf.* Gaut. D.S. V, 12-18 ; Manu III, 87-91.

56. Asv. G.S. I, 2, 3-10 ; Par. G.S. II, 9, 3-8 ; Ap. D.S. II, 2, 3, 12 seq. Vaikh. G.S III, 7.

57. Man. G.S. II, 12, 7 ; Kath. G.S. 54, 6 ; Kaus. S. 74, 4-5.

The Kath. G.S. and the Kaus. S. mention *Mrityu* (Death) together with *Dharma* and *Adharma*.

58. Sankh. G.S. II, 14, 18 ; Asv. G.S. I, 2, 11 ; Par. G.S. II, 9, 9 ; Bhar. G.S. III, 14 : 81, 17 ; Baudh. G.S. II, 8, 34 ; Ap. D.S. II, 2, 4, 5 ; Gobh. G.S. I, 4, 12 ; Man. G.S. II, 12, 20. Kath. G,S. 54, 19 prescribes this offering in the form of Piṇḍas.

59. Manu III, 70 ; Yaj. 1, 104.

60. अथ वैश्वदेवं हुत्वाऽतिथिमाकांक्षेदागोदोहनकालम् । अर्घं वोद्धृत्य दद्यात् । विज्ञायते "यज्ञो वा एष पञ्चमो यदतिथिः ॥" बौ० गृ० II, 9, 1-3; *Cf.* भा० गृ० III, 14.

61. Par. G.S. II, 9, 11-15 ; Ap. D.S. II, 2, 4, 11. The commentators explain *Agra* as sixteen or four mouthfuls of food. Commenting on the rule that 'the householder may eat first,' some commentators say that after the guests have taken their meal (अतिथिभ्योऽशितेभ्योऽनन्तरम्) the householder should take his meal before his wife and not simultaneously.

62. Sankh. G.S. II, 14, 19-26 ; Gaut. D.S. V, 26 ; Ap. D.S. II, 2, 4, 11-13 ; II, 4, 8, 2 ; Baudh. D.S. II, 7, 13, 2-7 ; II, 3, 5, 17-18 ; Manu III, 114-18 ; Yaj. I, 105 ; Gītā III, 13 ; Tait. Br. II, 8, 8, 3.

63. Baudh. D.S. II, 6, 11, 6-10 ; Ap. D.S. I, 4, 12, 1-3 ; Tait. Ar. II, 14, 3 ; Manu II, 166 ; Yaj. I, 40-48.

64. Baudh. G.S. II, 9, 4 5. The *Kūśmāṇḍa* or Kūshmāṇḍa texts are found in the Tait. Ar. X, 3-5 ; and the Vaj. Samh. XX, 14-16.

65. Bhar. G.S. III, 11 : 78, 11, Hir. G.S. II, 20, 14.

66. Par. G.S. II, 9, 16 ; Baudh. D.S. II, 6, 11, 2-3 ; Ap. D.S. I, 4, 13, 1 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. XI, 5, 6, 2 ; Tait. Ar. II, 11, 10 ; Manu III, 82.

67. उदपात्रात्तु दातव्यमाकाष्ठाज्जुहुयादपि । आसूक्तादानुवाकाद्ब्राह्मणस्यैष विधीयते ॥ शां० गृ० II, 17, 2; *Cf.* बौ० गृ० II, 9, 14.

68. दम्पती एव । इति गृह्मेषिव्रतम् । स्त्री ह सायं प्रातः पुमानिति ॥ गो० गृ० 1, 4, 17-19. *Cf.* Manu III, 121.

69. Gobh. G.S. I, 4, 20-26 , *cf.* Kh. G.S. I, 5, 35-39.

70. Sankh. G.S. II, 17, 3 ; *cf.* Gobh. G.S. I, 6, 8-10 ; Kaush. G.S. III, 10, 35.

71. सर्वेषु पाकयज्ञेषु स्त्रियाश्चानुपेतस्य बालमन्त्रो न विद्यते । आप वा स्त्री जुहुयान्मन्त्रवर्जं न चानुपेतः ॥ भा० गृ० III, 12.

72. Bhar. G.S. III, 15 : 84, 6. The whole of the 15th section of the Bhar. G.S. consists of Ślokas which agree word for word with the Baudh. G.S. II, 9, 7-16.

73. अभावे भूमिरुदकं तृणानि कल्याणी वागिति । एतानि वै सतोगारे न क्षीयन्ते कदाचनेति ॥ आप० ध० II, 2, 4, 14. *Cf.* Gaut. D. S. V, 37-38; Manu III, 101; Yaj. I,107.

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CHAPTER XVIII

PERIODICAL SACRIFICES

The Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras describe a number of periodical sacrifices, and a few of them are common to both types of Sūtras. The sacrifices described in the Śrautasūtras are generally meant for an *Āhitāgni*, while those described in the Gṛihyasūtras are obligatory upon all the Aryan householders. So the periodical sacrifices described in the following pages are those which are dealt with in the Gṛihyasūtras ; and only important points of parallelism between the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras have been mentioned below in the description of these sacrifices.

It is quite definite beyond any shadow of doubt that the authors of the Sūtras did not invent these sacrifices, but they simply recorded them in the form in which they were prevalent in their ritual schools or regions. It may be pointed out that the periodical sacrifices of the Gṛihyasūtras were in fact the popular festivals of those times and owed their origin to popular customs. In course of time they acquired a halo of high religiosity and found systematic treatment in the Gṛihyasūtras. Some of the periodical and special sacrifices are intended for the prosperity of cattle and crops and give us an insight into the life of agricultural society of ancient India.

I. THE NEW-MOON AND FULL-MOON SACRIFICES

The sacrifices enjoined by the Gṛihyasūtras on the new-moon and full-moon days correspond to the *Darśapūrṇamāseshṭi* of the Śrautasūtras ; the latter is performed with the oblations of *Puroḍāśas*, while only a *Sthālīpāka* is prepared for the former.[1]

After the solemnization of nuptials, the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices should be regularly performed by the married couple. So after describing the nuptial Sthālīpāka the Ap. G. S. adds that the married couple should, after observing a fast, sacrifice henceforth a Sthālīpāka on the days of the new moon and full moon, in the same way (as stated previously) except for a sacrificial gift ; according to some authorities, a vessel full of grain constitutes the sacrificial gift on this occasion.[2] Similarly the Hir. G S (I, 23, 7) remarks that from the time of offering the nuptial Sthālīpāka the householder regularly sacrifices, on the days of the full moon and new moon, a Sthālīpāka sacred to Agni. The Man.

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G.S. (II, 3,3) opines that on the full-moon day should be offered a Sthālīpāka sacred to Agni and Soma ; on the new-moon day a Sthālīpāka sacred to Indra and Agni ; and on both these days another Sthālīpāka sacred to Agni.

As regards the deities to whom this sacrifice ought to be offered, the Par. G.S. says that at the beginning of each fortnight, the householder cooks a Sthālīpāka, offers oblations to the deities of the new moon and full moon, and then sacrifices to Brahman, Prajāpati, Viśvedevas, and to Heaven and Earth.[3] Similarly the Sankh. G S. (I, 3, 3) prescribes the offering of oblations to the deities of the new moon and full moon. The Gobh. G.S. states precisely the deities to whom the oblations should be offered at the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices ; and this Gṛihya says, "An *Anāhitāgni* (*i.e.* the person who has not set up the sacred Śrauta fires) should offer the oblations of the Sthālīpāka to *Agni* at the sacrifices of the new-moon and full-moon. An *Āhitāgni* (*i.e.* one who has set up the sacred Śrauta fires) should offer these oblations to *Agni*, or to Agni and Soma (*Agnī-shomau*) at the full-moon sacrifice, and to Indra, or to Indra and Agni (*Indrāgnī*), or to Mahendra at the new-moon sacrifice ; or an Āhitāgni may also offer these oblations to Agni at the sacrifices of both the new moon and full moon."[4]

As the Gobh. G.S. describes the sacrifice of the new-moon and full-moon days in most vivid details, we have followed Gobhila in the following description of this sacrifice.

Time of Fasting (*Upavāsa*) : Before the performance of the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices, the sacrificer and his wife have to observe fast. The Sankh. G.S. and the Asv. G.S. give no elaborate rules regarding fasting, ; they simply lay down the rule of fasting on this occasion.[5] As for the significance of fasting the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa contains the following passage : "They say, 'In that he fasts at the new moon and full moon, it is because the gods do not eat the oblation of one who does not keep the vow of fasting. Therefore, he fasts with the idea that the gods might eat his oblation.' That on the first full-moon day he should fast is the view of *Paiṅgya* ; that on the second day he should fast is the view of *Kaushītaki*."[6]

The Gobh. G.S. presents various views regarding the time of fasting as well as sacrificing. It says, "He should fast on the full-moon day when the full moon rises at the meeting of day and night ; or on the following day, according to some teachers ; or on that day when the moon is not seen he should fast regarding it as

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the new-moon day. The fast is observed at the ends of fortnights and the sacrifice is performed at the beginnings of fortnights. With the sacrificial food of the new-moon sacrifice, he celebrates the first fortnight of the month, and with that of the full-moon sacrifice he celebrates the second fortnight of the month. The full moon is the longest distance between the sun and the moon ; the new moon is their nearest approach. The day on which the moon is not seen should be regarded as the new-moon day. Sometimes he may regard it as the new-moon day even while the moon is visible ; for the moon has then already made its way. The time of the full-moon is reckoned in three ways : (*i*) when the full moon rises at the meeting of day and night, (*ii*) when it rises after sunset, (*iii*) or when it stands high in the sky at sunset. The doctrine as to on what day the moon becomes full should be studied separately ; or the exact time of the *Parvan* should be ascertained from those who are proficient in this branch of study."[7]

The Observances connected with the day of fasting : In this connection the Gobh. G.S. (I, 5, 14-20) enjoins the following observances on the householder : On the day of fasting in the forenoon the householder, having offered his morning oblation into the fire, besmears on all sides with cow-dung that surface on which the fire is set up. Then he gets the pieces of Khadira or Palāśa wood for the fire. If Khadira or Palāśa wood cannot be obtained, it may be the wood of any tree with the exception of Vibhīdaka, Tilvaka, Bādhaka, Nīva, Nimba, Rājavṛiksha, Śālmali, Aralu, Dadhittha, Kovidāra, and Śleshmātaka trees. The *Barhis* (sacrificial grass) consists of Kuśa grass cut off at the points at which the blades diverge from the main stalk. If Kuśa grass cannot be obtained, he may take any other kind of grass, with the exception of Śuka grass, Śara (*Saccharum reed*), such grass as is brittle, Balbaja grass, Mūtava, Nala (*Amphidona reed*), and Śuṇṭha. He should also procure Ājya, rice or barley to be cooked for the sacrifice ; the pot in which the oblation of cooked rice or barley is prepared (*Charusthālī*) ; the pot-ladle (Mekshaṇa) ; the *Sruva* ; water fetched from a protected place ; and other necessary things. Then the Gobh. G.S. lays down the rule that on the day of fasting he should not go away from his home on a journey etc. ; on the other hand, he should return home even from a distant place on that day. He may buy goods from others but should not sell any on that day. He should not speak much and should strive to speak the truth. In the afternoon the husband and wife, after having taken their bath, should eat such fast-day food as suits their taste. It should

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contain butter and should be prepared in the proper way. Then Gobhila quotes the opinion of Mānatantavya who advances various arguments to emphasize the point that the husband and wife must eat the fast-day food agreeable to them, sleep on the ground, and refrain from such acts as are incompatible with the vows; and that they should spend that night in such a way as to alternate their sleep with waking, entertaining themselves with historical narratives or with other discourses of holy import.[8]

The Performance of Sacrifice : On the following day in the forenoon the householder, having offered his morning oblation into the fire, begins to prepare the Sthālīpāka for the sacrifice. When the grain for the sacrifice has been husked and winnowed in the proper way, it should be washed thrice. He should cook the Sthālīpāka well, stirring it with the pot-ladle from left to right. When it has been cooked he should sprinkle Ājya on it, take it from the fire towards the north, place it on the *Barhis* (sacrificial grass), and again sprinkle Ājya on it. Wood should be put on the fire. Then he should duly prepare the Ājya from ghee, or from oil of sesame seeds, or from curds, or milk, or rice-gruel.[9]

Then he offers the two Ājya-portions (*Ājya-bhāgau*) into the fire. He should take four portions of Ājya—five portions if he is a descendant of Bhṛigu—and should sacrifice from west to east, on the northern part of the fire with the words : "To Agni Svāhā !" and on the southern part with the words : "To Soma Svāhā !"[10] Then the oblations of *Havis* (the food specially prepared for the sacrifice) should be made in the following manner :

Having spread some Ājya in the ladle he cuts off (two or three) *Avadānas* (portions) from the Havis. He should cut off two Avadānas (portions) from the middle and the eastern side of the Havis, if he belongs to the family of those who make four Avadānas (*i.e.* if he is a *Chaturavattin*). But he should cut off three Avadānas of the Havis from the middle, eastern and western side of the Havis, if he belongs to the family of those who make five Avadānas (*i.e.* if he is a *Pañchāvattin*). Then he sprinkles Ājya on the Avadānas (cut off portions).[11] He anoints with Ājya those places of the Havis from which Avadānas have been cut off, so that the strength of the Havis may not be impaired. This anointing is, however, omitted at the time of offering the Svishṭakṛit oblation. He then sacrifices over the middle of the fire with the words : 'To Agni Svāhā !' once or thrice in the same way.[12]

This is followed by the *Svishṭakṛit* oblation. After having spread Ājya in the ladle, he cuts off once a very big Avadāna

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from the eastern part of the northern side of the Havis, and sprinkles Ājya on the Avadāna twice. But if he belongs to the family of those who make five Avadānas, he should spread the Ājya in the ladle twice, cut off the Avadāna and then sprinkle the Ājya on the Avadāna twice. He need not anoint in this case the place of the Havis from which the Avadāna has been cut off. He should sacrifice the Svishṭakṛit oblation in the north-eastern part of the fire with the words : "To Agni Svishṭakṛit Svāhā !"[13] The Asv. G.S. prescribes the following formula for the Svishṭakṛit oblation : "What I have done too much at this rite, or what I done here too little, all that may Agni Svishṭakṛit who knows it make well sacrificed and well offered on my behalf. To Agni Svishṭakṛit, to him who offers the oblations for general expiation, so that they are well offered, to him who makes us succeed in what we desire ! Make us successful in all that we desire, Svāhā !"[14] The Asv. G.S. adds that he pours out the vessel full of water on the Barhis of the sacrifice ; this constitutes here the *Avabhṛitha, i. e.* it is equal to the Avabhṛitha bath which is taken at the end of a Soma sacrifice.[15]

After the Svishṭakṛit oblation the Gobh. G.S. and the Kh. G.S. prescribe the performance of the *Yajñavāstu* ceremony. Having put a piece of wood on the fire and having sprinkled water round the fire, he performs the *Yajñavāstu* ceremony in the following way : From the Barhis strewn round the fire, he should take a handful of Kuśa grass, and thrice dip its points, middle parts and roots into the Ājya or the Havis with the words : "May the birds come licking what has been anointed" (*cf.* Vaj. Samh. II, 16e). Then he should sprinkle with water that handful of grass and throw it into the fire with the verse : "Thou who art the lord of cattle, Rudra, who walkest with the rows (of cattle), the manly one, do no harm to our cattle ; let this be offered to thee, Svāhā !"[16] According to the Asv. G.S., the remnant of the Havis constitutes the sacrificial fee at this sacrifice.[17] The Gobh. G.S. and the Kh. G.S. state that a vessel full of grain is the *Dakshiṇā* (sacrificial fee) ; and the Kh. G.S. further provides that the Dakshiṇā should be as much as he can conveniently afford.[18]

The Sankh. G.S. and the Gobh. G.S. lay down that the time for the new-moon sacrifice does not expire until the next full-moon day, and that of the full-moon sacrifice does not expire until the next new-moon day.[19] The Gobh. G.S. further adds that during this interval he should try to procure sacrificial food or to find a sacrificer ; that if he cannot get food grains, he should cook fruits or leaves of trees or

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herbs which are sacrificially pure and should sacrifice them, or he should offer even water ; and that there is an expiation for one who fails to offer this sacrifice.[20]

2. SRAVANA OR SRAVANA-KARMAN

As this ceremony is performed in the month of Śrāvaṇa, it is called *Śravaṇā* or *Śravaṇā-karman*. The following description of this ceremony will show that the performance of this ceremony was motivated by the fear of snakes. The Man. G.S. also confirms this view and says : "Being afraid of snakes, he cooks silently on the day of the full moon of Śrāvaṇa a Puroḍāśa sacred to *Bhauma* in one dish. He pounds unhusked fried barley grains into flour and spreads Darbha grass on a prepared ground of sterile soil. Then he offers oblations with the words : 'To Achyuta Dhruva Bhauma ! Svāhā !"[21] The other oblations which the Man. G.S. (II, 16, 2-3) prescribes are offered to snakes with those verses in which the Lord of the snakes is extolled, in which obeisance is paid to the Lord of the snakes as well as to the snakes, and in which the snakes are besought to protect men from snake-bite. The Baudh. G.S. (III, 10, 1) names this ceremony as *Sarpabali* (*i. e.* an offering to the snakes).

Time of Performance : Most of the Gṛihyas lay down the rule that this ceremony should be performed on the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa.[22] The Sankh. G.S. (IV, 15, 1) prescribes the performance of this ceremony on the full-moon day under the asterism *Śravishṭhās*. The Baudh. G.S. (III, 10, 2) states that the Sarpabali should be performed every year, or every six months, or every four months, or every season, or every month in the rainy season under the asterism *Āśreshās*.

The Procedure of Performance : The Par. G.S. (II, 14), which describes the Śravaṇā in detail, lays down the following procedure for the performance of this ceremony :

The householder cooks a Sthālīpāka and prepares fried grains. A Puroḍāśa cake is cooked in one *Kapāla*. He pounds the greater portion of the grains and sacrifices the two Ājyabhāgas. Then he sacrifices two Ājya oblations with the following verses : "Beat away, O White one, with thy foot, with the forefoot and with the hind foot, these seven children (*Prajāḥ*) of Varuṇa and all (daughters ?) of the King's tribe. Svāhā !" "Within the dominion of the White one, the serpent has seen (?) nobody. To the White one, the son of Vidarva, adoration ! Svāhā !"[23]

Then he offers oblations of the mess of cooked sacrificial food

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to Vishṇu, Śrāvaṇa, the full moon of Śrāvaṇa, and the rainy season. The oblation of the grains is offered with a verse of the Vaj. Samh. (XX, 29). He sacrifices the flour of fried grains, which has been anointed with ghee, reciting the Mantras: "To the Lord of the yellowish, terrestrials serpents belonging to Agni, Svāhā!" "To the Lord of the white, aerial serpents belonging to Vāyu, Svāhā!" "To the Lord of the overpowering, celestial serpents belonging to Sūrya, Svāhā!"

The Puroḍāśa cooked in one potsherd is entirely offered with the formula: "To Dhruva Bhauma Svāhā!" After he has eaten the sacrificial remnant, he throws a portion of the flour of the fried grains into a basket, goes out, and besmears with cow-dung an elevated spot outside the room. While a fire-brand is being held before him, he says, "Do not step between me and the fire." Without speaking anything except the Mantras, he pours out water for the snakes to wash themselves, reciting certain formulas. Each time after the washing has been done, he offers to the serpents a Bali of the *Saktus* (groats), picking out the portions with the spoon called *Darvī*, reciting certain formulas. When he has made the serpents wash themselves as above, he combs them with combs and offers collyrium, ointment and garlands to them with certain formulas. He pours out the remainder of the *Saktus* on the elevated spot, pours water on it out of a water-pot, and worships the serpents with three verses (Vaj. Samh. XIII, 6-8). He should three times walk round the house, covering the area from which he wishes to ward off serpents and sprinkling an uninterrupted stream of water round it with two verses. The Darvī and the winnowing-basket are given away, after they have been washed and heated. Then near the door of the house they sprinkle themselves with water, reciting three verses of the Vaj. Samh. XI, 50-52. The residue of the Saktus is stored in a secluded place. From that day till the Āgrahāyaṇī he should always offer with the Darvī a Bali of the Saktus to serpents after sunset when he has performed his daily service to the fire. When he is offering the Bali to serpents, no one should step between the sacrificer and the Bali. He sips water and puts away the Darvī after washing it. Many other Gṛihyas also describe it in a somewhat similar way.[24]

The Sankh. G.S. (IV, 15, 12-22) which describes this ceremony in almost the same way adds that he should make the serpents look in a mirror and should ascend the couch with a verse of the R.V.X, 63, 10. The Asv. G.S. (II, 1, 14) adds that he should offer the Bali in the evening and morning till the Pratyavarohaṇa with the formula:

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"To the divine hosts of the serpents Svāhā!" The Gobh. G.S. (III, 7, 22-23) also enjoins that the Balis of the Saktus stored in a new pot should be offered every day in the evening till the Āgrahāyaṇī day. The Hir. G.S. (II, 16, 5) prescribes, among other things, the offering of *Kiṁśuka* flowers to the serpents. According to the Ap. G.S., *Kiṁśuka* flowers, the pieces of *Āragvadha* wood (*Cathartocarpus Fistula*), *Sthagara* and *Uśīra*-root should also be offered to the serpents.[25]

The Baudh. G.S. (III, 10, 6) gives a long list of deities which are to be propitiated on the occasion of the Sarpabali; and among them the names of *Dhṛitarāshṭra, Takshaka, Vaiśālaki, Tārkshya, Ahīra*, and *Saṇḍa* deserve special mention.

3. INDRA-YAJNA

The Par. G.S. (II, 15, 1-10) alone describes this ceremony at which a sacrifice is offered on the full-moon day of Praushṭhapada to Indra and other deities related to Indra. Having cooked milk-rice sacred to Indra, and cakes (*Apūpas*), the householder puts the cakes round the fire, sacrifices the two *Āǰyabhāgas* (vide p. 385) and he offers the oblations of Ājya to Indra, Indrāṇī, Aja-Ekapād, Ahir-Budhnya, and the Praushṭhapadās. After he has partaken of the remnants of the sacrificial food, he offers Balis to the Maruts on the leaves of an Aśvattha tree with certain Mantras. Then Brāhmaṇas are to be fed.

The Kauśika Sūtra (140, 1-22) enjoins upon kings to perform a ceremony called *Indramaha* (which is known as *Indra-Mahotsava* in the Atharva-Pariśishṭa, 19, 1) in honour of Indra; on this occasion the oblations of Ājya are offered to Indra.

4. ASVAYUJI OR ASVAYUJI-KARMAN

As this sacrifice is performed on *Āśvayujī*, the full-moon day of the month of Āśvayuja, this is called *Āśvayujī* or *Āśvayujī-karman*.[26] The following descriptions of this rite tend to show that Āśvayujī was performed mainly for the prosperity of cows; and a number of Gṛihyasūtras prescribe the offering of oblations to *Paśupati*, the Lord of cattle.

Giving a description of the Āśvayujī, the Sankh. G.S. says that on the full-moon day of Āśvayuja the offering of milk-rice (*Pāyasa*) should be made to Indra and the oblations of Ājya should be sacrificed with the words: "To the two Aśvins Svāhā! To the two Āśvayujas Svāhā! To the full moon of Āśvayuja Svāhā! To Śarad (autumn) Svāhā! To Paśupati Svāhā! To *Piṅgala* (the

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tawny one) Svāhā !" ; then he sacrifices *Pṛishātaka* (mixture of curds and ghee) with a hymn of the R.V. VI, 28, verse by verse ; on that night they let the calves join their mothers, and Brāhmaṇas are served with food on that occasion.[27]

The Par. G.S. (II, 16, 2-6) gives the following description of this ceremony :

Having cooked milk-rice (*Pāyasa*) for Indra and having mixed it with curds, honey and ghee, he sacrifices this mixture to Indra, Indrāṇī, the two Aśvins, the full-moon of Āśvayuja, and Śarad. When he has taken his due share of the sacrificial food, he sacrifices with his joined hands (*Añjali*) the *Dadhi-pṛishātaka* (*i.e.* a pṛishātaka prepared with curds) with the words : "May what is deficient be made full to me ; may what is full not decay to me ; Svāhā !" The inmates of the house look at the mixture of curds, honey and ghee with the Anuvāka (Vaj. Samh. XX, 47 seq.). That night and on the Āgrahāyaṇī night they let the calves join their mothers. Then follows the feeding of Brāhmaṇas.

The Asv. G.S. gives a very brief but different description of the Āśvayujī as follows :

The householder and the members of his family decorate the house, take a bath, and put on clean garments. They prepare a Sthālīpāka for the god Paśupati and sacrifice it with the words : "To Paśupati, to Śiva, to Śaṅkara, to Pṛishātaka Svāhā !" Then the householder should sacrifice with his joined hands the Pṛishātaka (the mixture of milk and Ājya, according to Nārāyaṇa, the commentator of this Gṛihya), reciting the formula : "May what is deficient be made full to me ; may what is full not decay to me ; to Pṛishātaka Svāhā !"[28]

Giving a brief description of it, the Man. G.S. says that in the morning of the full-moon day of Āśvayuja a Sthālīpāka is cooked and sacrificed into the fire to Rudra, Paśupati, Īśāna, Trayambaka, Śarad, Pṛishātaka, and the cows. The Man. G.S. adds that then he sacrifices Pṛishātaka—a mixture of curds and ghee—reciting a verse, and feeds the cows with it reciting another formula ; that the cows should be let loose ; and that Brāhmaṇas should be fed with food containing ghee.[29]

The Gobh. G.S. (III, 8, 1-8) has its own description of the Pṛishātaka ceremony which may be summed up as follows :

On the full-moon day of the month of Āśvayuja a mess of milk-rice sacred to Rudra is prepared. The householder offers into the fire the oblations of that milk-rice and Ājya with certain Mantras. Having carried the Pṛishātaka around the fire clockwise

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he causes the Brāhmaṇas to look at it. Then he himself should look at it with the verse : "That bright eye, created by the gods, which rises in the east—may we see it a hundred autumns ; may we live a hundred autumns !" When the sacrificer has entertained the Brāhmaṇas with food and has himself partaken of that food, he and the members of his family tie to their arms or necks amulets made of lac (*Jātushān*) together with all sorts of herbs for the sake of prosperity. In the evening he should feed the cows with the Pṛishātaka and let the calves join their mothers.

The Khādira Gṛihya (III, 3, 1-5) prescribes that the cows at this ceremony are to be besprinkled with the Pṛishatāka when they have returned home in the evening from pastures, but this Sūtra does not prescribe that the sacrificer should feed his cows with Pṛishātaka.

The Kath. G.S. (57, 1-9) gives a very interesting account of the Āśvayujī. According to this Gṛihya, it is a sort of festival for the whole village. The Kath. G.S. describes it as follows :

On the full-moon day of Āśvayuja the people worship horses and all other animals used for conveyance (such as elephants, mules, camels, etc.). The worship of these animals, according to the commentator Devapāla, means that they are to be washed, anointed and adorned. To the north of the village a place resembling an altar (*Vedi*) is prepared. It is enclosed on all sides with the branches of trees and *ahata* garments. Jars full of all sorts of Rasas (juices) are placed round the altar in the four principal directions, *i.e.* in the east, west, south, and north. And vessels (*Pātras*) full of all kinds of grains are placed in the intermediate directions round the altar. In the western part of the altar the sacred fire is set up in the proper way. After oblations have been offered with the formulas beginning with *Jaya*, oblations are sacrificed to the three deities, namely, Varuṇa, Agni and the two Aśvins, and also to Āśvayujī (the full moon of Āśvayuja). While the sacrifice is being offered, they prepare horses and other animals used for conveyance by putting them to yoke or by putting saddles etc. on them. Then those persons who have put on coats of mail and who have mounted horses etc. circumambulate the altar thrice, keeping their right sides turned towards it. They make jubilant sounds or play games etc. When the sacrifice is over, all go away according to their choice. A cow, a garment, a brazen vessel, and gold constitute the sacrificial fee for the priest of the sacrifice. Juices, grains and garments used at the sacrifice are also included in the sacrificial fee. The

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Kath. G.S. (58, 1-6) then describes the Āśvayujī for the owners of cows and says that he (*i. e.* the owner of cows) should sacrifice the Pṛishātaka with a verse, recite a Mantra over salt, and put it in the mouth of the cows. The Kath. G.S. adds that then he should sacrifice the oblations of Ājya with verses sacred to Rudra and with other verses, partake of the Pṛishātaka with a Mantra, and let the calves join the cows.

5. DHRUVASVA-KALPA

According to the Man. G.S. (II, 6, 1-4), the other sacrifice which is offered on the full-moon day of Āśvayuja is known as '*Dhruvāśva-Kalpa*'. In this ceremony an officiating priest who is not deficient in any limb, who has taken a bath, who is pure, and who has put on a brand-new garment, goes out of the village before sunset in an easterly or northerly direction ; and there he prepares an altar-shaped sacrificial place on a clean spot under an Aśvattha tree or a Nyagrodha tree, or in the vicinity of waters. On the four corners of this altar the branches of big trees are fixed, and coloured flags are hung on those branches. It is adorned with fragrant substances, garlands of flowers, and wreaths. The jars of water containing pieces of gold and vessels full of grains are placed on all the four sides of the altar. The altar should also be furnished with *Apūpas* (cakes of flour), layers of grass, fried grains, *Ullopikas* (pastries ?), auspicious fruits, unhusked barley-grains, all perfumes, all juices, all herbs, all jewels, auspicious threads, and edibles such as curds, honey, *Modaka* (a small round sweetmeat), *Svastika* (a kind of cake made of wheat flour), *Nandyāvartta* (a kind of food preparation). He sets up the fire on the altar and places on the fire the wood of any of the following trees, namely, Aśvattha, Palāśa, Khadira, Rohitaka, and Udumbara. To the three chief deities, viz., *Uchchaiḥśravas*, *Varuṇa* and *Vishṇu*, are then offered the oblations of the Sthālīpāka and the meat prepared for the occasion. He should offer the oblations of Ājya to the two Aśvins and to the two Āśvayujas. Then the oblations of Ājya are offered into the fire with the recitation of the *Jaya*-formula. After the four *Anuvākas* (Mait. Samh. II, 7, 13 ; II, 13, 1 ; III, 11, 10 ; III, 16, 5) have been recited to the waters, the owners wash their horses with water, adorn them with perfumes, garlands and wreaths, and make them circumambulate the sacrificial place thrice from left to right. They make the horses neigh. When the sacrifice is over, they go back to their places. A cow and an ox constitute the sacrificial fee at this rite.[30]

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6. AGRAHAYANI

Āgrahāyaṇī means that *Paurṇamāsī* (full-moon day) which falls in the beginning of the year. The festival that was celebrated on this day also came to be known as *Āgrahāyaṇī* or *Āgrahāyaṇī-karman*. It was perhaps a new-year festival.[31] Some of the verses to be recited at the performance of the Āgrahāyaṇī contain such expressions for Āgrahāyaṇī as 'the consort of the year.' A few of the Mantras which are recited at the Ashṭakā festival are also recited at the Āgrahāyaṇī, *e.g.* AV. III, 10, 2.6 ; Tait. Samh. V, 7,2,1.

Though the Paurṇamāsī of the month of Mārgaśīrsha is the proper day for the celebration of the Āgrahāyaṇī, which is associated with or is rather identical with the *Pratyavarohaṇa* (*i.e.* the ceremony of redescending), the Asv. G.S. (II, 3, 1-2) allows the option that the Pratyavarohaṇa may be performed either on the fourteenth Tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha or on the full-moon day of the same month. Pratyavarohaṇa (redescending) signifies that they descend from high bed-steads on which they began to sleep from the Śrāvaṇī-day on account of the danger of snakes (*cf.* Sankh. G.S. IV, 15, 22). After the performance of the Pratyavarohaṇa, they may not sleep on high bed-steads and may sleep on the ground. The Sankh. G.S. (IV, 17, 1-2) prescribes its performance on the Āgrahāyaṇī (full-moon day of Mārgaśīrsha) or under the Nakshatra Rohiṇī or Proshṭhapadās. Some commentators of the Gṛihya-sūtras regard Pratyavarohaṇa as distinct from the Āgrahāyaṇī-karman. But according to the majority of the Gṛihyasūtras, the Pratyavarohaṇa seems to form part of the Āgrahāyaṇī-karman.

The Gṛihyasūtras exhibit many differences with regard to the description of Āgrahāyaṇī and furnish vivid details of this rite.

According to the Par. G.S. (III, 2, 2-16), the householder prepares a Sthālīpāka and sacrifices the oblations of Ājya in the same way as at the Śravaṇā ceremony. Then he makes other oblations with certain verses. He offers the oblations of the cooked food to Soma, the Nakshatra Mṛigaśiras, the full-moon of Mārgaśīrsha, and *Hemanta* (cold season comprising the months of Mārgaśīrsha and Pausha). After he has partaken of the remnants of sacrificial food, he throws the remainder of the Saktus (which were prepared at the Śravaṇā) in a winnowing-basket and follows the same rites from going out down to the act of sprinkling themselves with water (as are prescribed above in the Śravaṇā, *supra*, pp. 404ff) After they have sprinkled themselves with water, he says, "The Bali offering is over." When they have spread out to the west of the fire a layer of Kuśa grass

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and a new garment (on it), they perform the Pratyavarohaṇa (*i.e.* the ceremony of redescending), having bathed and worn new garments. The master of the house (*i.e.* the chief householder) lies to the right side of all; his wife lies to his left side; and then the other members of the family lie according to their seniority in age so that each younger one lies to the left of the older person. When the householder has seated a *Brahman* priest to the south of the fire and placed to its north a water-pot, a Śamī-branch, an earth-clod taken out of a furrow, and a stone, he recites a Mantra, looking at the fire. To the west of the fire he holds up his joined hands (*Añjali*) before the fire. Reciting three verses (Vaj. Samh. XXI, 6-8), they ascend the layer of Kuśa grass. The chief householder addresses the Brahman, "Brahman, shall we redescend?" When the Brahman has given his permission, they descend from the layer of Kuśa grass with the words: "Life, fame, glory, strength, enjoyment of food, progeny." Those who have been initiated (*Upeta*) recite the Mantra: "May a good winter, a good spring, a good summer be bestowed on us; may rains be auspicious to us; may autumns be auspicious to us." With the verse: "Be soft to us, O earth" (Vaj. Samh. XXXV, 21), they lie down on their right sides, their heads being turned towards the east. Then they get up with the verse: "Up! with life, with blessed life. Up! with Parjanya's eye, with the seven places of the earth" (Tait. Samh. I, 2,8,1). This rite is repeated twice more with the Brahman's permission. Then they should sleep on the ground for four months, or as long as they desire.

According to the Hir. G.S. (II, 17, 1-13), on the full-moon day of the month of Mārgaśīrsha the householder puts wood on the fire, strews Darbha grass on the entire surface round the fire, cooks a mess of sacrificial food with milk, sprinkles it with Ājya, removes it from the fire, performs the rites down to the Vyāhṛiti oblations, and sacrifices the oblations of the cooked food with the following Mantras: "This offering, the creeping (*Sṛiptam*) of Iḍā, rich in ghee, movable and immovable, accept gladly, O Jātavedas! Whatever domestic animals are there, of all shapes, all seven kinds of them: may they gladly dwell here and may they prosper. Svāhā" (*cf.* AV. III, 10, 6). "The night which men welcome as a cow that comes to them, the night which is the consort of the year, may that night be auspicious to us. Svāhā!" "Bringing bliss to the cattle, to the wife, bringing bliss by day and night, may this night, which is the consort of the year, be auspicious to us. Svāhā!" "The full-moon night, bringing abundance, visiting one after another, dividing months and fortnights: may this night, the full one, protect us.

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Svāhā !" Then he sacrifices the oblation to Agni *Svishṭakṛit* with a Mantra. Having washed his hands, he touches the earth with certain Mantras. The master of the house (*i.e.*, the chief householder) sits down to the right side of all other members of the family, who sit to his left side according to their seniority in age. (It should be borne in mind that the householder sits to the west of the fire, facing the east ; this is clear from the Gobh. G.S. III, 9, 11 and the Asv. G.S. II, 3, 6). Those who know the Mantras recite them when they lie down on their right sides and when they get up. When they have risen, they recite the Mantra : "We have risen ; we have become immortal." This rite of lying down and rising is performed thrice. Then the Brāhmaṇas are served with food and caused to pronounce blessings.

The Bhar. G.S. (II, 2) also gives a very similar account of this ceremony. The description of the Pratyavarohaṇa contained in the Ap. G.S. (VII, 19, 8-12) is also not different from that given by the Hir. G.S., but it is very brief.

The Man. G.S. (II, 7, 1-18) describes it as follows : On the full-moon day known as Āgrahāyaṇī the householder, having cooked a Sthālīpāka with milk, offers its oblations into the fire with certain Mantras. After he has spread on the layer of soft grass a new garment with its hem to the north, he puts a stone and barley-grains or rice-grains into a brazen vessel of water ; and with it he besprinkles the garment, reciting certain Mantras. Then he wipes off this garment thrice with a Śamī-branch, which has leaves on it, reciting certain Mantras. He then makes the members of his family lie down to the north of the fire in order of their seniority in age. The youngest members are then made to rise first with the recitation of a Mantra. The Man. G.S. adds that on the full-moon day of the month of Chaitra they ascend the couch again, that is, they begin to sleep on the couch, and at that time a Mantra is recited over the couch ; no other rites are, however, necessary.

The Kath. G.S. (60, 1-9), which agrees with the Man. G.S. to some extent in regard to the description of Pratyavarohaṇa, prescribes that in addition to the four oblations prescribed at the Śrāvaṇī, the oblations of the Sthālīpāka (mess of cooked rice), *Apūpa* (cake), fried grains, and groats should be offered into the fire prior to the performance of the Pratyavarohaṇa.

The Gobh. G.S. gives a somewhat different description of the Āgrahāyaṇī. Gobhila lays down the rule that on the Āgrahāyaṇī day the Bali-offerings are to be made in the same way as at the Śravaṇā

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sacrifice except for the Mantra : "Adoration to the Earth". After the householder has made regular morning offering into the fire, he should procure the following things, namely, Darbha grass, a Śamī-branch, Vīraṇa grass, a Badarī-branch with fruits, the plant Apāmārga, and Śirīsha. Then he should silently throw a portion of the groats of unhusked barley into the fire, cause the Brāhmaṇas to pronounce auspicious blessings, and circumambulate the house with his right side turned towards it, starting from the room for the sacred fire (*Agnyāgāra*), and striking the smoke of the sacred fire with the above-mentioned objects, *i.e.*, the Śamī-branch etc. When he has made use of these objects, he throws them away. He establishes a water-barrel on solid stones with certain Mantras. He should pour two jars of water into that barrel with a Mantra. In the evening a mess of milk-rice is cooked and its oblation is offered into the fire with a Mantra (M. Br. II, 2, 1). The rest should be offered according to the rites of Sthālīpāka, (*supra* pp. 382 ff.). Then he touches the layer of Kuśa-grass to the west of the fire with both the hands—their palms being truned downward—reciting certain formulas. Having spread out to the west of the fire a layer of northward-pointed grass, with new rugs on it, the householder sits on the southern side of the layer. Then the other male members of his family sit to his left side, according to their age, without any interval. Similarly their wives sit to the north—each with her children. With his hands turned downward the householder then touches the layer of grass, reciting a Mantra (M. Br. II, 2, 4). When he has finished that Mantra, they lie down on their right sides. This is performed thrice. Then they recite auspicious hymns according to their knowledge, and touch water at the conclusion of the rites.[32]

Similarly the Sankh. G. S. also prescribes that in the morning the householder takes a handful of Śamī-leaves, Madhūka-flowers, reeds (*Īshikā*), Apāmārga, Śirīsha, Udumbara, Kuśa shoots, Badara fruits, and an earth-clod taken out of a furrow ; that he puts them into a water-pot ; that, after he has quickly repeated the Mahā-vyāhṛitis and the Sāvitrī, he repeatedly immerses those things into the water-pot with the recitation of the hymn (R. V. I, 97), drives away evil from the rooms of his house from left to right, and pours out the water to the north ; and that *Madhuparka* is the sacrificial fee at this ceremony.[33]

Then in the following Khaṇḍa the Sankh. G.S. describes the *Pratyavarohaṇa* which comprises the offering of oblations into the fire, the sweeping of the floor with a Palāśa-branch, the sprinkling

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of the floor with water, the spreading out of a layer of straw on it, lying down on it, and rising therefrom—almost in the same way as described above. The Sankh. G.S. adds that they should lie down on their right side as well as on their left side, and that during that night they should sleep on that layer of straw.[34]

The Asv. G.S. (III, 3, 1-12) contains the following description of the Pratyavarohaṇa : On the occasion of the Pratyavarohaṇa they should renovate the house by giving a new coating to the walls, by spreading out a new roof, and by levelling the floor. After sunset they should sacrifice into the fire the oblations of milk-rice with certain Mantras. Then the householder looks at the fire, reciting a Mantra, and thinks of *Hemanta* (winter) in his mind. This is followed by the rites of lying down on and rising from the layer of grass spread to the west of the fire. Having arisen, they recite hymns sacred to the sun and other auspicious hymns and regale Brāhmaṇas with food.

Baudhāyana's conception of Pratyavarohaṇa is quite peculiar. It is laid down in the Baudh. G.S. that the Pratyavarohaṇa is to be performed at the beginning of each of the six seasons, namely, Vasanta, Grīshma, Varshā, Śarad, Hemanta, and Śiśira (*supra* p. 335). At the beginning of each season oblations should be offered into the fire ; adornment should be made with the ornaments appropriate to the season ; and (the food of the season) should be given to Brāhmaṇas. The rest of the food is eaten by the householder and the members of his family.[35]

7. ASHTAKAS

The *Ashṭakā* was probably a new-year festival in origin, as is suggested by some verses of the Atharvaveda.[36] The last *Ashṭakā*, which is celebrated in the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha, is called *Ekāshṭakā*. The Ekāshṭakā is mentioned by the Tait. Samh. in many passages.[37] In one of these passages the Tait. Samh. (VII, 4, 8, 1) says, "Those, who are about to consecrate themselves for the rite of the year, should do so on the Ekāshṭakā. The Ekāshṭakā is the wife of the year ; on that night he dwells with her." The passages of the A.V. and the Tait. Samh., just referred to, indicate that a particular night regarded as goddess Ekāshṭakā was originally the deity of this festival, the Pitṛis being absolutely unconnected with it. The Ekāshṭakā is invoked in some verses of the A.V. to bestow wealth, progeny and prosperity on her votaries (*see* n. 36). A verse which is common to the A. V. and the Tait. Samh. says, "The Ekāshṭakā, undergoing penance,

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has given birth to a child, the great Indra. With him the gods overpowered the *Asuras* (the A.V. reads *'Śatrūn'*—enemies—instead of *Asuras*). He became the slayer of the Asuras in this night (the A.V. reads—'the slayer of the *Dasyus*'). "[38]

Later on in the times of the Sūtras there arose some confusion regarding the deity of the festival Ashṭakā. In this connection the Gobh. G.S. remarks : "The Ashṭakā festival is sacred to Night. It procures prosperity. It is sacred to Agni, or to the Pitṛis, or to Prajāpati, or to the Seasons, or to the Viśvedevas; thus the deity to which the Ashṭakā is dedicated is differently interpreted by different authorities."[39] Similarly the Asv. G.S. tells us that some authorities regard the Ashṭakā to be sacred to the Viśvedevas, some to Agni, some to the Sun, some to Prajāpati ; some state that Night is its deity ; some hold that it is sacred to the Nakshatras ; others regard the seasons as its deity ; some consider the Pitṛis to be its deity ; while still others hold that cattle are regarded as its deity.[40] Pāraskara opines that the Ashṭakā is sacred to Indra, to the Viśvedevas, to Prajāpati, and to the Pitṛis.[41]

The view that the Ashṭakā is sacred to the Pitṛis (Manes) has been upheld by the Kāṭhaka Gṛihya which declares that there are three Ashṭakās sacred to the Pitṛis ;[42] and a passage in the Rāmāyaṇa and a Vārtika on Pāṇini also mention the same view.[43] In this connection Dr. Caland observes: "Von alters her war also ein inniger zusammenhang zwischen Ashṭakāfeier und Śrāddha, in einige Śākhās weniger in anderen mehr hervortretend. Zuweilen wird die Ashṭakāfeier selbst, natürlich mit einbegriff des Anvashṭakyam ein Śrāddha genannt."[44]

The Number of the Ashṭakās : In the Gṛihyasūtras there is a great divergence of opinion regarding the number of the Ashṭakās. The Gobh. G.S. quotes the view of Kautsa who holds that in winter there are four Ashṭakās which one should endeavour to celebrate with the offerings of meat.[45] Then Gobhila refers to the opinion of Audgāhamāni, Gautama and Vārkakhaṇḍi, that there are only three Ashṭakās.[46] The Asv. G.S. also knows of four Ashṭakās.[47] Having first mentioned the three Ashṭakās (III, 3, 1), the Par. G.S. again remarks in its last Sūtra of that Khaṇḍa (III, 3, 13) that in the middle of the rainy season there is a fourth Ashṭakā which is celebrated with vegetables.[48] The other Gṛihyas mention only three Ashṭakās or even a smaller number of them.

The Time of celebrating the Ashṭakās : The Ashṭakās should be celebrated, according to some of the Gṛihyas, on the eighth lunar days (*Ashṭamīs*) of the dark fortnights following the full-moon

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day of the month of Āgrahāyaṇa (*Mārgaśīrsha*).[49] The Asv. G.S. lays down that the Ashṭakās are celebrated on the eighth days of the four dark fortnights of *Hemanta* and *Śiśira*, that is, on the eighth days of the dark fortnights of Mārgaśīrsha, Pausha, Māgha and Phālguna (*see* n. 47). The Baudh. G.S. which recognizes only three Ashṭakās prescribes their celebration on the eighth days (*Ashṭamīs*) of the dark fortnights of Taisha (*Pausha*), Māgha and Phālguna ; and it allows the option that the three Ashṭakās may be performed together on the 7th, 8th and 9th days of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha, or that the Ashṭakās may be celebrated even on a single day, *i.e.* on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Māgha.[50] Āśvalāyana also believes that the Ashṭakās may be celebrated on any of the days prescribed for the purpose.[51] The Hir. G.S. says that the eighth day of the dark fortnight following the full-moon day of Māgha is called *Ekāshṭakā*.[52] According to the Bhar. G S. and the Ap. G.S., the Ashṭamī (*i.e.* the eighth lunar day) which follows the full-moon day of Māgha in the dark fortnight under the Nakshatra *Jyeshṭhā* is called Ekāshṭakā.[53] The Vaikh. G.S. enjoins that the Ashṭakā should be performed in the second half of the months of Māgha and Praushṭhapada on the eighth day, or on the seventh, ninth, or thirteenth day.[54].

Various Ways of celebrating the Ashṭakās : The Gṛihyasūtras differ a great deal with regard to the ways of celebrating the Ashṭakās. Kautsa quoted in the Gobh. G.S. says that all the Ashṭakās should be celebrated with meat (*see* n. 45). Gobhila prescribes (i) the sacrifice of eight cakes (*Apūpas*) and cooked food grains for the first Ashṭakā known as *Apūpāshṭakā*, (ii) the sacrifice of a cow for the second Ashṭakā ; (iii) and a Sthālīpāka and vegetables for the third Ashṭakā.[55] The Par. G.S. says that the first, second and third Ashṭakās are performed with the oblations of cakes, meat, and vegetables respectively ; and the middle one with a cow.[56] The Sankh. G.S., the Kath. G.S., and the Jaim. G.S. lay down that vegetables should be sacrificed at the first Ashṭakā, meat at the second Ashṭakā, and cakes made of flour at the third Ashṭakā.[57]

The Kauśika Sūtra (138, 1-2) prescribes for the performance of Ashṭakā the oblations of fried grains, Karambha (*vide*, p. 165), a large round cake (*Śashkuli*), a scrificial cake called *Puroḍāśa*, boiled rice, milk-rice, boiled rice with sesamum ; and this Sūtra adds that an animal may be sacrificed, if it is available.

The Asv. G. S. (II, 4, 3-7) says that on the day preceding the Ashṭakā the sacrificer should offer boiled rice, rice with sesamum,

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milk-rice, or cakes made of flour measuring four cups (Śarāvas) to the Manes, and on the next day the Ashṭakās are celebrated with the sacrifice of an animal and a Sthālīpāka. The Bhar. G.S., the Ap. G. S., and the Hir. G. S. prescribe that on the day preceding the Ashṭakā a cake baked in one, four, six, or eight dishes should be sacrificed into the fire, and a cow is to be sacrificed to the Manes on the following day.[58] The Man. G. S. (II, 8, 4-8) says that a Sthālīpāka cooked with milk should be sacrificed at the Ashṭakās. In the following Khaṇḍa (*i.e.* II, 9) this Gṛihya describes a very strange custom and states that on the evening of the last Ashṭakā a cow is to be immolated and cut into pieces at a place where four roads meet, that the pieces of her flesh should be given to those who come there, and that a second cow is immolated on the following day and her omentum is sacrificed.

The rites of the Ashṭakās consist in that the sacrificial material prescribed for a particular Ashṭakā is prepared and then its oblations are offered into the fire with the recitation of certain Mantras.

Alternative Ways of Celebrating Ashṭakās : The Sankh. G. S. (III, 14, 3-6) says that the Ashṭakā may be celebrated with the sacrifice of a cow, or a goat, or a Sthālīpāka ; or he may optionally offer food to a cow, or burn down brushwood in the forest with the words : "This is my Ashṭakā", but he should in no case neglect the performance of the Ashṭakā. Similarly the Gobh. G. S. and the Asv. G. S. suggest alternative ways of celebrating the Ashṭakā.[59] The Baudh. G. S. (II, 11, 51-61) gives a large variety of options for performing the Ashṭakās and says, "If he cannot get a cow, he should procure a ram or a he-goat for this purpose. Or he may perform it with such meat of wild creatures as is available ; he may offer the meat of any of the following creatures mixed with sesame-seeds and honey : a rhinoceros, a deer, a buffalo, a ram, a boar, a spotted antelope (Pṛishata), a hare, a red deer, a *Śāraṅga* (a kind of spotted antelope), a partridge, a pigeon, a heath-cock (Kapiñjala), and *Vārdhraṇasa* (a kind of crane). Or he may offer fish, or milk-rice, or boiled rice and soup. Or he may make a gift of raw roots and fruits, or a gift of gold. Or else he may feed a cow. Or else he may give pitchers of water to those who are devoted to the study of the Vedas. Or else he may study the Mantras prescribed for the Śrāddha. Or else he may burn dry grass in the forest with the words : 'This is my Ashṭakā'. Anyhow, he should never fail to perform the Ashṭakā". Similarly the Vaikh. G. S. (IV, 4) says, "One who is poor should burn dry grass, thinking : 'This is my Ashṭakā' ; or he should give a drink of water to a

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learned Brāhmaṇa—thus it is declared."

TheAnvashṭakya or Anvashṭakā : The Ashṭakā is followed by the *Anvashṭakya* or *Anvashṭakā* which is, in fact, an offering to the Manes. The Sankh. G. S. (III, 13, 7) which prescribes it after the middle Ashṭakā says that on the following day the Anvashṭakya is performed in the same way as the Piṇḍapitṛiyajña (*vide* Sankh. S. S. IV, 3-5). The Hir. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. enjoin that on the day following the Ashṭakā, he should prepare food for the Pitṛis with the rest of the meat of the previous day, and should sacrifice it in the same way as at the monthly Śrāddha.[60] The Par. G. S. (III, 3, 10-12) prescribes the Anvashṭakā after each Ashṭakā and says, "On the Anvashṭakā day, the day following Ashṭakā, he should sacrifice the oblations of the food prepared with the left rib and left thigh of the animal which was sacrificed on the Ashṭakā day, in an enclosure, according to the ritual of *Piṇḍapitṛiyajña* (*vide* Kat. S. S. IV, 1). The *Piṇḍas* (balls of cooked rice) should be offered to the female ancestors also. He should pour for the female ancestors *Surā* (liquor) and water oblations into the pits, and offer collyrium, salves, and garlands. He may also make oblations, if he likes, to the teacher and pupils who had no children." The Asv. G. S. (II, 5, 1-8) also says that, on the day following the Ashṭakā, the Anvashṭakya is performed with the remaining meat of the previous day, according to the ritual of the Piṇḍapitṛiyajña (*vide* Asv. S. S. II, 6-7); and it further adds that to the wives of the Fathers the Piṇḍas should be offered with the addition of *Surā* (liquor) and the scum of boiled rice ; that the Piṇḍas for the Fathers should be offered into those pits which are situated to the east, and the Piṇḍas for their wives should be offered into those which are situated to the west. The Gobh. G. S. prescribes the Anvashṭakya on the following day or on the second day after the middle Ashṭakā. In this ceremony, according to Gobhila, the Sthālīpāka of rice and the mess of meat should be prepared; and the Piṇḍas of this food should be offered to the Fathers in the pits in an enclosure.[61] The Anvashṭakya ceremony of Gobhila is a norm for the Piṇḍapitṛiyajña Śrāddha referred to above (*ante* p. 375).

8. PHALGUNI

This sacrifice is offered on the full-moon day of the month of Phālguna. It has been described by the Man. G.S. and the Kath. G.S. The Man. G.S. lays down the following procedure for its performance :

On the full-moon day of the month Phālguna the oblations of

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fried grains and cakes (*Apūpas*) should first be offered to the deities *Bhaga* and *Aryaman*. Having ground the sacrificial grains sacred to *Indrāṇī* and having kneaded that flour, the householder purifies it and shapes out of it the figurines in pairs of as many kinds of animals as he owns. Having cooked them and having immersed them in the Ājya in a brazen vessel, he sacrifices them with the same brazen vessel to *Rudra* or to *Īśāna*, according to some authorities. In the evening two *Apūpas* are prepared—one of them is sacred to Agni and the other to Indra. As the Apūpa sacred to Agni is bulgy (*Tuṇḍila*) in the middle, the women of the house should not eat it. All the inmates of the house partake of the other Apūpa (*i.e.*, of the Apūpa sacred to Indra). The oblations of a Sthālīpāka are offered to Indrāṇī on that day or on the following day.[62]

The Kath. G.S. (70, 1-6) describes it as follows : On the full-moon day of Phālguna an Apūpa prepared with oil is offered to the deity *Aryaman*. A cake bulgy in the middle is sacrificed (to Indra) with a Mantra (Kath. Samh. XXXVIII, 7). The balls of barley and rice-flour are sacrificed to the deity *Rudra*. A mess of cooked rice mixed with boiled vegetables is sacrificed to *Aditi* with the Mantra : "Aditi is Heaven ; Aditi is the atmosphere" etc. Another mess of cooked rice mixed with *Palāla* (a food preparation made of the powder of sesame and rice, according to the commentator Devapāla) is sacrificed (to Indrāṇī) with a Mantra (Kath. Samh. VIII, 17).

9. CHAITRI

The Chaitrī, an annual sacrifice, is performed according to the Sankh. G.S. on the full-moon day of the month of Chaitra. The description of the Chaitrī is similar, to some extent, to that of the Phālgunī of the Kath. G.S., though there is a difference of one month regarding the time of their celebration. The Sankh. G.S. prescribes that on the full-moon day of Chaitra the householder should take jujube leaves and should make out of kneaded flour the figurines of as many pairs of animals as he has. A cake which is bulgy in the middle is prepared for Indra and Agni. Balls sacred to Rudra are made. The Nakshatras (under which the sacrifice should be performed) and the procedure of performing the sacrifice should be known from the custom.[63]

The Chaitrī which the Vaikh. G.S. (IV, 8) describes consists mainly in the sacrifice of a mess of boiled rice and of Ājya. It has no resemblance with the Chaitrī or Phālgunī described above.

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Notes and References

1. Hillebrandt, R.L., p. 111 seq. For full details, see '*Das Altindische Neu-Und Voll-mondsopfer*' by Hillebrandt.

2. Ap. G.S. III, 7, 17 18 ; *cf.* Gobh. G.S. I, 9,6.

3. Par. G.S. I, 12, 1. At the Śrauta sacrifice the deities at the full-moon sacrifice are *Agni* and *Agnī-shomau*, and those at the new-moon sacrifice are *Agni, Vishṇu*, and *Indrāgnī*.

4. आग्नेय एवानाहिताग्नेरुभयोर्दर्शपौर्णमासयोः स्थालीपाकः स्यात्। आग्नेयो वाऽग्नीषोमीयो वाहिताग्नेः पौर्णमास्याम्। ऐन्द्रो वैन्द्राग्नो माहेन्द्रो वा अमावास्यायाम्। अपि वाहिताग्नेरप्युभयोर्दर्शपूर्णमासयोराग्नेय एव स्यात्॥ गो० गृ० I, 8, 21-24.

Cf. Kh. G.S. II, 2, 1-4 ; Asv. G.S. I, 10, 4-5 ; Hillebrandt, N. V. O., pp. 102 seq.

5. Sankh. G.S. I, 3, 1 ; Asv. G.S. I, 10, 2.

6. Ait. Br. VII, 11 ; *cf.* Kaush. Br. III, 1.

7. अथ दर्शपौर्णमासयोः। १। सन्ध्यां पौर्णमासीमुपवसेत्। २। उत्तरामित्येके। ३। अथ यदहश्चन्द्रमा न दृश्येत तामावास्याम्। ४। पक्षान्ता उपवस्तव्याः पक्षादयोऽभियष्टव्याः। ५। आमावास्येन हविषा पूर्वपक्षमभियजते पौर्णमासेनाऽपरपक्षम्। ६। यः परमो विकर्षः सूर्याचन्द्रमसोः सा पौर्णमासी यः परमः सङ्कर्षः साऽमावास्या। ७। यदहरस्तमेव चन्द्रमा न दृश्येत तामावास्यां कुर्वीत। ८। दृश्यमानेष्येकदा। ९। गताध्वा भवतीति। १०। त्रयः पौर्णमासीकाला भवन्ति सन्ध्या वाऽस्तमितोदिता वोच्चैर्वा। ११। अथ यदहः पूर्णो भवति। १२। पृथगेवैतस्य ज्ञानस्याध्यायो भवति, अधीयीत वा तद्विद्भ्यो वा पर्वाऽऽगमयेत॥ १३॥ गो० गृ० I, 5, 1-13.

8. Gobh. G.S. I, 5, 21-27 ; *ibid.* I, 6, 1-7 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. II, 1, 4-7.

9. Gobh. G.S. I, 7, 1-26 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. II, 1, 8-16.

10. Gobh. G.S. I, 8, 4-5 ; Kh. G.S. II, 1, 17-18.

11. Gobh. G.S. I, 8, 6-8 ; Asv. G.S. I, 10, 18-19 ; Kh. G.S. II, 1, 19-21.

The *Upastaraṇa* (*i.e.* the spreading of Ājya in the ladle before the Avadānas) and *Abhighāraṇa* (*i.e.* the sprinkling of Ājya over the Avadānas) are also reckoned as two Avadānas so that the Upastaraṇa (or Pratyabhighāraṇa) together with the two or three cut-off portions (Avadānas) of the Havis form four or five Avadānas (or *Avattas*) respectively. It depends upon the custom of a family to offer five or four Avattas. Those who offer five Avattas are called *Pañchāvattinaḥ* and those who offer four Avattas are called *Chaturavattinaḥ*. The Asv. G.S. I, 7, 9 and the Jaim. G.S. I, 3 : 4, 9, tell us that the *Jāmadagnyas, i.e.* the descendants of Jamadagni are Pañchāvattinaḥ. The descendants of Bhṛigu are also said to follow this custom. Most of other families used to make four Avadānas. *Vide* Kat. S.S. I, 9, 3 ; and Weber *Indische Studien* X, 95. In this connection the Sat. Br. I, 7, 2, 8, says, "Some prefer the Pañchāvattam (*i.e.* the custom of making five Avattas) to Chaturavattam (the custom of making four Avattas), but the Chaturavattam is in accordance with the custom of the Kuru-Pañchālas. It should, therefore, be given preference."

12. Gobh. G.S. I, 8, 8-9 ; Kh. G.S. II, 1, 21-23.

13. Gobh. G.S. I, 8, 10-13 ; Kh. G.S. II, 1, 24.

14. यदस्य कर्मणोऽत्यरीरिचं यद्वा न्यूनमिहाकरम्। अग्निष्टत्स्विष्टकृद्विद्वान्त्सर्वं स्विष्टं सुहुतं करोतु मे। अग्नये स्विष्टकृते सुहुतहुते सर्वप्रायश्चित्ताहुतीनां कामानां समर्धयित्रे सर्वान्नः कामान्त्समर्धय स्वाहा इति॥ आ० गृ० I, 10, 22.

Asv. G.S. I, 10, 23-24 ; *cf.* Weber, *Indische Studien* X, 393 seq.

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16. Gobh. G.S. I, 8, 25-28 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. II, 1, 26-27.
17. Asv. G.S. I, 10, 26 ; *cf.* Gobh. G.S. I, 9, 1 ; Kh. G.S. II, 1, 29.
18. Kh. G.S. II, 1, 30-31 ; Gobh. G.S. I, 9, 6.
19. Sankh. G.S. I, 3, 7 ; Gobh. G.S. I, 9, 13 ; Kh. G.S. II, 2, 7-8.
20. Gobh. G.S. I, 9, 14-17 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. II, 2, 10-14.
21. सर्पेभ्यो विभ्यत् श्रावण्यां तूष्णीं भौममेककपालं श्रपयित्वाऽज्ञतसक्तून् पिष्ट्वा स्वकृत इरिणे दर्भानास्तीर्याच्युताय भ्रुवाय भौमाय स्वाहेति जुहोति ॥ मा० गृ० II, 16, 1.
22. Asv. G.S. II, 1, 1 ; Par. G.S. II, 14, 2 ; Gobh. G.S. III, 7, 2 ; Hir. G.S. II, 16, 2 ; Ap. G.S. VII, 18, 5 ; Bhar. G.S. II, 1 : 30, 15 ; Kath. G.S. 55, 2.
23. स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वाऽज्ञतधानाश्चैककपालं पुरोडाशं धानानां भूयसीः पिष्ट्वाऽऽज्यभागाविष्ट्वाऽऽज्याहुती जुहोति । "अप श्वेत पदा जहि पूर्वेण चापरेण च । सप्त च वारुणीरिमाः प्रजाः सर्वाश्च राजबान्धवैः स्वाहा ॥ न वै श्वेतस्याध्याचारेऽहिर्ददर्श कंचन । श्वेताय वैदर्व्याय नमः स्वाहेति ॥" पा० गृ० II, 14, 3-5.

"अप श्वेत पदा जहि पूर्वेण चापरेण च । सप्त च मानवैरिमास्तिस्रश्च राजबन्धवैः (*sic*) ॥ न वै श्वेतस्याध्याचारेऽहिर्ददंश कां(*sic*)चन । श्वेताय वैदर्व्याय नमः" इति ॥ भा० गृ० II, 1.

The Bhar. G.S. II, 1 : 31, 12 also contains this Mantra. The reading in that Gṛihya is much different. It is important to note that the Bhar. G.S. reads '*Dadanśa*' instead of '*Dadarśa*' given in the Par. G.S. The reading of the Bhar. G.S. appears to be more plausible, as it means : 'In the dominion of the White one the snake has bitten none.' The Asv. G.S. II, 3, 3, and the Hir. G.S. II, 16, 8 also contain different readings of this Mantra, and read '*Jaghāna*' (killed) instead of '*Dadarśa*' of the Par. G.S.

24. Sankh. G.S. IV, 15, 1-22 ; Asv. G.S. II, 1, 2-15 ; Gobh. G.S. III, 7, 3-23 ; Bhar. G.S. II, 1 : pp. 30-32 ; Hir. G.S. II, 16, 1-13 ; Ap. G.S. VII, 1, 5-12 ; Kath. G.S. 55, 2-4.
25. Ap. G.S. VII, 18, 6. 7. 11.
26. Sankh. G.S. IV, 16, 1 ; Asv. G.S. II, 2, 1 ; Man. G.S. II, 3, 3.
27. Sankh. G.S. IV, 16, 1-5. Commenting on the Sankh. G.S. IV, 16, 3, Nārāyaṇa explains that a mixture of curds and ghee is called *Pṛishātaka*. *Cf.* Gṛihyasaṁgraha II, 59. *See* Sāṅkhyāyana-Gṛihya-Saṅgraha, p. 64 ; Man. G.S. II, 3, 6 ; *vide* Nārāyaṇa on the Asv. G.S. II, 2, 3.
28. निवेशनमलंकृत्य स्नाताः शुचिवाससः पशुपतये स्थालीपाकं निरुप्य जुहुयुः पशुपतये शिवाय शंकराय पृषातकाय स्वाहेति। पृषातकमंजलिना जुहुयादूनं मे पूर्यतां पूर्णं मे मोपसदत्पृषातकाय स्वाहेति ॥ आ० गृ० II, 2, 2-3.

The commentator Nārāyaṇa says that the plural form of the verb, 'they should sacrifice' in the Asv. G.S. II, 2, 2, signifies that, while the sacrifice is performed by the sacrificer, his sons and other persons belonging to the family should touch him.

29. Man. G.S. II, 3, 4-8 ; *cf.* Vaikh. G.S. IV, 9.
30. Man. G.S. II, 6, 1-4.

The commentator Ashṭāvakra explains that *Modaka*, *Svastika* and *Nandyāvarta* are certain preparations of wheat.

31. Weber, *Naxatra* ; II, 332 ; Tilak, *Orion* (1955 Ed), pp. 76 ff.
32. Gobh. G.S. III, 9, 1-21 ; Kh. G.S. III, 3, 16-26.
33. Sankh. G.S. IV ,17, 1-6 ; Kaush. G.S. IV, 4, 1-8 ; Sāṅkhyāyana-Gṛihya-Saṅgraha, p. 65.

Oldenberg, SBE, XXIX, p. 131, translates '*Śaraṇyebhyo*' as "persons standing under his protection". But I translate it as "from the rooms of the

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house" ; for this sense appears to be more plausible here and the Sāṅkhyāyana-Gṛihya-Saṅgraha, p. 65, also prescribes that "he drives away evil, the friend of smoke, from the houses (*Gṛihebhyaḥ*) from left to right". As we have seen above (n. 32), in a similar ceremony the Gobh. G.S. III, 9, 4, also mentions 'houses'.

34. Sankh. G.S. IV, 18, 1-13 ; Kaush. G.S. IV, 4, 10-16.

35. Baudh. G.S. II, 10, 1-10 ; *cf.* Baudh. G.S. I, 1, 11.

36. A. V. III, 10, 2. 3. 5. 8 12 ; *cf.* Oldenberg, Ind. Stud., vol. XV, pp. 145 seq, ; Jolly, *Dharmasūtra des Vishṇu*, p. 42 ; Winternitz, WZKM, IV, p. 205; Vedic Index II, pp. 157-58.

37. Tait. Samh. IV, 3, 11, 8 ; *ibid.* V, 7, 2, 1 ; *ibid.* VII, 4, 8, 1 ; *cf.* A. V. III, 10, 12 ; Vedic Index II, 426.

38. Tait. Samh. IV, 3, 11, 8 ; A. V. III, 10, 12.

39. अष्टका रात्रिदेवता पुष्टिकर्मा । आग्नेयी पित्र्या वा प्राजापत्यत्वं देवता वैश्वदेवीति देवताविचाराः ॥ गो० गृ० III, 10, 1-2.

40. तां हैके वैश्वदेवीं व्रुवत आग्नेयीमेके सौर्यामेके प्राजापत्यामेके रात्रिदेवतामेके नक्षत्रदेवतामेके ऋतुदेवतामेके पितृदेवतामेके पशुदेवतामेके ॥ आ० गृ० II, 4, 12. *Cf.* A. V. III, 10, 9-10.

41. ऊर्ध्वमाग्रहायण्यारितस्रोऽष्टकाः । ऐन्द्री वैश्वदेवी प्राजापत्या पित्र्येति ॥ पा० गृ० III, 3, 1-2.

42. तिस्रोऽष्टकाः पितृदेवत्याः ॥ का० गृ० 61, 1.

43. Rāmāyaṇa II, 108, 14 ; Vārtika on Pāṇini VII, 3, 45.

44. Caland, Alt. A. C., p. 170.

45. चतुरष्टको हेमन्तः । ताः सर्वाः समांसाश्चिक्कीर्षेदिति कौत्सः ॥ गो० गृ० III, 10, 3-4.

46. न्यष्टक इत्यौद्गाहमानिः । तथा गौतमवार्कक्षण्डौ ॥ गो० गृ० III, 10, 5-6.

47. हेमन्तशिशिरयोश्चतुर्णामपरपक्षाणामष्टमीष्वष्टकाः ॥ आ० गृ० II, 4, 1.

48. मध्यावर्षे च तुरीया शाकाष्टका ॥ पा० गृ० III, 3, 13.

Cf. Sankh. G.S. III, 13, 1 ; Oldenberg, SBE, XXIX, p. 103 ; Asv. G.S. II, 5, 9 ; Hir. G.S. II, 13, 2.

49. Sankh. G.S. III, 12, 1 ; Par. G.S. III, 3, 1 (*vide* n. 41) ; Gobh. G.S. III, 10, 7. 16 ; *ibid.* IV, 4, 17 ; Jaim. G.S. II, 3 : 28, 15 ; Kaus. S. 141, 24 ; Man. G.S. II, 8, 1-2 ; Kath. G.S. 61, 2.

50. अथाष्टकाहोमः । तैषे मास्यपरपक्षस्याष्टम्यां क्रियेत । एवं माघ एवं फाल्गुने यदि विहृतः । यद्य वै समस्त उपरिष्टान्माघ्याः पौर्णमास्या अपरपक्षस्य सप्तम्यामष्टम्यां नवम्यामिति क्रियेतापि वाऽष्टम्यामेव ॥ वौ० गृ० II, 11, 1-4.

51. एकस्यां वा ॥ आ० गृ० II, 4, 2.

52. माघ्याः पौर्णमास्या योपरपक्षस्तस्याष्टमीमेकाष्टकेत्याचक्षते ॥ हि० गृ० II, 14, 2.

53. अष्टकां व्याख्यास्यामः । उपरिष्टान्माघ्याः प्राक् फाल्गुन्या यो बहुलस्तस्याष्टमी ज्येष्ठया संपद्यते । तामेकाष्टकेत्याचक्षते ॥ भा० गृ० II, 15.

54. अथाष्टका । माघप्रौष्ठपदयोरपरपक्षेऽष्टम्यामष्टकां कुर्यात् सप्तम्यां नवम्यां त्रयोदश्यां वा ॥ वै० गृ० IV, 3.

55. (i) Gobh. G.S. III, 10, 7-15 ; (ii) *ibid*, III, 10, 16 ; (iii) *ibid.* IV, 4, 17-20.

56. अपूपमांसशाकैर्यथासंख्यम् । मध्यमा गवा ॥ पा० गृ० III, 3, 3. 8.

57. Jaim. G.S. II, 3 : 28, 15 ; Kath. G.S. 61, 3 ; Sankh. G.S. III, 12, 2 ; *ibid.* III, 13, 2 ; *ibid.* III, 14, 1.

58. Bhar. G.S. II, 15-17 : pp. 47-50 ; Ap. G.S. VIII, 21, 11-13 ; *ibid.* VIII, 22, 1-10 ; Hir. G.S. II, 14, 3-4 ; *ibid.* II, 15, 1-14 ; Vaikh. G.S. IV, 3.

59. Gobh. G.S. IV, 4, 8-11.

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60. Hir. G.S. II, 15, 13-14 ; Ap. G.S. VIII, 22, 11-12.

61. Gobh. G.S. IV, 2, 1-37 ; *ibid.* IV, 3, 1-36 ; Kh. G.S. III, 5 1 seq.

62. Man. G.S. II, 10, 1-5. The Man. S.S. I, 7, 4, 1-4 also prescribes that figurines of pairs of rams and ewes are made at *Varuṇa-Praghāsa*.

63. Sankh. G.S. IV, 19, 1-5.

Oldenberg, SBE, XXIX, p. 132 says that several points in the translation of these Sūtras are uncertain. Hillebrandt, R.L., p. 76, also declares that the description of the Chaitrī in the Sankh. G.S. is not clear. I think that we can take some help from the Man. G.S. II, 10, 2 in explaining the Sankh. G.S. IV, 19, 2. And the Sankh. G.S. IV, 19, 3-4 can be easily explained with the help of the Kath. G.S. 70, 3-4. So I have translated these Sūtras of the Sankh. G.S. in the light of the said Sūtras. The Kaush. G.S. IV, 4, 20 which corresponds to the Sankh. G.S. IV, 19, 5, has the word '*Anvāvṛitaḥ*' in place of the '*Anvākṛitayaḥ*' of the latter. '*Anvāvṛitaḥ*' which means 'details of procedure' appears to be a better reading in this context. I have, therefore, translated this Sūtra in accordance with this reading. Nārāyaṇa (Ind. Stud. Vol. XV, p. 156) explains that the Nakshatras such as Kṛittikā etc. and their images should be investigated from the custom or from some other work. The explanation regarding the image of the Nakshatras seems to be unconvincing. Though the Atharvaśānti-Kalpa (V, 8) mentions *Nakshatra-Pratimāḥ*, it cannot be supposed on this ground that any belief about the images of the asterisms was widely prevalent in the time of Śāṅkhāyana. The Sāṅkhyāyana-Gṛihya-Saṅgraha (p. 66) prescribes three balls (*Golakas*) for Rudra and does not mention the images of the Nakshatras. Therefore, I prefer the reading of the Kaush. G.S. (*Anvāvṛitaḥ*).

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CHAPTER XIX

SPECIAL SACRIFICES

Daily and periodical sacrifices described in the Gṛihyasūtras are generally regarded as obligatory upon all the Aryan householders. On the contrary, the special sacrifices dealt with in the Śrautasūtras are optional; and their performance is connected with certain circumstances and occasions in the life of an Aryan householder. Some of the special sacrifices dealt with in the following pages are concerned with agricultural operations and welfare of cattle. In the age of the Sūtras the greater part of Indian population earned their livelihood by agriculture and cattle-breeding. It was, therefore, quite natural that the Sūtra-writers attached a good deal of importance to rites connected with these occupations. The *Āgrayaṇa* is dealt with in both the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras, though they differ in regard to its procedural details. The *Śūlagava* which is chiefly a Gṛihya rite finds description in the Sankh. S.S. (IV, 17-20) also. Certain rites concerning the welfare of cattle are found described in the Śrautasūtras also.

1. CHAITYA-YAJNA

The *Chaitya-yajña* is a sort of special offering made to a deity. Commenting on the Asv. G.S. I, 12, 1, Nārāyaṇa explains the Chaitya sacrifice as follows : "*Chaitya* is that which is resolved in the mind—*Chitte bhavaḥ chaityaḥ*. If a person makes a vow to a certain deity, saying, 'If I obtain such-and-such a wish, I shall offer an Ājya sacrifice or a Sthālīpāka or an animal to you.' If he performs a sacrifice after obtaining his desired object, that sacrifice is a *Chaitya-yajña*." Nārāyaṇa's etymology of the word '*Chaitya*' may not be accepted on all hands. Nevertheless, his explanation of the Chaitya-yajña appears to be quite probable ; for nowadays also some people in India offer such stipulated sacrifices to deities. One of the meanings of the word Chaitya is a religious shrine ; and in the Buddhist scriptures this sense of the word Chaitya is very common.[1] In the Asv. G.S. also the word Chaitya seems to be used in the sense of a sanctuary, because the Asv. G.S. itself describes how the offering is to be sent to the deity if the Chaitya is distant.[2]

The Chaitya-yajña is found in the Asv. G.S. (I, 12, 1-4) only which describes it as follows :

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At a Chaitya sacrifice the sacrificer should make an offering to the Chaitya before the Svishṭakṛit offering. However, the offering is to be sent through a leaf-messenger (*Palāśa-Dūta*), if the Chaitya is distant. He should make *Piṇḍas* (balls) of food with the verse (R. V. V, 5, 10), put them on a carrying-pole, and hand them over to the messenger, saying, "Carry this offering to that (Chaitya)." He gives the messenger a Piṇḍa for himself with the words : "This is to thee." If there is anything dangerous between them and the Chaitya, he gives the messenger some weapon also. If a navigable river is to be crossed on his way to the Chaitya, he gives the messenger something like a raft with the words : "Hereby thou shalt cross."

A similar sacrifice, though not named as Chaitya-yajña, is found in the Par. G.S. which says, "At a sacrifice directed to a special deity he should sacrifice an animal belonging to that deity, make a portion for that deity, and say to him (*i. e.* the messenger) : 'Take care that this may reach that god'. If there is a river between the sacrificer and the place of the deity, he may have a boat made, or may not do so."[3]

2. THE RITES CONNECTED WITH PLOUGHING

Ploughing (*Kṛishi-karman* or *Lāṅgala-Yojana* or *Halābhiyoga*) : The Gṛihyasūtras prescribe certain ceremonies to be performed at the time of ploughing the field. Describing the *Halābhiyoga* (the ceremony of yoking the plough) the Gobh. G.S. says that under an auspicious Nakshatra the householder should cook a Sthālīpāka, sacrifice it to *Indra*, the *Maruts*, *Parjanya*, *Aśani*, and *Bhaga*, and offer the oblations of Ājya to *Sītā*, *Āśā*, *Araḍā*, and *Anaghā*. Gobhila further adds that these same deities receive offerings at the furrow-sacrifice (*Sītā-Yajña*), at the threshing-floor sacrifice (*Khala-Yajña*), at the sowing (*Pravapana*), at the reaping of the crop (*Pralavaṇa*), and at the putting of the corn into the barn (*Prayayaṇa*) ; and that an offering should be made to *Ākhurāja* (the king of moles) at mole-hills (at the conclusion of these sacrifices).[4] Similarly the Man. G.S. also prescribes the performance of sacrifices on the occasions of starting agricultural operations, such as ploughing (*Āyojana*), sowing and reaping of crops, etc., in addition to the *Sītā-Yajña* and *Khala-Yajña*.[5]

The Asv. G.S. states that the householder should have his field ploughed under the Nakshatras *Uttara-Proshṭhapadās*, or *Uttara-Phalgunī*, or *Rohiṇī* ; and, having gone to a place in the field in the direction of the wind and having made that place fit for sacrifice,

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he should offer oblations with the hymn (R. V. IV, 57) verse by verse, or he should murmur this hymn there.[6]

The Sankh. G.S. lays down the following procedure : The householder should have the ploughing done under the Nakshatra Rohiṇī; and before it is done, he should offer at the eastern boundary of his field a Bali (offering) to Heaven and Earth. Then he should perform the worship of Heaven and Earth with a verse of the R.V. sacred to Heaven and Earth and with the words : "Adoration to Heaven and Earth". When the plough is first put into motion, a Brāhmaṇa should touch the plough, reciting the verse (R. V. IV, 57, 8). Then the worship is performed with the hymn (R. V. IV, 57), verse by verse, in all the directions of the sky, from left to right.[7]

The Par. G.S. enjoins that the ceremony of yoking the plough should be performed on an auspicious day or under the Nakshatra *Jyeshṭhā*, because this rite is sacred to Indra. As for the performance of this rite, Pāraskara states that the householder should sacrifice curds, rice grains, perfumes, and fried grains to *Indra*, *Parjanya*, the *Aśvins*, the *Maruts*, *Udalākāśyapa*, *Svātikārī*, *Sītā*, and *Anumati*. Then he should feed the oxen with honey and ghee, and put them to the plough with the verse : "They harness the ploughs" (Vaj. Samh. XII, 67). With another verse (Vaj. Samh. XII, 69 ; *cf.* R. V. IV, 57, 8) he should plough or should touch the ploughshare. Then Pāraskara observes that these verses may optionally not be employed for this ceremony, because in the *Agni-Chayana* ceremony of the Śrauta ritual they have been prescribed for the erection of the Agni-altar and for the act of sowing seeds in that connection (*cf.* Kat. S. S. XVII, 2, 12 ; 3, 8). Pāraskara further adds that after the foremost bullock (*Agrya*) has been sprinkled with water they should plough the unploughed ground, and that oblations of the Sthālīpāka should be offered to the above-mentioned deities (*viz.* to Indra, Parjanya, etc.) at the time of sowing both rice and barley and at the Sītā-Yajña (*infra*, pp. 429ff.).[8]

The Kauśika Sūtra gives a vivid account of the ploughing ceremony which may be summed up as follows :

Having gone to the field, the householder stretches out the yoke and the plough there with a Mantra (A. V. III, 17, 1 ; *cf.* R. V. IV, 57, 1). He first puts one bullock to the right yoke of the plough and then yokes the second bullock to the left yoke with certain Mantras. The ploughmen then yoke the other bullocks (*i.e.* four other bullocks to the same plough, according to the *Keśava-Paddhati*). The ploughshare is fitted into the plough. *Apūpas* (cakes) are offered to the ploughshare (*i.e.* the ploughshare is covered with the Apūpas,

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according to *Dārila*). The householder ploughs the field himself until the recitation of the hymn (A. V. III, 17, 3 seq.) is over. Then he hands over the plough to a ploughman. Pronouncing auspicious words (such as, "May it rain ; may it prosper; may it yield abundant food grains ; may there be good health for us", *Dārila*), they make three eastern furrows. At the northern furrow he sacrifices a *Puroḍāśa* (a sacrificial cake) to Indra and offers a *Sthālīpāka* to the two Aśvins. The remnants of the oblations are poured into a furrow and a water-pot. The plough is anointed with water mixed with remnants of the oblations, germinated seeds, and Ājya. Then the wife asks her husband, who holds a clod of earth taken out from the furrow where the remnants of the oblations were poured, "Have you ploughed ?" He replies, "We have ploughed." The man asks the wife, "What have you brought ?" She replies, "Gain, wealth, prosperity, progeny, cattle, food, and enjoyment of food." The earthen clod is placed in the middle furrow to the north. Having anointed the ploughshare with Ājya and water, he places the plough in the field, because the plough is to be harnessed on the next day. At the end of each of the three furrows he places three *Chamasas* (sacrificial cups) made of the *Plakshodumbara* wood, after having spread Darbha grass there. Juice is poured in the right Chamasa of each furrow, germinated seeds in the middle Chamasa of each furrow, and the Puroḍāśa in the left Chamasa of each furrow. The Chamasas are then covered with the points of the Darbha grass, which have been bent down.[9]

3. AGRAYANA OR NAVA-PRASANA OR NAVA-YAJNA

The *Āgrayaṇa* is an offering of first fruits of the season, and it is an ancient ritual of the agricultural Aryan society. The Tait. Samh. advances a plea in favour of making the offering of first fruits to the gods.[10] The Ait. Br. prescribes an expiation for that *Āhitāgni* (the person who has set up the sacred Śrauta fires) who eats new food grains without making the Āgrayaṇa offering.[11] The Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa enjoins the performance of the Āgrayaṇa with the offerings of millet (*Śyāmāka*), rice, barley, and bamboo-seeds (*Veṇuyava*).[12] The Śrautasūtras describe the Āgrayaṇa as an important Śrauta sacrifice.[13] The Āgrayaṇa of the Gṛihyasūtras is intended, according to some of the Gṛihyas, for an *Anāhitāgni*, *i.e.* for the person who has not set up the sacred Śrauta fires.[14] But the Asv. G.S. (II, 2, 4-5) declares that the Āgrayaṇa described herein is meant for an *Āhitāgni* (the person who has set up the sacred Śrauta fires) and also for an *Anāhitāgni* ; the latter should, however, offer this

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sacrifice into the sacred domestic fire. Commenting on these Sūtras of Āśvalāyana, Nārāyaṇa remarks that when an Āhitāgni cannot perform the Āgrayaṇa in its fuller form (as given in the Śrautasūtra) due to certain calamities, he may perform the ceremony in the manner prescribed here in the Gṛihyasūtra.

As for the way of performing the Āgrayaṇa the Asv. G.S. states that a Sthālīpāka should be offered with the Mantras: "United with the seasons, united with prosperities, united with Indra and Agni, Svāhā!" "United with the seasons, united with prosperities, united with the Viśvedevas, Svāhā!" "United with the seasons, united with prosperities, united with Heaven and Earth, Svāhā".[15]

The Par. G. S. contains the following description of the Āgrayaṇa:

The *Anāhitāgni* cooks a Sthālīpāka of the fresh sacrificial food. Having sacrificed the two Ājyabhāgas (*supra*, p. 385), he sacrifices two oblations of Ājya with certain Mantras. Having offered the oblations of the Sthālīpāka to the Āgrayaṇa deities (which, according to the Kat. S. S. IV, 6, 1-5, are Indra and Agni, the Viśvedevas, Heaven and Earth), he offers an oblation to Agni-Svishṭakṛit with a verse. Then he eats the new food with the two Mantras (given in the text) or with the Mantra sacred to *Annapati* (the Lord of food, Vaj. Samh. XI, 83). When he celebrates the Āgrayaṇa with the new barley food, he should recite the Mantra: "This barley, mixed with honey, they have ploughed in the fields lying on the banks of Sarasvatī. The lord of the plough was Indra, the hundredfold wise one; ploughmen were the Maruts, the exuberant givers." Then Brāhmaṇas are fed at the conclusion of the sacrifice.[16]

The Sankh. G. S. similarly prescribes that an Anāhitāgni should sacrifice oblations into his sacred domestic fire, before he partakes of the first fruits of the harvest, to the Āgrayaṇa deities as well as to Agni Svishṭakṛit, recite a Mantra over the food, sprinkle it with water, and then eat of it thrice, reciting a Mantra; with some other Mantras he should touch the place of his heart, navel, and other limbs as indicated in the Mantra, (R. V. I, 89,8) and worship the sun with the Mantra (R. V. VII, 66, 16).[17]

The Gobh. G. S. designates this sacrifice as *Nava-yajña* and gives the following account of its performance: The sacrificer should prepare with milk the mess of sacrificial food sacred to Indra and Agni. Having sacrificed the principal oblation of that mess of sacrificial food, he should sacrifice over that oblation four Ājya oblations with the verses (M. Br. II, 1, 9-12). The rest of the procedure is the same as in the *Sthālīpāka* rite (*supra*, pp. 381ff.). He should

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give the rest of the sacrificial food to eat to all those persons present there who have received initiation. The cut off portions of the food sprinkled over with water should be swallowed thrice by the sacrificer without chewing them. Having sipped water, they touch their mouth, head and other limbs from above downwards reciting the Mantra (M. Br. II,1,14). The sacrifice of the first fruits of *Śyāmāka* (millet) and barley is performed in the same way. But at the sacrifice of millet, he should recite the Mantra (M. Br. II, 1, 15) while he eats the food, and at the sacrifice of barley, he should recite the Mantra (M. Br. II, 1,16).[18]

The Ap. G. S. (VII, 19, 6-7) lays down that after the oblations of the Sthālīpāka of fresh fruits have been sacrificed, the sacrificer fills his mouth with grains, swallows them up, sips water, makes a Piṇḍa (lump) of the boiled sacrificial food, and throws it with a Mantra on the top of the house.

The Jaim. G.S. says, "When he is about to perform the sacrifice of first fruits of the season, he should first offer a sacrifice of the old fruits to Agni, Dhanvantari, Prajāpati, and Indra. He should offer three oblations of the first fruits of rice in autumn, of barley in spring, and of millet (*Śyāmāka*) in the rainy season."[19] The rest of the description which the Jaim. G. S. gives is not different from that given by the Gobh. G. S. The Man. G. S. which also prescribes the sacrifice of the oblation of barley in spring, and those of rice in autumn, adds that the sacrificer should offer to Soma the oblations of millet in autumn, and those of *Veṇuyava* (bamboo-seeds) in spring, or the oblations of Ājya in both the seasons; and this Sūtra further lays down that a first-born calf is the sacrificial fee, and that according to Śruti, only a Brāhmaṇa should partake of the rest of the sacrificial food.[20]

The Kauśika Sūtra states that on the occasion of Āgrayaṇa a Sthālīpāka of rice may be cooked either with water or with milk, and that in autumn the oblation of *Śyāmāka* should be sacrificed to Soma. As regards the sacrificial fee, the Kaus. S. says that it is a first-born calf in summer, and a garment in winter; or it should be as much as the sacrificer can afford but never more than what he can afford.[21]

4. SITA-YAJNA

The word *Sītā* literally means a 'furrow' and it has been used in this sense in the Gṛihyasūtras (*vide* Kaus. S. 20, 9). However, Sītā is addressed as a deity in the R. V. (IV, 57, 6-7), as well as in the Gṛihyasūtras. In a Mantra quoted in the Sītā-yajña, *Sītā* is

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described as wife of Indra. At the ploughing ceremony the offerings are made to Sītā among other deities (*vide* n. 5). The Man. G. S. and the Gobh. G. S. mention a sacrifice known as *Sītā-yajña*, but these Sūtras give no details of the rite.[22] A detailed account of the Sītā-yajña is found in the Par. G. S. which describes it as follows :

The sacrificer should establish the fire in the village, or on a clean and ploughed spot in the eastern or northern part of the field of crops, in such a manner that the crop may not be damaged. The place where he establishes the fire for cooking the sacrificial food should be smeared with cow-dung, should be elevated, and should be sprinkled over with water. Darbha grass mixed with a few stalks of the standing crops should be strewn round the fire. A Sthālīpāka of rice or barley, as the case may be, should be cooked. The Sthālīpāka is prepared of rice-grains, if the sacrifice is performed in a field of rice ; and it is of barley-grains, if it is performed in a field of barley ; or it may be of either kind of grain, if he offers the sacrifice on other occasions also. Having sacrificed the two Ājyabhāgas, he sacrifices the oblations of Ājya with the Mantras : "For whom Earth and Heaven, the intermediate points of horizon, and the chief points of the horizon are filled with light, that Indra I invoke here. May his weapons be friendly to us. Svāhā!" "May all that I desire at this sacrifice, O killer of Vṛitra, be accomplished in my life of a hundred autumns. Svāhā !" "May success, prosperity, earth, rains, greatness, excellence, and good luck here protect the creatures. Svāhā!" "I invoke Indra's wife Sītā, on whose goodwill depends the prosperity of all works religious and secular. May she grace all my actions with her presence. Svāhā!" "She, who abounds in horses, cows, and gladness, indefatigably supports living beings ; at this sacrifice I invoke her who is garlanded with threshing-floors, who is fertile in production, and who is firm ; may she not abandon me. Svāhā !" Then he offers the oblations of the Sthālīpāka to the goddesses *Sītā*, *Yajā*, *Śamā*, and *Bhūti* adding the word 'Svāhā'. On the Kuśa grass which has been left over after strewing the necessary Kuśa grass round the fire, he offers a Bali to the protectors of *Sītā* in the east, south, west and north, reciting Mantras. With a mess of another kind of food and with the remainder of Ājya he should distribute Balis, as before (*vide* Par. G. S. II, 13,2), to Indra, Parjanya, Udalākāśyapa, the Maruts, etc., who receive offerings at the *Lāṅgala-Yojana* sacrifice. Women offer additional oblations of food to Indra and other deities in accordance with the custom. When the ceremony is over, Brāhmaṇas are served with food.[23]

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The Kaus. S., which prescribes the performance of a sacrifice to Sītā on the appearance of a bad omen, *i.e.* on the meeting of two ploughs in a furrow, lays down that this sacrifice should be performed with a sacrificial cake (*Puroḍāśa*) in the forest.[24]

5. VRISHOTSARGA

The word *Vṛishotsarga* literally means 'the letting loose of a stud-bull' for the purposes of breeding, and the sacrifice which is performed on this occasion is also called *Vṛishotsarga*. The Sankh. G.S., the Par. G.S., and the Kath. G.S. give an almost similar description of this rite.

According to these Gṛihyasūtras, the Vṛishotsarga is to be performed on the full-moon day of the month of *Kārtika*, or on that day of Āśvayuja which falls under the Nakshatra *Revatī*. Having properly kindled a fire in the midst of the cows and having cooked with milk a mess of sacrificial food sacred to Pūshan, the sacrificer first offers the oblation of Ājya into the fire and then sacrifices the mess of sacrificial food belonging to Pūshan, reciting certain Mantras. He then recites the hymns belonging to Rudra (R.V. I, 43 ; I, 114 ; II, 33 ; VII, 46). He should take a one-coloured or two-coloured or three-coloured bull, or such a bull as is the strongest and tallest in the herd ; he should be the offspring of a milch-cow which is the mother of living calves ; he should be red ; he should not be deficient in any limb, and should be the finest bull in the herd. The sacrificer should adorn the bull along with the four best young cows of the herd. He should set them free with a verse. When the bull stands in the midst of the cows, the sacrificer addresses verses (R.V. X, 169, 1-4) to him. With the milk of all the cows he should cook milk-rice and regale Brāhmaṇas with it.[25]

The Kath. G.S. adds that the sacrificer murmurs in the right ear of the bull the verse : "You are the father of calves" etc., and leads the bull along with the young cows in the eastern or northern direction ; and that Brāhmaṇas should be served with food containing purified butter.[26] The Kaus. S. prescribes that the sacrificer presents a bull to the herd of cows with the Mantras (A.V. VII, 111,1-; IX, 4, 1 and other Mantras) ; that the old bull is then removed from the herd with the recitation of a Mantra (A.V. IX, 4, 24) ; and that the young bull, which is let loose on this occasion, is sprinkled with water.[27]

6. SULAGAVA

According to the Baudh. G.S., the *Śūlagava* sacrifice is so

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called because in this rite sacrificers cook the substances of the cow (*Gavyāni*) on spits (*Śūlas*).[28] Devapāla, the commentator of the Kath. G.S., endorses this definition of *Śūlagava*.[29] Nārāyaṇa, the commentator of the Asv. G.S., says that the *Śūlagava* is so called because it is offered to *Rudra*, the spear-bearer.[30] And this view is supported by Śāṅkhāyana who says that one should sacrifice an ox to Rudra for prosperity and that this sacrifice is called *Śūlagava*.[31]

As for the purpose of this sacrifice the Asv. G.S. and the Par. G.S. suggest that the Śūlagava bestows heavenly rewards, cattle, sons, wealth, long life, and renown on the sacrificer.[32] The Kath. G.S. declares that the Śūlagava is performed for the fulfilment of all desires.[33]

Time : The Man. G.S. prescribes that the Śūlagava sacred to Rudra should be celebrated in autumn.[34] The Asv. G.S. says that it should be performed in autumn or in spring under the Nakshatra *Ārdrā*.[35] The Kath. G.S. also says that it may be celebrated in autumn or in spring, but this Gṛihya adds that the rule of time in this connection is not observed according to some authorities.[36] The Baudh. G.S. lays down the rule that the Śūlagava should be performed annually on the full-moon day of the month Mārgaśīrsha or under the Nakshatra *Ārdrā*, or at that time when the cows suffer from a disease or go astray.[37] According to the Sankh. S.S. (IV, 17, 3), the Śūlagava should be performed in the dark fortnight under an auspicious Nakshatra.

Procedure of Performance : The procedure of performing the Śūlagava is described in the Asv. G.S. as follows :

The sacrificer should choose the best calf of his herd, which is neither leprous nor speckled ; or he should choose that calf which has black spots, according to some ; or he may take a black calf, if its colour has a reddish shade. He should sprinkle the calf from head to tail with water mixed with rice and barley, and let it grow. When it has cut its teeth or when it has become a bull, he should sacrifice it. After midnight or sunset he takes the animal in the northern or north-eastern direction to a place which cannot be seen from the village. Having seated there a *Brahman* priest who is versed in this rite and who has practised it ; having driven a fresh branch with leaves into the ground as sacrificial post (*Yūpa*) ; having taken two creepers or two Kuśa ropes as two girdles ; having coiled up one rope round the sacrificial post ; and having tied the other to the right horn of the animal, he binds this rope to the sacrificial post or to the girdle of the sacrificial post with a formula. The animal is then immolated in the same way as in the

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animal sacrifice. But he should sacrifice the omentum of the animal with a wooden dish (*Pātrī*) or with a leaf, reciting the formula : "To Hara, Mṛiḍa, Śarva, Śiva, Bhava, Mahādeva, Ugra, Bhīma, Paśupati, Rudra, Śaṅkara, Īśāna, Svāhā !" or reciting the last six words of this formula, or reciting the words : "To Rudra Svāhā !" Then on four rings of Kuśa net-work he should make Bali-offerings towards the four quarters of the horizon, with certain verses. He worships the four quarters of the sky with other Mantras. The husks and chaff of the rice, and the tail, skin, head, and feet of the sacrificed animal should be thrown into the fire. According to *Śāṁvatya*, the skin may be utilized for some domestic purpose. To the north of the fire on rows of Darbha grass or on rings of Kuśa net-work, he should pour out the blood of the animal to serpents with certain formulas. Anything pertaining to this sacrifice should neither be eaten nor taken to the village, because if it is taken to the village Rudra will harm human offspring. He should keep away his people from the vicinity of this place. On an express injunction, however, he may partake of the sacrificial food, for it will then bring luck. After the performance of this sacrifice he should let loose another calf for the ensuing Śūlagava.[38]

According to the Par. G.S., the sacred domestic fire (*Aupāsanāgni*) is taken to the forest and the three Śrauta fires are established there in such a way that the Aupāsanāgni takes the place of the *Gārhapatyāgni* and then the *Āhavanīyāgni* and *Dakshiṇāgni* are derived from it. Any uncastrated animal or a bull should be taken as a sacrificial victim. The sacrificer should cook the omentum of the animal, a Sthālīpāka, and the portions cut off from the victim. Then he sacrifices the omentum to Rudra and the marrow to the middle region (*Antariksha*). The cut off portions (*Avadānas*) mixed with the Sthālīpāka are offered to Agni, Rudra, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahādeva, and Īśāna. He offers an oblation of *Pṛishadājya* (mixture of curds and ghee) to Vanaspati and another oblation consisting of the Sthālīpāka and the limbs of the animal to the Agni-Svishṭakṛit at the end. After the act of sprinkling (*Vyāghāraṇa*) has been performed with marrow in different quarters of the horizon, the *Patnī-Saṁyāja* oblations (*i.e.*, the oblations which are chiefly made to the wives of the gods) are offered to Indrāṇī, Rudrāṇī, Śarvāṇī, Bhavānī, and Agni-Gṛihapati. He offers a Bali of the animal's blood on leaves and on bunches of grass to Rudra and his hosts. He throws the contents of the stomach and entrails besmeared with blood into the fire or buries them. Having placed the remains of the animal in the

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direction of the wind, he adores (Rudra) with the Rudra hymns (*i.e.*, with all the hymns of the Sixteenth Adhyāya of the Vaj. Samh.) or with the first and the last Anuvāka of this Adhyāya. Nothing of the animal is taken to the village.[39]

The Man. G.S. lays down that far away from the village in the north-eastern direction a tree-branch with its leaves on should be fixed in the ground as a sacrificial post at night in the midst of the cows ; that prior to the offering of Svishṭakṛit oblation, the sacrificer should fill with blood eight cups made of folded leaves and should sacrifice them to Rudra with the eight Anuvākas (*cf.* Mait. Samh. II, 9, 2-9) in the chief quarters and in the intermediate quarters of the horizon ; that nothing uncooked should be taken to the village, and the rest of the animal including its skin should be buried.[40] The Kath. G.S. says that to the north of the village in the midst of the cows they prepare a place resembling an altar and enclose it with branches of trees, and take a tree-branch with its leaves on as a sacrificial post ; and the same Gṛihya prescribes the feeding of many Brāhmaṇas on this occasion and remarks that they should return home from that place without looking back.[41]

The Baudh. G.S. gives a very different description of the Śūlagava. According to this Gṛihyasūtra, the sacrificer, having set up the fire in the forest, takes a cow as a sacrificial victim. He takes out its omentum and portions of flesh, and roasts them on spits. He takes them away from the spits and again cooks them in a small jar. The sacrificer offers the oblations in the eastern part of the fire with the words : "To the god Bhava Svāhā ! To the god Śarva Svāhā !" etc. He offers the oblations in the middle of the fire with the words : "To the wife of the god Bhava Svāhā ! To the wife of the god Śarva Svāhā !" etc. In the western part of the fire he offers oblations with the words : "To the son of the god Bhava Svāhā ! To the son of the god Śarva Svāhā !" etc. Then he offers the oblations of Ājya with certain formulas. The rest of the sacrificial substance is placed in front of the fire on the leaves of an *Arka* plant with a formula. Having placed in a dish the food washed from the (cooking-vessel), the remnants of the Ājya and the rest of the water, he walks three times round the cows with his right side turned towards them, sprinkling water on all sides with the branch of a bamboo-tree. The Baudh. G.S. then allows the option of sacrificing a sheep or a goat in lieu of a cow, and adds that in place of a cow they may cook a Sthālīpāka for Īśāna to perform this sacrifice.[42]

The Gṛihyasūtras of Bhāradvāja, Hiraṇyakeśin and Āpastamba

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follow the Baudh. G.S., to some extent, in laying down the procedure for the performance of the Śūlagava. The major point of difference between the said Gṛihyas and the Baudh. G.S. lies in the fact that these three Gṛihyas do not enjoin the immolation of any animal on this occasion. According to these Sūtras, the sacrificer, having cooked a Sthālīpāka with milk, builds two huts to the west of the fire. With a Mantra he invokes *Śūlagava* to the southern hut ; and he invokes in ordinary speech *Mīḍhushī* (the wife of Śūlagava) to the northern hut, and *Jayanta* (their son) between the two huts.[43] He offers water to them in the same order in which they have been invoked. Then he cuts off three portions of boiled rice, spreads the Ājya under them, and pours Ājya over them. Then he makes the three deities touch those portions of rice in the same order in which they have been invoked. After he has performed the rites down to the *Vyāhṛiti*-oblations, he takes the portions of the boiled rice to the fire and sacrifices their respective portions to Bhava, to Bhava's wife, and to Jayanta with proper Mantras. After *Svishṭakṛit*-oblations, they place their cows around the fire in such a way that the cows can smell the fragrance of the sacrifice. Then the sacrificer walks three times round all the objects (*i.e.*, the cows, the fire, the huts, etc.) with his right side turned towards them, and worships *Śūlagava* with certain Mantras.[44]

The Bauḍhya-Vihāra or Parṇa-Vihāra and the Kshetrapati Sacrifice : The Bhar. G.S., the Hir. G.S., and the Ap. G.S. describe a ceremony known as *Bauḍhya-Vihāra* or *Parṇa-Vihāra* (*i.e.*, distribution of *Palāśa*-leaves) just after the Śūlagava. According to the commentators of these Gṛihyas, this ceremony forms part of the Śūlagava. With certain Mantras the sacrificer puts down four leaves, ten leaves, and other ten leaves on the ground. He makes a basket of leaves, puts a lump of boiled rice into it, goes away from the cow-stall, and hangs up the basket on a tree. Then he worships the deity there (before the basket) with the formula : "Adoration to the quivered one, to him who wears the quiver ! To the lord of the thieves adoration !" Having returned from that place, he sprinkles his cows with water mixed with sandal-salve, *Surodaka* (rain water), unground fried grains, and cow-dung by means of a bunch of Dūrvā grass and the branches of Udumbara, Palāśa, Śamī, Vikaṅkata, and Aśvattha trees. The bull should be sprinkled first. Then he cooks with milk a Sthālīpāka sacred to *Kshetrapati* (*i.e.*, the lord of the field), sprinkles it with Ājya, removes it from the fire, and makes its offering to Kshetrapati on the ground on that path by which his cows go to the pasture daily. He invokes Kshetrapati

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on four or seven leaves in the same way as Śūlagava is invoked in the Śūlagava sacrifice. He should quickly sacrifice to Kshetrapati. The Sthālīpāka belonging to Śūlagava should be given to Brāhmaṇas, and that belonging to Kshetrapati should be eaten by the sacrificer and his uterine relations, or it may be utilized according to the custom of the family.[45]

Notes and References

1. *See* 'Origin and History of Chaityas' by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar in I. H. Q., vol. XIV, pp. 440 seq.
2. Asv. G.S. I, 12, 1 ; *cf.* Oldenberg, SBE, vol. XXIX, p. 178.
3. Par G.S. III, 11, 10-11.
4. Gobh. G.S. IV, 4, 26-30.
5. Man. G.S. II, 10, 7 ; *cf.* Kath. G.S. 71, 2-11.
6. Asv. G.S. II, 10, 3-4 ; *cf.* Āśvalāyana-Gṛihya-Kārikā II, 19.
7. Sankh. G.S. IV, 13, 1-5 ; Kaush. G.S. III, 13, 1-10.
8. Par. G.S. II, 13, 1-7.
9. Kaus. S. 20, 1-24. Explaining the 18th and 19th Sūtras of this Kaṇḍikā, Dārila states that the wife puts this question to the husband who replies as given in the 19th Sūtra. But the Paddhati of Keśava (*see* Kaus. S., p. 320) explains that then the other asks the question : 'What have you brought?' The wife replies as given in the 19th Sūtra. I think that in the 18th Sūtra the husband puts the question to the wife : 'What have you brought ?' Then she replies. In the 16th Sūtra the wife asks the husband, "Have you ploughed?' Then he replies, "We have ploughed." This order appears to be logical, if we consider the life of agricultural society in India to-day. The man goes out early in the morning and ploughs the field, while his wife prepares food at home and brings it to him in the field. So the question in the 18th Sūtra : "What have you brought?" may be the reminiscent of a similar custom prevalent among the Indian farmers of those early days.
10. Tait. Samh. V, 7, 2.
11. Ait. Br. VII, 9 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. II, 4, 3.
12. Kaush. Br. IV, 12.
13. Kat. S. S. IV, 6, 1-4 ; Asv. S. S. II, 9 ; Sankh. S. S. III, 12 ; Ap. S. S. VI, 29, 2 seq. ; Hillebrandt, R. L , p. 119.
14. Sankh. G.S. III, 8, 1 ; Par. G.S. III, 1, 1 (it gives the name *Nava-prāśana* to this sacrifice) ; Ap. G.S. VII, 19, 6.
15. Asv. G.S. II, 2, 4 ; *cf* Bhar. G.S. III, 3 : 70, 10.
16. Par. G.S. III, 1, 1-7 ; *cf.* Kath. G.S. 53, 3-5 ; *see* n. 17.
17. Sankh. G.S. III, 8, 1-7 ; Kaush. G.S. III, 5, 1-3.
18. Gobh. G.S. III, 8, 9-21 ; Kh. G.S. III, 3, 6-15.

In the Par. G.S. III, 1, 6, a part of the Mantra (as given in Bakre's edition) reads : "*Sarasvatyā Adhivanāya Chakṛishuḥ*". But the M. Br. II, 1, 16, which is prescribed by the Gobh. G.S. III, 8, 21, for the same ceremony gives the reading : "*Sarasvatyā Adhimanāya Chakṛishuḥ*". *Vide* Oldenberg, SBE, XXIX, p. 338 ; R. V. VIII, 72, 2 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 24 : 25, 2.

19. Jaim. G.S. I, 24 : 24, 16.

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20. Man. G.S. II, 3, 9-14 ; *cf.* Kath. G.S. 53, 3 ; Agni. G.S. I, 7, 4.
21. Kaus. S. 74, 13-23.
22. Gobh. G.S. IV, 4, 29 ; Man. G.S. II, 10, 7.
23. Par. G.S. II, 17, 1-19.
24. Kaus. S. 106, 1-9.
25. Sankh. G.S. III, 11 ; Par. G.S. III, 9 ; Kath. G.S. 59, 1-5.
26. Kath. G.S. 59, 6.
27. Kaus. S. 24, 19-21 ; *cf.* Ap. S. S. XIX, 17, 1-5 ; Baudh. S. S. XIV, 14 ; Man. S. S. III, 5, 18 ; Tait. Samh. III, 3, 9 ; Kath. Samh. XIII, 9, 10 ; Mait. Samh. II, 5, 10.
28. Baudh. G.S. I, 1, 9 ; *cf.* Baudh. G.S. II, 7, 14.
29. Devapāla on the Kath. G.S. 25, 1, says :

"शूलगव इति कर्मनाम । शूले सर्वाण्यवदानानि पच्यन्ते ।"

This text is according to Kashmir Series Edition of the Laugākshi Gṛihya-sūtra, p. 241.

30. Nārāyaṇa on the Asv. G.S. IV, 9, 1.
31. Sankh. S. S. IV, 17, 1-2 ; *cf.* Agni. G.S. II, 5, 8.
32. Asv. G.S. IV, 9, 36 ; Par. G.S. III, 8, 2.
33. सर्वेभ्यः कामेभ्यः ॥ का० गृ० 52, 2.
34. Man. G.S. II, 5, 1.
35. Asv. G.S. IV, 9, 2.
36. Kath. G.S. 52, 3-4.
37. Baudh. G.S. II, 7, 1-3 ; *cf.* Agni. G.S. II, 5, 8 ; Asv. G.S. IV, 9, 41;
38. Asv. G.S. IV, 9, 1-40 ; *cf.* Sankh. S. S. IV, 17, 3 seq.
39. Par. G.S. III, 8, 1-14.
40. Man. G.S, II, 5, 1-5.
41. Kath. G.S. 52, 5-11.
42. Baudh. G.S. II, 7, 4-28 ; *cf.* Agni. G.S. II, 5, 8.
43. Commenting on the Ap. G.S. VII, 20, 1, Haradatta explains that the images of *Īśāna, Mīḍhushī* and *Jayanta* are made and placed there. Mātṛidatta on the Hir. G. S. II, 8, 4 states that some make the image also. But the Gṛihyasūtras which describe this sacrifice make no explicit mention of the images of these deities anywhere.
44. Bhar. G.S. II, 8-9 : pp. 39-41 ; Ap. G.S. VII, 19, 13-14 ; *ibid.* VII, 20, 1-11 ; Hir. G.S. II, 8, 1-11.
45. Bhar. G.S. II, 9-10 : pp. 41-42 ; Ap. G.S. VII, 20, 5-19 ; Hir. G.S. II, 9, 1-12.

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CHAPTER XX

FAMILY LIFE AND POSITION OF WOMEN

1. FAMILY LIFE

It is evident from the highly developed form of the institution of marriage that family was a well-knit unit of society in the age of our Sūtras. The family of the Indo-Aryans was undoubtedly patriarchal in character. Generally it comprised the husband, wife, children, brothers, sisters and parents, as is fully indicated by various Gṛihya rites. We can, for example, mention the *Gṛiha-Praveśa* ceremony (*supra*, p. 155) at which the husband is enjoined upon to enter the newly-built house in the company of his wife and eldest son. Similarly the sacrifices on the new-moon day and full-moon day are to be performed by the husband and wife (*supra*, pp. 399ff.). The Gṛihyasūtras lay down the injunction that in the absence of the householder the regular worship of the sacred Gṛihya fire may be performed by his wife, son, daughter, brother, or pupil.[1] On his return home from a journey the householder should, according to the Gṛihyasūtras, address his wife and kiss his children.[2] The Gṛihya fire was the symbol of a household ; each household must possess its own Gṛihya fire. If a son after marriage decided to set up his separate household, his Gṛihya fire would be separate from that of his father.

JOINT FAMILY

The existence of joint family system is indicated by several Sūtras. The injunction of the Gṛihyasūtras that after the death of the householder the eldest son should kindle the Gṛihya fire shows that after the death of the father the eldest brother alone should kindle the sacred fire, if all the brothers continue to live together without partitioning their inheritance.[3] Further, the Gobh. G.S. lays down the rule that if food is prepared at different places for one family the *Baliharaṇa* ceremony should be performed from the food which is prepared in the kitchen belonging to the householder.[4] From this rule of Gobhila it is quite clear that sometimes the joint family was so large that food was prepared in different kitchens. The Dharmasūtras prescribe rules regarding the partition of the property of coparceners (*supra*, p. 197). The joint family

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is permitted by the Gaut. D.S. which states that after the father's death the whole property may optionally go to the eldest son who like the father, should support his other brothers.[5] Nevertheless, showing preference for the single family system, Gautama remarks that 'in partition there is an increase of spiritual merit' ; for all brothers would separately perform sacred acts with their own *Gṛihya* fire.[6]

HUSBAND AND WIFE

In the household the father was the head to whom all other members of the family owed obedience. The father had full control over the members of his family and he could disinherit any son who squandered money unrighteously.[7] However, Āpastamba does not permit parents to gift away or sell their children.[8] The bond of marriage was irrevocable. The husband and wife constituted an indivisible unit. So Āpastamba says, "No division takes place between husband and wife, for since the time of marriage they stand united in respect of religious ceremonies, and similarly in regard to the rewards for such deeds as produce spiritual merit, and also with regard to the acquisition of property."[9] The householder was not permitted to take another wife so long as his first wife was willing and able to perform her share of the religious duties and gave birth to sons.[10] The Ap. D.S. prescribes penance for the person who unjustly forsakes his wife ; and it states that such a person should put on the hide of an ass, with its hairy side turned outside, and should beg alms from seven houses with the words : "Give alms to him who forsook his wife" ; that he should live in this way for six months ; and that if the wife forsakes her husband, she should undergo the 'twelve-night Kṛichchhra penance' for the same period.[11]

CHILDREN AND PARENTS

Children were naturally given due affection in the household. When the father returned home from a journey, he affectionately kissed his sons and daughters.[12] It was the imperative duty of the householder to feed children, old persons and a pregnant woman first and then to take his share of food.[13] Parents performed various ceremonies for the happiness and prosperity of their children. Sons were sent to a teacher's house for receiving proper education. The family being patriarchal in character, a son was naturally preferred to a daughter. However, a daughter was also loved as much as a son. She was brought up with equal care and

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affection. When she attained puberty, she was given in marriage to a noble young man of intelligence and character (*supra*, p. 211).

Parents were held in very high esteem by sons and daughters. They paid their homage to the parents by touching their feet every morning.[14] After the completion of his education the son supported his parents, being obedient to them ; and in the matter of marriage also the permission of parents was considered quite essential.[15] The Aryans had such a high reverence for their parents that they revered and worshipped their parents not only during their life-time but also after their death by the performance of regular Śrāddha offerings. Thus parents were always regarded as deities by the Aryans. At the Śrāddha ceremony, the Fathers were, therefore, invoked to bestow health, wealth, progeny, and prosperity on the householder.

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND OTHER RELATIONS

Seniority in age among brothers and sisters was considered to be a claim for preferential treatment and respect. Baudhāyana and Gautama, for instance, prescribe a preferential treatment for the eldest son with regard to the division of ancestral property ; Āpastamba, however, refutes this claim (*supra*, p. 195). In the matter of marriage it was deemed to be a sin if the younger brother married before his elder brother, or if the younger sister was married before her elder sister.[16] The younger brothers and sisters saluted their elder brothers and sisters by touching their feet.[17]

On the death of a person all the relations of the deceased up to the seventh or tenth degree observed mourning and offered libation of water to the deceased.[18] The ties of kinship were, therefore, so strong that all the relations joined together to share their sorrows and sufferings. The prosperity of their relations was as dear to the people as their own prosperity. So in a verse which is recited on the occasion of marriage, the bride makes a prayer for the prosperity of her relations (*supra*, p. 233).

2. POSITION OF WOMEN

The position of women, as known to us from the Sūtras, was neither low nor humiliating. Calumny of women as such is not known to the Gṛihyasūtras. On the contrary, a verse which is sung by the bridegroom at the time of the wedding reads : "That song I will sing to-day which will be the highest glory of women."[19] Like the male ancestors the female ancestors also received *Piṇḍa*-offerings at the Śrāddha (*supra*, p. 374). Similarly the libations of water were offered to the female ancestors along with the male ancestors at the

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Tarpaṇa ceremony.[20] Some prominent women, such as *Gārgī Vāchaknavī*, *Vaḍavā Prātitheyī*, and *Sulabhā Maitreyī*, have been placed by the Gṛihyasūtras among those revered personalities to whom every Aryan householder should offer water-libation at the Tarpaṇa ceremony every morning.[21] Besides, at the *Utsarga* ceremony a seat is prepared for *Arundhatī* in the same way as for the venerable Ṛishis (*supra*, p. 306). It is thus pretty clear that in the age of the Sūtras worthy women commanded the same reverence as the Ṛishis.

CHILDHOOD

The family being patriarchal in character, the birth of a son was naturally a source of joy to the parents. However, the birth of a daughter has nowhere been condemned in the Sūtras. A daughter, too, was brought up like a son with equal care and affection. The rituals which were believed to be conducive to the happiness and prosperity of a child were performed in the case of a daughter also. Though the rituals for girls, according to some of the Gṛihyasūtras, were to be performed silently without Mantras, yet this cannot be said to be a universal injunction acceptable to all the Gṛihyasūtras. The Bhar. G.S. and the Ap. G.S., for instance, lay down the rule that on his return from a journey, the householder should kiss the forehead of his daughter like that of his son, reciting a Mantra,[22] while the other Gṛihyasūtras prescribe that he should kiss the forehead of his daughter silently without a Mantra.[23]

EDUCATION OF GIRLS

Unfortunately we have very little information which has direct bearing on the education of girls. It is, however, unbelievable to suppose that the system of female education so well known in the days of the Upanishads should have disappeared altogether in the age of the Sūtras, which is not separated by any wide gulf of time from the age of the Upanishads. The readers of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad (III, 6 & 8) are quite familiar with the philosophical discourse that took place between *Yājñavalkya* and *Gārgī Vāchaknavī*. Elsewhere the same Upanishad prescribes a ritual to be performed by such parents as are desirous of the birth of a scholarly (*Paṇḍitā*) daughter.[24] This shows that a girl could also acquire high education in the days of the Upanishads. The rule laid down by the Man. G.S. and the Var. G.S. that education (*Vidyā*) is one of the reasons for accepting a person in marriage may be applicable to a boy as well as to a girl.[25] That this rule of these Gṛihyas may

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well apply to girls is supported by the fact that in the context where this rule occurs the said Gṛihyas are discussing the qualifications of a bride (*supra*, pp. 214-15). This rule points to the existence of educated girls in the age of the Sūtras.

The Kath. G.S. prescribes *Brahmacharya* of ten or twelve years for girls and in the next sūtra it describes a ceremony to be performed at the end of the period of *Brahmacharya*.[26] Devapāla, the commentator of this Gṛihya, explains that the father should not keep a daughter at his home after the tenth year of her age or after the twelfth year at the latest; in other words, the father must arrange the marriage of his daughter before she is eleven or thirteen years old. According to this explanation of Devapāla, *Brahmacharya* simply means abstinence from sexual intercourse. But *Brahmacharya*, according to the Gṛihyasūtras, is not only abstinence from sexual intercourse but also the study of the Veda together with the observance of certain rules of discipline. Moreover, the period of *Brahmacharya* was counted, according to the Gṛihyasūtras, not from the date of birth but from the date of the Upanayana. The Kath. G.S. (2, 4) also prescribes such *Brahmacharya* for a period of twelve, twenty-four, thirty-six, or forty-eight years for boys. We, therefore, find it difficult to accept the explanation of *Brahmacharya* as given by Devapāla. Firstly, why should the period of *Brahmacharya* for girls be counted from the date of their birth? Secondly, how is it that *Brahmacharya* for girls means only abstinence from sexual intercourse and not the period of study? Perhaps the commentator Devapāla might have explained this Sūtra in accordance with the notions prevalent in his own times. This rule of the Kath. G.S. may imply that the girls were also given an opportunity to study the Veda. Such a view is not quite new to the age of the Sūtras, for we have already mentioned the learned women of the age of the Upanishads to whom the offering of Tarpaṇa is prescribed. Furthermore Yama, an authority on Dharmaśāstras, states that in the earlier ages girls were also initiated into the study of the Veda.[27]

Besides, girls were instructed in fine arts also, such as dance and music. The Sankh. G.S. refers to a dance that was performed by four or eight women at the Indrāṇīkarman (*supra*, p. 223). According to the Kath. G.S., the girl who is going to be married plays upon all musical instruments, such as *Nāḍī*, *Tūṇava*, *Mṛidaṅga*, and *Paṇava* at a ceremony which is celebrated on the eve of the wedding (*supra*, p. 223). Women were regarded as authority on ceremonies sanctioned by custom only. In the description of

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marriage Āpastamba remarks that one should learn from women what ceremonies are required by custom.[28] The same Sūtrakāra in his Dharmasūtra states that the knowledge which the Śūdras and women possess is the finale of all-round education and is declared to be a supplement of the Atharvaveda.[29]

MONOGAMY AND POLYGAMY

In the age of the Sūtras monogamy was the rule, whereas polygamy was an exception. All the domestic ceremonies described in the Gṛihyasūtras proceed on the assumption that the householder has got only one wife who should help him in the performance of the rites ; thus the sacrifices to be performed on the new-moon day and full-moon day require the husband and wife (and not wives) to observe fast and to perform other rites in this connection (*supra*, pp. 399ff.). Similarly in the funeral ceremony the Gṛihyasūtras mention only one wife who lies by the side of her dead husband and then rises (*supra*, p. 357). Polygamy was, however, not unknown to our Sūtras. Describing the *Piṇḍapitṛiyajña*, the Kauśika Sūtra (89, 7) states that if the householder has a second wife he gives the second Piṇḍa to her. The Ap. G.S. and the Kaus. S. prescribe rites which are to be performed by a woman who wishes to overcome her co-wives.[30] At most of the Śrauta sacrifices the Śrautasūtras prescribe the presence of a single wife, but they mention many wives of the king at the performance of the *Aśvamedha*. It shows that the people in general were monogamous and only the rich and nobles were polygamous. Nevertheless, the ideal of monogamy was held in high esteem. At the Utsarjana ceremony, a seat of honour is prepared for those who have only one wife (*supra*, p. 306). The wife who was devoted to her husband was deemed to possess auspicious powers. So the Gobh. G.S. lays down that at the Puṁsavana ceremony a woman who is devoted to her husband should pound the Nyagrodha shoot (*supra*, p. 259).

POLYANDRY WAS UNKNOWN

Polyandry was absolutely unknown to the Sūtras. It was abhorrent to the Indo-Aryans even to think of polyandry. So a passage in the Tait. Samh. reads : "In that on one post he twines round two girdles, therefore, one man wins two wives ; in that he does not wind one girdle round two posts, therefore, one wife does not find two husbands."[31]

PROSTITUTION

A prostitute (*Puṁśchalī*) finds mention in the Śrautasūtras

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and during the performance of the *Mahāvrata* there was a dialogue between a hetaera and a student (*supra*, p. 169). Courtezans (*Gaṇikās*) are known to the Dharmasūtras. According to the Baudh. D.S., the food of a *Gaṇikā* is not to be eaten.[32] The Gaut. D.S. lays down the injunction that a Brāhmaṇa should not eat the food given by a Puṁśchalī.[33] In later times Kauṭilya speaks of a full-fledged system of prostitution and prescribes certain rules and regulations governing the management of prostitutes.[34]

THE STATUS OF WIFE

Those Mantras of the *Saptapadī* rite which establish permanently a spiritual communion between the husband and wife declare the wife to be an equal companion of the husband (*supra*, pp. 236ff). In the Gṛihyasūtras the wife is nowhere regarded as a slave or property of the husband. The rite of *Samaśana*, at which the husband and wife eat together, points to the equal status of the wife (*supra*, p. 244). All the domestic rituals are to be performed by the husband with the help of his wife. As Āpastamba points out, the husband and wife constitute an indivisible unit in all spheres of life—religious as well as secular (*see* n. 9). A similar idea is found in the Atharvaveda which says, "Whatever thy wife, away from thee, makes ready, or whatever, O wife, apart from thee, thy husband prepares ; combine it all : let it be yours in common while you produce one world with joint endeavour."[35] If the husband performs the Bali offering in the morning, the wife should do so in the evening.[36] When the husband is away from home, the wife has to perform the worship of the fire (*supra*, p. 381). In this connection Gobhila quotes some authorities who say, "His wife may offer the morning and evening oblations into the domestic fire, if it is so desired ; for his wife is (as it were) his house, and that fire is the domestic fire."[37] The Tait. Samh. has the following remarks to make on this point: "Saying, 'Thine be wealth', the sacrificer hands it over to his wife ; for a wife is the half of oneself, and to do so is, as it were, to deposit it in one's house."[38] The same *Saṁhitā* further states : "The wife of the sacrificer anoints them for friendship ; for the wife is one's friend."[39] Another passage of the Tait. Samh. reads : "The wife of the sacrificer holds on to the cart ; for the wife is the mistress of the household gear ; verily he offers what is approved by the wife. The share of the wife in the sacrifice makes a pair ; so the wife also grasps the sacrifice so that it may not be interrupted."[40] In almost all the Śrauta sacrifices the presence of the wife is as necessary as that of the sacrificer. Gautama, Baudhāyana and Vasishtha

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lay down that in the matter of sacred duties the wife should not be independent (but should follow her husband).[41] Then Baudhāyana and Vasishṭha quote the famous verse : "The father protects her in adolescence, the husband in youth, and the son in old age ; a woman does not deserve absolute independence."[42]

NO SATĪ SYSTEM

We do not find in the Gṛihyasūtras a single instance of the custom of *Satī*, according to which a widow immolates herself on her husband's funeral pyre. The widow was, however, made to lie by the side of her dead husband and was then made to rise therefrom (*supra*, p. 357). Likewise according to the verse of the Atharvaveda to be recited at this ceremony, the wife was made to rise after she had once lain by the side of her dead husband.[43] This shows clearly that the custom of self-immolation was not in vogue in the days of Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā ; whether this custom was ever observed by the Aryans in the remote past is a moot point.[44] That widows continued to live after the death of their husband is clearly indicated by the injunctions of the Dharmasūtras which relate to widows, as we shall see below. The Bhar. G.S. clearly states that the sacred fire should be regularly worshipped since the time of marriage and that the wife should thus serve it after the death of her husband.[45] It follows, therefore, that the custom of *Satī* was absolutely unknown to our Sūtras. It is only a late work, the Vishṇu Dharmasūtra (XXV, 14), that mentions the custom of *Satī* and says, "On the death of her husband a woman should either observe chastity or ascend his funeral pyre (for self-immolation)."

THE WIDOW'S RIGHT TO PROPERTY

Recognizing the right of a widow to her deceased husband's property, Gautama says, "*Sapiṇḍas*, *Sagotras*, or those connected by descent from the same *Ṛishi*, and the wife (*i.e.* the widow) should share the property of a person who dies without any male issue."[46]

REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS

Baudhāyana and Vasishṭha prescribe the remarriage of a woman whose husband dies after betrothal, or whose husband dies after the performance of nuptials but before the consummation of marriage.[47] It is thus clear from these injunctions of the Dharmasūtras that widows were not to burn themselves with their dead husband, nor were they suffered to remain widows throughout their life.

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THE SYSTEM OF NIYOGA

Those women whose marriage had been consummated were permitted to raise offspring for their dead husband through the system of *Niyoga*. In this connection Gautama lays down the following rules: "A woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring may bear a son to her brother-in-law. She should obtain the permission of her *Gurus* (elders) and have intercourse during the proper season only. In the absence of a brother-in-law she may obtain offspring by cohabiting with a *Sapiṇḍa*, a *Sagotra*, a *Samānapravara*, or one who belongs to the same caste. Some authorities hold the view that she should cohabit with none but a brother-in-law. She should not bear more than two sons."[48] Baudhāyana states that a widow should abstain from honey, meat, wine and salt and should sleep on the ground for one year; or for six months, according to Maudgalya; and then the sonless widow, having obtained the permission of her *Gurus*, should bear a son by cohabiting with her brother-in-law.[49]

As regards the paternity of the child begotten through *Niyoga* Gautama says, "The child belongs to the man who begets it, except if an agreement to the contrary has been made. The child begotten at a living husband's request on his wife belongs to the husband. But if it was begotten by a stranger, it belongs to the latter, or to both the natural father and the husband of the mother. But being reared by the husband, it belongs to him."[50] From the foregoing statement of Gautama it appears that in some cases *Niyoga* was resorted to even when the husband was still alive. The son born out of such a union was known as *Kshetraja* son. "A Kshetraja son," says Baudhāyana, "has two fathers and two *Gotras*. He performs funeral ceremonies for both the fathers and inherits the property of both the fathers."[51] In almost identical passages Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasishṭha declare: "The giver of the seed carries off the son after death in Yama's world; therefore, they guard their wives, fearing the seed of strangers. Carefully watch over the procreation of your children lest alien seeds be sown on your soil. In the next world the son belongs to the begetter; an imprudent husband makes the begetting of children vain for himself."[52]

The tenor of these passages of the Dharmasūtras seems to point out that the institution of *Niyoga* was gradually being discountenanced by the consensus of opinion. This is why Āpastamba does not approve of this custom at all and condemns it outright.[53]

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NO PURDAH SYSTEM

In the age of our Sūtras women were not compelled to lead a life of seclusion. On the contrary, they were allowed to participate in social as well as religious activities of the people. According to Śāṅkhāyana, the bridegroom was escorted to the bride's house by happy young women who were not widows.[54] The Kath. G.S. lays down that in the marriage ceremony four or eight women who are not widows should sing in tune with those men who play upon the musical instrument *Vīṇā*, or an expert should perform a dance.[55] The Śrautasūtras show that women took active part in all the important sacrifices and came out in the public. Women publicly participated in the performance of big sacrifices such as *Mahāvrata*, *Aśvamedha*, and *Vājapeya*.[56] It is thus apparent that there was no restriction on women mixing with men on festive occasions. Similarly, according to the Ait. Ar., in the *Mahāvrata* festival women played upon lutes and fully participated in the celebrations.[57] In the Upanishads women are found discussing philosophical problems with men in a scholarly manner. The Brih. Up., for example, contains the description of a discussion between Yājñavalkya and Gārgī.[58] All this goes to prove that in early times there was no *Purdah* system among the Indo-Aryans ; even if it existed at all, it was not strictly observed.

Notes and References

1. Asv. G.S. I, 9, 1 ; Sankh. G.S. II, 17, 3 ; Kaush. G.S. III, 10, 35.
2. *See* Bhar. G.S. I, 27 : pp. 28-29.
3. Sankh. G.S. I, 1, 5 ; Kaus. S. 69, 1; *cf.* Gobh. G.S. I, 1, 12.
4. Gobh. G.S. I, 4, 24 ; Kh. G.S. I, 5, 37.
5. Gaut. D.S. XXVIII, 3 ; *cf.* Manu IX, 105.
6. Gaut. D.S. XXVIII, 4 ; *cf.* Manu IX, 111.
7. Ap. D.S. II, 6, 14, 15 ; Gaut. D.S. XXVIII, 41. *Supra*, p. 197.
8. दानं क्रयधर्मश्चापत्यस्य न विद्यते ॥ आप० ध० II, 6, 13, 10.
9. जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते । पाणिग्रहणादि सहत्वं कर्मसु । तथा पुण्यफलेषु । द्रव्यपरिग्रहेषु च ॥ आप० ध० II, 6, 14, 16-19.
10. धर्मप्रजासंपन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत ॥ आप० ध० II, 5, 11, 12.
11. दारव्यतिक्रमी खराजिनं बर्हिर्लोम परिधाय 'दारव्यतिक्रमिणे भिक्षामि'ति सप्तागाराणि चरेत्। सा वृत्तिः षण्मासान्। स्त्रियास्तु भर्तृव्यतिक्रमे कृच्छ्रं द्वादशरात्राभ्यासस्तावन्तं कालम् ॥ आप० ध० I, 10, 28, 19-20.
12. Bhar. G.S. I, 27, : 29, 3 ; Ap. G.S. VI, 15, 12-13.
13. Sankh. G.S. II, 14, 21 ; Gaut. D.S. V, 26 ; Manu III, 114.
14. Gaut. D.S. VI, 1-3 ; Ap. D.S. I, 4, 14, 6-8 ; *cf.* Manu II, 228 seq.
15. Hir. G.S. I, 19, 1-2 ; Jaim. G.S. I, 20 : 19, 10. *Supra*, p. 198, n. 24.

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16. Kaus. S. 46, 26-29 ; Gaut. D.S. XV, 15 and 17 ; Baudh. D.S. II, 1, 1, 39. *Cf.* A.V. VI, 112-113 ; Manu III, 171-172 and III, 160.
17. Ap. D.S. I, 4, 14, 9 ; *cf.* Manu II, 133.
18. Par. G.S. III, 10, 16-21 ; Yaj. III, 3.
19. Par. G.S. I, 7, 2 ; *supra*, p. 232.
20. Sankh. G.S. IV, 10, 6.
21. Sankh. G.S. IV, 10, 3 ; Asv. G.S. III, 4 4 ; Kaush. G.S. II, 5, 3.
22. Bhar. G.S. I, 27 : 29, 7 ; Ap. G.S. VI, 15, 13.
23. Asv. G.S. I, 15, 12 ; Par. G.S. I, 18, 6. *Cf.* Manu II, 66.
24. अथ य इच्छेत् । दुहिता मे पण्डिता जायेत सर्वमायुरियादिति तिलौदनं पाचयित्वा सर्पिष्मन्तमश्नीयातामीश्वरौ जनयितवै ॥ बृ० उप० VI, 4, 17.
25. Man. G.S. I, 7, 6 ; Var. G.S. X, 5 ; *supra*, p. 41, n. 89.
26. दशवार्षिकं ब्रह्मचर्यं कुमारीणां द्वादशवार्षिकं वा ॥ का० गृ० 19, 2-3.
27. यत्तु हारीतेनोक्तम्—
'द्विविधास्स्त्रियो ब्रह्मवादिन्यस्सद्योवध्वश्च । तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनीनामुपनयनमग्नीन्धनं वेदाध्ययनं स्वगृहे च भिक्षाचर्येति । सद्योवधूनां चोपस्थिते विवाहे कथंचिदुपनयनमात्रं कृत्वा विवाहःकार्यः'
इति । तत्कल्पान्तराभिप्रायम् । तथा च यमः—
पुरा कल्पे तु नारीणां मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते ।
अध्यापनं च वेदानां सावित्रीवचनं तथा ॥
पिता पितृव्यो भ्राता वा नैनामध्यापयेत्परः ।
स्वगृहे चैव कन्यायाः भैक्षचर्या विधीयते ॥
वर्जयेदजिनं चीरं जटाधारणमेव च । इति ॥ स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, संस्कारकाण्ड, Mysore Ed. p. 62.
28. Ap. G.S. I, 2, 15 ; *cf.* Ap. D.S. II, 11, 29, 15.
29. सा निष्ठा या विद्या स्त्रीषु शूद्रेषु च । आथर्वणस्य वेदस्य शेष इत्युपदिशन्ति ॥ आप० ध० II, 11, 29, 11-12. *Cf.* मनु II, 223.
30. Ap. G.S. III, 9, 8-9 ; Kaus. S. 36, 19-21.
31. Tait. Samh. VI, 4, 6, 3 ; *cf.* Ait. Br. III, 23 ; Gop. Br. *Uttarabhāga* III, 20.
32. Baudh. D.S. III, 6, 6, 10 ; *cf.* Vas. D.S. XIV, 10.
33. Gaut. D.S. XVII, 15 ; *cf.* Manu IV, 209 ; Yaj. I, 161.
34. Kaut. A.S. II, XXVII.
35. यद्यज्जाया पचति त्वत्परःपरः पतिर्वा जाये त्वत्तिरः । सं तत्सृजेथां सह वां तदस्तु संपादयन्तौ सह लोकमेकम् ॥ अ० वे० XII, 3, 39.
36. Gobh. G.S. I, 4, 17-19 ; *cf.* Kh. G.S. I, 5, 17-18.
37. Gobh. G.S. I, 3, 15-16 ; *cf.* Kaus. S. 73, 1 ; Kh. G.S. I, 5, 17-18.
38. Tait. Samh. VI, 1, 8 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. V, 2, 1, 10.
39. Tait. Samh. VI, 2, 9.
40. Tait. Samh. VI, 2, 1.
41. Gaut. D.S. XVIII, 1 ; Vas. D. S. V, 1 ; Baudh. D.S.II, 2, 3, 45 ; *cf.* Manu V, 155 ; Yaj. I, 77.
42. पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने । पुत्रस्तु स्थविरे भावे न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति ॥ बौ० ध० II, 2, 3, 46; वा० ध० V, 3 ; *cf.* मनु० V, 148; Yaj. I, 85.
43. इयं नारी पतिलोकं वृणाना नि पद्यत उप त्वा मर्त्य प्रेतम् ।
धर्मं पुराणमनुपालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजां द्रविणं चेह धेहि ॥

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उदीर्ष्व नार्यभि जीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुप शेष एहि ॥
हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभि सं बभूथ ॥ अ० वे० XVIII, 3, 1-2.

44. *Vide* Zimmer's discussion in Alt. Leb., p. 331 ; Vedic Index I, pp. 488-89.
45. Bhar. G.S. III, 1 : 67, 10.
46. Gaut. D.S. XXVIII, 21-22 ; *supra*, p. 202, n. 36.
47. Baudh. D.S. IV, 1, 1, 18 ; *cf.* Vas. D.S. XVII, 72. 74.
48. Gaut. D.S. XVIII, 4-9 ; *cf.* Manu IX, 59-60 ; Yaj. I, 68-69.
49. Baudh. D.S. II, 2, 4, 7-9 ; Vas. D.S. XVII, 55-56 ; Manu IX, 59-62.
50. Gaut. D.S. XVIII, 9-14 ; *cf.* Manu IX, 32-42 ; Ap. D S. II, 6, 13, 5-9.
51. Baudh. D.S. II, 2, 3, 17-18.
52. Baudh. D.S. II, 2, 3, 34-36 ; Ap. D.S. II, 6, 13, 6 ; Vas. D.S. XVII, 6-9.
53. Ap. D.S. II, 6, 13, 7-9 ; *ibid.* II, 10, 27, 2-7 ; *cf.* Manu IX, 64-68.
54. Sankh. G.S. I, 12, 1. *See* p. 223.
55. Kath. G.S. 22, 1. *See* p. 223.
56. *Vide Vājapeya* in R.L., pp. 141 ff. and *Aśvamedha* in R.L., pp. 149 ff. etc. ; *supra*, p. 169 for *Mahāvrata*.
57. Ait. Ar. V, 1, 5.
58. Brih. Up. III, 6 and 8.

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CHAPTER XXI

MORALS AND MANNERS

The Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras supply copious information on the morals and manners of the Aryan people in the age of the Sūtras. Like all civilized peoples, the Aryans cherished certain fundamental notions of etiquette and ethical values. It will be clear from the following account of their morals and manners that the Aryans had attained to a high standard of morality by the close of the Sūtra period.

1. IMPORTANCE OF GOOD CONDUCT

The Sūtras emphasize the importance of good conduct and assign the first place to it in the life of an Ārya. They hold that all sacrifices and the study of the holy scriptures are futile without good conduct. Commending good conduct, Vasishṭha says, "It is a definite conclusion that good conduct is a great duty (*Dharma*) binding on all. A man devoid of good conduct is doomed in the next world as well as here. Neither austerities, nor the Veda, nor *Agnihotra*, nor sacrificial fees could save in any way a fallen man devoid of good conduct. The Vedas do not purify a man devoid of good conduct, even though they have been studied by him along with their six Aṅgas ; and at the time of death the Vedas forsake him in the same way as birds leave the nests after their wings have grown. What pleasure could the Vedas along with their six Aṅgas and all sacrifices bring to a Brāhmaṇa devoid of good conduct, just as a beautiful wife to a blind man ? The Vedas do not deliver from distress a fraudulent person indulging in trickery ; if only two syllables are studied properly, that sacred knowledge purifies like clouds in the month of Āśvayuja. A man of bad conduct is censured in this world, constantly suffers from miseries, is afflicted with diseases, and dies a premature death. Religious observances bear fruit through good conduct ; wealth prospers through good conduct ; a man attains good luck through good conduct ; and good conduct effaces all inauspicious marks. A man, who follows good conduct, who has faith, and who is free from envy, lives a hundred years, even though he is destitute of all auspicious marks."[1]

Praising good conduct, Gautama (VIII, 20-22) declares : "Compassion on all creatures, forbearance, freedom from envy, purity,

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avoidance of undue exertion, right conduct, freedom from avarice, and absence of covetousness are the eight virtues of the soul. He who is devoid of the eight virtues of the soul will not be united with *Brahman*, nor will he reach the region of Brahman, even though he has been sanctified by the forty *Saṁskāras* (*supra*, p. 255). But he who is endowed with the eight virtues of the soul will be united with Brahman and will reach the region of Brahman, though he has been sanctified by only a few of the forty Saṁskāras."

Āpastamba is also of the opinion that one can attain the highest bliss through virtuous conduct. Discussing the ways and means of realising the self, the Ap. D.S. (I, 8, 23, 3-6) observes : "The eradication of evils depends upon self-discipline in this life. Having removed the evils that burn out creatures, a wise man attains beatitude. The evils that burn out creatures are the following : anger, exultation, grumbling, avarice, confusion, hypocrisy, malice, falsehood, gluttony, calumny, envy, lust, covert enmity, lack of self-control, and lack of concentration ; their eradication is dependent upon self-discipline. The virtues that have been ordained for all the *Āśramas* (orders) are the following : avoidance of anger, exultation, grumbling, avarice, confusion, hypocrisy and malice ; truthfulness ; moderation in eating ; freedom from calumny and envy ; sharing of one's comforts with other people (*Saṁvibhāgaḥ*) ; renunciation ; straightforwardness ; gentleness ; serenity ; self-control ; non-violence towards all creatures ; concentration of mind ; right conduct ; peacefulness ; and contentment. He who practises these virtues in accordance with the sacred law attains to the Universal Soul."

2. TRUTH AND RIGHTEOUSNESS

Truth as well as righteousness is highly extolled in the Sūtras. In the description of the ceremony connected with the selection of a bride by means of earth-clods (*supra*, p. 213), the Gṛihyasūtras say that the following verse should be recited at the time of giving earth-clods to the girl : "Right (*Ṛita*) alone is the first ; right nobody oversteps ; this earth is founded on right. May she (named so-and-so) become all this."[2] The Par. G.S. puts forward the view that *Truth* alone will suffice for all the observances which a Snātaka is required to keep through a period of three nights after his *Samāvartana*.[3] The parents and teachers always aimed at infusing the spirit of truth in the minds of their children and students. When a baby was made to suck the breast of the mother at the *Jātakarman* ceremony (*supra*, p. 269), the father recited a Mantra which

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included *inter alia* the words : 'Suck truth'.[4] This shows how the Indians of that age were devoted to truth. At the time of the convocation the teacher exhorted the outgoing graduate to follow truth (*supra*, p. 315). The Indian thinkers, it seems, were fully convinced of the Upanishadic maxim : 'Truth alone triumphs.' (Mund. Up. III, 1, 6).

3. MORALITY IN SEXUAL MATTERS

Monogamy, as we have seen above, was highly appreciated, and there was a sharp feeling of hatred against sexual crimes, such as adultery and rape. In addition to the punishment that the law in force prescribed for these crimes (*supra*, p. 190), penalty in the form of social boycott was also inflicted on such defaulters. Āpastamba, for example, lays down the rule that a man who holds criminal conversation with a female friend of a female *Guru*, or with a female friend of a male *Guru*, or with any married woman, is regarded to have committed a *Patanīya*, *i. e.* a crime that causes the loss of caste.[5] The person who was found guilty of committing a *Patanīya* was forsaken by his own kith and kin also.[6] To hold conversation with such a degraded person was also considered a sin. So Gautama enjoins that the person who speaks with a degraded person even unintentionally should stand for a night reciting the *Sāvitrī* ; and that if he intentionally converses with a degraded person, he must perform the same penance for three nights.[7] Similarly it was regarded as the commission of a *Patanīya* to have incestuous connection with the female relatives of the mother and the father or with sisters, or their female progeny.[8] It was also considered a *Patanīya* to cause abortion.[9] In this connection Gautama opines that a woman becomes an outcast by procuring abortion, or by having connection with a man of a lower caste.[10] If a student violated his vow of chastity, he had to undergo a penance (*supra*, p. 325). To look at a naked woman wedded to another man was considered to be very indecorous.[11]

Marriage between near blood-relations was not allowed, as we have seen above (*supra*, p. 211).

Persons who observed chastity and who were monogamous were generally held in high esteem by the people. In the *Utsarjana* ceremony (*supra*, p. 306) the seats of honour are, therefore, prescribed for those who are celibate (*Ūrdhvaretasaḥ*) and who have only one wife.[12]

In spite of such a great emphasis being laid on sexual morality cases of deviation from normal conduct were not unknown to

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the authors of the Sūtras ; for the failings that are inherent in human nature are found invariably in all times and climes, to a greater or smaller extent. The Kauśika Sūtra, therefore, prescribes charms for capturing truant women and for suppressing paramours.[13] Some of the Gṛihyasūtras describe a rite which should be performed by a man who wishes that his wife may not be touched by any other man.[14] Cases of illegitimate children are also known to the Gṛihyasūtras. Śāṅkhāyana, for instance, prescribes the Mantras which are to be recited in lieu of the Mahāvyāhṛitis at the Ashṭakā ceremony by that sacrificer who was born as an illegitimate child.[15] Many other instances of the birth of illegitimate children are furnished by the Dharmasūtras in their enumeration of twelve kinds of sons. So a son who was born secretly without the knowledge of his paternity was called a '*Gūḍhaja*' or '*Gūḍhotpanna*' ; a son who was born to an unmarried damsel in her father's house was called '*Kānīna*' ; the son born of a woman who was already pregnant at the time of wedding was called '*Sahoḍha*' (*supra*, p. 196).

Such cases indicate only one thing that all the members of society were not able to live up to the high ideals of morality laid down in their holy scriptures. However, the constant and great emphasis that was laid on these ideals shows beyond all doubt that these high ideals of morality were actually put in practice by a vast majority of the people. Besides, it was deemed to be a sacred duty to afford protection to a helpless woman. Enumerating the duties of a Snātaka, the Ap. D.S. lays down that a Snātaka should not pass by an unprotected woman in a forest (or in any other lonely place) without addressing her.[16] Explaining this sūtra, Haradatta remarks that a Snātaka should address a helpless woman to reassure her with such words as : "Mother or sister, what can I do for you ? Don't be afraid."

4. RESPECT FOR ELDERS

To show respect to the elders was the most outstanding feature of the then civilization of India—so much so that even an old Śūdra who was otherwise regarded to be inferior to every Aryan was respected by a young Aryan.[17] The Dharmasūtras enjoin that every morning and on returning from a journey one must salute one's parents, teacher and elders.[18] Āpastamba states that if the age of several persons whom one meets is exactly known, one must salute the oldest person first.[19]

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THE MODE OF SALUTATION (Abhivādana)

As regards the mode of salutation, the Sankh. G.S. says, "He should salute the person worthy of salutation with the words: 'I am so-and-so, sir!' pronouncing his own name, and crossing his hands so as to clasp with his right hand the right foot and with his left hand the left foot of the person to be saluted. The person who has been thus saluted addresses him by his name and clasping his hands, pronounces a blessing to him."[20] Gautama opines that one should salute in this manner only those persons who know the rule of returning salutation.[21] "Some declare," adds Gautama, "that there is no restrictive rule regarding salutation between the husband and wife. The feet of female relations other than the mother, a paternal uncle's wife and elder sisters need not be touched, nor need they be saluted except on return from a journey. The feet of the wives of brothers and of the mother-in-law need not be touched on any occasion. But on the arrival of an officiating priest, a father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles who are younger than oneself, one must rise; they need not be saluted in the manner as prescribed in the case of parents etc."[22] In this connection Āpastamba puts forward the view that one should salute an officiating priest, a father-in-law, a paternal uncle and a maternal uncle, though they may be younger than oneself, and that one should rise to meet them while saluting, or one may silently touch their feet.[23] Āpastamba further adds the following remarks on salutation: "If he is impure, he should not salute anybody; nor should he salute a person who is impure; nor should he, being impure, return salutation. Married women should be saluted according to the age of their husbands. He should not salute with his shoes on, or with his head being wrapped, or with his hands being full. In saluting women, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaiśya, he should use a pronoun and not his name. Some declare that he should salute in this manner even his mother and the wife of his teacher."[24]

5. HONESTY

The Indians of those times sincerely believed that they should repay the debts incurred by them. The Kauśika Sūtra states that if the creditor dies before the debtor has paid off his debts, the latter should pay it to the progeny of the former, or to a *Sagotra* (*i.e.* a person related by Gotra) of the creditor, or the debtor should scatter the money amounting to his debt in the cemetery or at a crossing of roads.[25] This affords us only a glimpse of the honest

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dealings of the people. It shows that they did not desire to appropriate the wealth of others.

6. KINDNESS

According to the rules of good conduct laid down in the Sūtras, the householder should give food to his guests, infants, old and sick people, females under his protection (*i.e.* daughters, sisters, etc.), pregnant women, and to the people of low condition (*i.e.* servants and the like) in his house, before he takes his meal.[26] When the Vaiśvadeva offering has been performed, the master of the house and his wife should not disappoint a person who asks for food.[27] Āpastamba prescribes that the division of food must be made in such a manner that those who receive daily portions of food may not suffer ; and that the householder at will may stint himself, his wife, or his son, but he should in no case stint a servant who works for him.[28] The Indo-Aryans felt an equal compassion for low creatures also. It was, therefore, the duty of the householder to give some food to low creatures, such as dogs and birds, and to the poor people like *Śvapachas* (men of a degraded class).[29] The Sankh. G. S. enjoins upon the householder not to eat anything without having cut off a portion thereof as a Bali, not to eat alone, and not to eat before feeding others ; then the same Gṛihya quotes in this connection the well-known verse of the Ṛigveda, X, 117,6, which reads : "The foolish man gains food in vain. I speak the truth—it is his death indeed. He offers food neither to the god Aryaman nor to a friend. He who eats alone is none but a sinner."[30]

7. CHARITY

The Dharmasūtras lay down that in addition to the gift of food the householder should make, according to his means, the presents of money to those who are begging for their *Gurus*, or for defraying the expenses of a wedding, or for performing a sacrifice, or for procuring medicine for the sick ; to those who are without the means of livelihood ; to those who are engaged in study ; to travellers ; and to those who have performed the *Viśvajit* sacrifice.[31] Āpastamba adds that the giver should examine the qualities of the petitioner and should give alms according to his means ; but if some one begs alms for the sake of sensual gratification, such an entreaty is improper and he should, therefore, pay no heed to it.[32] Similarly the Gaut. D. S. lays down the injunction that nothing should be given for an unlawful purpose, even though a promise for it has already been made.[33]

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8. HOSPITALITY

Hospitality has been highly extolled in our Sūtras which contain copious details with regard to the manner of receiving, entertaining, and seeing off a guest. The importance that the Sūtras attach to hospitality can be easily judged from the fact that hospitality has been included in the Five Great Sacrifices which a householder is enjoined upon to perform every day (*supra*, p. 392). Describing hospitality as 'an everlasting sacrifice offered by the householder to Prajāpati', Āpastamba compares it to an everlasting Vedic sacrifice.[34]

A guest, according to the definition set out by the Gaut. D. S., is one who, belonging to a different village and intending to stay for a night only, arrives at a time when the rays of the sun pass over trees, *i.e.* in the evening.[35] In this connection the Sankh. G.S. quotes a *Śloka* which reads as follows : "Let him not consider as a guest a person living in the same village, nor one who comes on his way back from a journey ; but he should consider as a guest that person who has arrived at his house where the wife or the sacred fires of the host are stationed."[36] The Ap. D. S. says that the person, who comes solely with a view to fulfilling his duties and with no other purpose to a householder who lives fulfilling his duties, is called a guest ; and that honour done to such a guest brings peace and heavenly bliss.[37]

The host should go to receive the guest, honour him in accordance with his age, and request him to accept a seat.[38] If the guest is a younger person or one of equal age, the host should inquire of a Brāhmaṇa guest about his well-being, employing the word *Kuśala ;* a Kshatriya guest about his physical fitness, employing the word *Anāmaya* ; a Vaiśya guest about the prosperity of his wealth, employing the word *Anashṭa* ; and a Śūdra guest about his health, employing the word *Ārogya*.[39] The Gṛihyasūtras, however, make no mention of these caste-distinctions in regard to a guest. Honour must be shown to the guest, and the host must not take such food as be better than that offered to the guest ; a couch, a seat, and a lodging of the same quality as the host uses, must be provided to a guest of equal position or to the one of better position ; the host should accompany the guest to see him off, and should attend to him respectfully during his stay.[40]

MADHUPARKA

If an officiating priest (*Ṛitvik*), a Snātaka, the king, a teacher, a friend, a maternal uncle, a paternal uncle, and a father-in-law visit

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the householder, he should honour them by offering the *Madhuparka*. They deserve the Madhuparka in that case only when a year has elapsed since their previous visit. A son-in-law is to be honoured in this manner at the time of the wedding, (*supra*, p. 224). The Gṛihyasūtras term this way of reception as *Argha* or *Arghya* and enumerate the above-mentioned persons as worthy of Argha reception.[41]

The person worthy of the Madhuparka is honoured in the following manner :

A seat made of grass, water for washing the feet, *Arghya* water (*i.e.* perfumed water into which flowers have been thrown), water for sipping, the *Madhuparka*, and a cow—each of these things is thrice announced to the guest who accepts them with the recitation of certain Mantras. When the guest has accepted the seat, he sits down thereon and his feet are washed either by the host and his wife or by a Śūdra on behalf of the host. After the feet of the guest have been washed, he accepts the *Arghya* water and the water for sipping. Then he sips that water, reciting a Mantra.

Then the host brings the Madhuparka to him. We may here add a few words about the Madhuparka which is offered to the guest, according to our Sūtras. The Madhuparka generally consisted of three ingredients, namely, honey, curds and ghee. However, other kinds of the Madhuparka are also mentioned in the Sūtras. The Hir. G S. (I, 12, 10-13) says, "They prepare for the guest the Madhuparka consisting of three or five substances. Curds, honey and ghee are the three substances for the Madhuparka. If it consists of five substances, it will have curds, honey, ghee, water, and the flour of fried grains (*Saktus*). Having poured curds into a vessel of bell-metal, he should pour honey into it." The Ap. G.S. (V, 13, 10-13) lays down that the host should mix together curds and honey in a vessel of bell-metal, cover it with a larger vessel, hold it with two bunches of grass, and announce it to the guest : "Madhuparka!" The Ap. G.S. then adds that some take three substances, namely, curds and honey, as stated before, and ghee ; and some take five substances, that is, (the three substances stated above) plus grains and flour of fried grains (*Saktu*). The Kauśika Sūtra (92, 1-11) describes as many as *nine* types of Madhuparka. According to this Sūtra, the *Brāhma-Madhuparka* consists of curds and honey ; a preparation of milk and rice (*Pāyasa*) is the *Aindra-Madhuparka* ; the mixture of honey and Ājya (clarified butter) forms the *Saumya-Madhuparka* ; *Mantha* (*supra*, p. 166) and Ājya form the *Paushṇa-Madhuparka* ; the *Sārasvata-Madhuparka* consists of milk and Ājya ;

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the mixture of liquor (*Surā*) and Ājya forms the *Mausala-Madhuparka* which is offered at the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice and the Rājasūya sacrifice ; the *Vāruṇa-Madhuparka* consists of water and Ājya ; the *Śrāvaṇa-Madhuparka* consists of sesamum oil and Ājya ; sesamum oil and a Piṇḍa (*i.e.* a ball of cooked rice) constitute the *Pārivrājaka-Madhuparka*.

The guest recites a Mantra, looking at the Madhuparka when it is brought to him. He accepts it with his joined hands and takes it into his left hand. Then he looks at it reciting the three verses, stirs round it three times from left to right with the fourth finger and the thumb, and spirts away some portion of the Madhuparka in the four directions. He partakes of the Madhuparka three times and gives the rest of it to a person who is kindly disposed towards him. When he has sipped water, a cow is announced to him. If he chooses to have her immolated and cooked, he recites the formula : "Destroyed is my sin ; my sin is destroyed ; Om, do it." If he chooses to let the cow go, he says, "The mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Ādityas, the navel of immortality ; to the people who understand me, I say, 'Do not kill the guiltless cow who is Aditi.' Let her drink water. Let her eat grass." Then he gives orders to the people, "Om ! Let her go." In case the cow is set free, a meal for the guest is prepared with some other kind of meat ; for the Argha reception is not to be performed without meat (*supra*, p. 175, n. 84). When the meal has been prepared, it is announced to the guest with the words : "It is ready ! " The guest replies, "It is well prepared ; it is *Virāj* ; it is food. May it not fail ! May I obtain it ! May it give me strength ! It is well prepared !" Then he adds, "Give food to Brāhmaṇas." After Brāhmaṇas have been fed, the guest is served with food.[42]

9. IDEAL CONDUCT AND ETIQUETTE

The rules of conduct which the Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras lay down for a Snātaka (graduate) give a clear idea of the ideal conduct and etiquette of those times. A brief resume of these rules has already been given above in Chap. XIV, pp. 314 ff. We are giving below a detailed account of these precepts as contained in the Gaut. D.S.

A Snātaka should always be pure and sweet-smelling, and take his bath regularly. If he can afford to have new garments, he should not be dressed in old or dirty clothes ; nor should he wear dyed or showy garments, nor such garments as have been worn by others. He should not wear a garland and shoes that have been

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worn by others. He may, however, wear a cast off garment, after having washed it, if he is unable to afford a new one. He should not allow his beard to grow without any special reason. He should not carry fire and water simultaneously, should not drink water out of his joined hands, and should not sip water standing. He should not sip water that is offered by a Śūdra or an impure person, nor such water as has been taken up with one hand. Facing wind, fire, Brāhmaṇas, the sun, water, the (images of) gods (*Devatā*), and cows, he should not eject urine or faeces or other impurities. He should not stretch out his legs towards these divine beings. He should not remove urine or faeces with leaves, clods of earth, or stones. He should not stand upon ashes, hair, nail-parings, husks of grains, potsherds, or impure substances. He should not converse with barbarians, impure or wicked persons. If he has conversed with such persons, he should think of virtuous persons, or speak with a Brāhmaṇa. A cow which is not a milch-cow (*Adhenu*) should be called *Dhenubhavyā* (that which is going to become a milch-cow). An inauspicious thing or event should be called as auspicious (*Bhadra*). In speaking of a skull (*Kapāla*) he should use the word *Bhagāla* instead of *Kapāla*; and in speaking of a rainbow, he should use the word *Maṇidhanus* (the jewelled bow) instead of *Indradhanus* (Indra's bow). He should not announce it to others, if a cow suckles her calf; nor should he prevent her from doing so. After conjugal intercourse he should at once clean himself. He should not recite the daily portion of the Veda, lying down on that couch on which he lies with his wife. When he has studied during the third watch of the night, he should not again retire to rest. Let him not have intercourse with his wife when she is ill, nor during her menses. He should not embrace his wife during her menses, nor should he embrace an unmarried girl. He should avoid to blow the fire with his mouth, to wrangle, to show himself covered with perfumed ointments or wearing garlands, to scratch himself with any impure implement, to take his meals with his wife, to look at a woman who is anointing herself, to enter the village by an irregular path, to wash one foot with the other, to eat food placed on a chair, to cross a river by swimming, to climb trees and dangerous places, to descend therefrom, and to imperil his life in any other way. Let him not board a ship of doubtful solidity. He should protect himself by all possible means. In the day time he should not wrap up his head while walking about; but he should cover it at night and at the time of voiding urine and faeces. Let him not void faeces without first covering

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the ground with grass or the like ; nor close to his dwelling ; nor on ashes, on cow-dung, in a ploughed field, in the shade of a tree, on a road, or at beautiful spots. Let him eject urine and faeces, facing the north in the day time and twilight, but facing the south at night. He should not use a seat, clogs, a tooth-stick for cleaning his teeth, and other implements made of *Palāśa* wood. With his shoes on, he should neither eat, nor sit down, nor salute, nor worship the gods. He should never idle away his time. On the contrary, he should make, according to his ability, the best use of every moment through the acquisition of spiritual merit, wealth, or the enjoyment of pleasures. But among these (three aims of human life) he should chiefly attend to the acquisition of spiritual merit. Let him not look at a naked woman wedded to another man. Let him not draw a seat towards himself with his foot. He should keep his genital organ, stomach, hands, feet, tongue, and eyes under due restraint. He should refrain from cutting, breaking, scratching, and crushing anything, or from making his joints crack without any reason. He should not step over a rope to which a calf is tied. He should not be a stay-at-home (*Kulaṁkulaḥ*). He should not go to a sacrifice without being chosen to officiate as a priest ; he may, however, go to witness it. He should not eat food that he has placed in his lap, nor that brought at night by a servant. He should not eat substances from which the fat has been extracted, such as milk from which the cream has been separated, oil-cake, buttermilk, and the like. He should take his meals in the morning and evening, blessing his food, without grumbling at it. He should never sleep naked at night ; nor should he bathe naked. He should perform that action which is declared to be right by the aged Brāhmaṇas of subdued senses, who have been properly obedient to their teachers, who are free from hypocrisy, avarice, and confusion, and who know the Vedas. In order to acquire wealth and for the sake of security he may go to the king, but to no other beings excepting the gods, *Gurus* and righteous Brāhmaṇas. He should endeavour to dwell at a place where firewood, water, fodder, Kuśa grass, materials for making garlands, and roots exist in abundance ; which is chiefly inhabited by the *Āryas* ; which abound in industrious men ; and which is governed by a righteous ruler. He should pass excellent beings and things, auspicious objects, temples of the gods (*Devāyatana*), cross-roads, and the like with his right side turned towards them. The rule for the time of distress is that he should mentally perform all that is required by the rules of conduct. He should always speak the truth. He should conduct

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himself in such a manner as behoves an *Ārya*. He should instruct virtuous men only. He should follow the rules of purification laid down in the holy scriptures. He should devote himself to the study of the Veda. He should never hurt any being ; he should be gentle, yet firm ; and he should always restrain his senses and be liberal.[43]

The above rules of conduct cover most of such rules prescribed for a graduate in the other Sūtras.[44]

In this connection the Ap. D. S. (I, 11, 32, 22-24) adds : "He should not give a direct and indiscreet reply to such a question as is difficult to decide. In this connection they quote the following verse : Indiscreet reply of a person who decides rashly destroys his ancestral wealth and future prosperity and harms his progeny, cattle and home ; 'O *Dharmaprahrāda*, (this act belongs) not to *Kumālana*'—thus decided Death, weeping, the question (put to him by the Ṛishi)." The anecdote alluded to in this verse is narrated by the commentator Haradatta as follows :

"A Ṛishi had two pupils named *Dharmaprahrāda* and *Kumālana*. Once they brought two heavy bundles of firewood from the forest and threw them carelessly in the house of the teacher. One of the bundles struck the teacher's little son who died as a result of injuries. The teacher asked those pupils, 'Which of the two has killed him ?' Both of them replied, 'Not I, not I.' Then the teacher, being unable to (come to a decision) to send away the sinner and to keep the innocent one, called Death and asked him, 'Which of the two has killed the boy ?' Then Death, faced with a difficult question of law, began to weep, and giving his decision said, 'O *Dharmaprahrāda*, not to *Kumālana* (*na Kumālanāya*).' Here dative case has been used instead of the genitive one. The sense of the sentence is : 'This act is none of Kumālana's.' Instead of declaring : 'Dharmaprahrāda, you have done this,' Death said, 'The other did not do it.' However, the implication is quite clear that Dharmaprahrāda has done it. This was the decision that Death gave, weeping."

The Ap. D. S. (I, 11, 31, 15) advises a graduate that he should never declare in public : "This person is my enemy ;" for if he says so he will raise for himself an enemy who will show his hatred. Similarly Pāraskara also lays down that a graduate should be resolute, protect all people from injury, pay particular attention to his own safety, and behave as a friend of all.[45]

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Notes and References

1. Vas. D. S. VI, 1-8 ; *cf.* Manu IV, 156-58; VI. D. S. LXXI, 91-92; Mbh. XIII, 104, 613.
2. Gobh. G. S. II, 1, 6 ; Asv. G. S. I, 5, 5 ; *cf.* Tait. Br. I, 5, 5 ; Ap. S. S. VIII, 4, 2.
3. Par. G. S. II, 8, 8 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. XIV, 1, 1, 30.
4. हिरण्येन संपातान्संनिवृष्य मधु चेत्थेके तन्मुखे कृत्वा प्रपाययति—"आयुर्धय जरां धय सत्यं धय श्रियं धयोर्ज धय रायस्पोषं धय ब्रह्मवर्चसं धय ॥" का० गृ० 34, 6.
5. Ap. D. S. I, 7, 21, 9 ; *cf.* Baudh. D. S. II, 1, 2, 5.
6. Ap. D. S. I, 10, 28, 6 ; Gaut. D. S. XX, 2-7 : Vas, D. S. XV, 12-15 ; Manu, XI, 183-86.
7. Gaut. D. S. XX, 8-9 ; *cf.* Manu XI, 185.
8. Gaut. D. S. XXI, 1 ; Ap. D. S. I, 7, 21, 7-8 ; *cf.* Manu XI, 59 ; Yaj. III, 231.
9. Ap. D. S. I, 7, 21, 8 ; *cf.* Manu V, 90.
10. Gaut. D. S. XXI, 9 ; *cf.* Yaj. III, 297.
11. Gaut. D. S. IX, 48 ; *cf.* Sankh. G. S. IV, 11, 1.
    This Sūtra is found in the Ānandāśrama Skt. Series Edn., with Haradatta's commentary, but not in the Mysore Edn., which I have used for reference in this work.
12. Baudh. G. S. III, 9, 8 ; Bhar. G. S. III, 11 : 77, 14 ; Hir. G. S. II, 20, 1,
13. Kaus. S. 36, 5-9 (for a truant woman) *cf.* ibid. 89, 9 ; *ibid*, 36, 35-37 (for suppressing paramours).
14. Bhar. G. S. II, 28 : 61, 4 ; Ap. G. S. VIII, 23, 3 ; Hir. G. S. I, 14, 6-7.
15. Sankh. G. S. III, 13, 5 ; *cf.* Sāṅkhyāyana-Gṛihya-Saṅgraha, Chap. III, p. 52.
16. नासंभाष्य श्रोत्रियं व्यतिव्रजेत । अरण्ये च स्त्रियम् ॥ आप० ध० I, 4, 14, 30-31.
17. Gaut. D. S. VI, 10. *See* above p. 130, n. 68.
18. Gaut. D. S. VI, 1-3 ; Ap. D. S. I, 4, 14, 7-10 ; *cf.* Sankh. G. S. IV, 12, 1-4.
19. ह्रायमाने वयोविशेषे वृद्धतरायाभिवाद्यम् ॥ आप० ध० 1, 4, 14, 14.
20. Sankh. G. S. IV, 12, 5-6 ; *cf.* Ap. D. S. I, 2, 5, 12 ; *cf.* Manu II, 122-25.
21. Gaut. D. S. VI, 5 ; Vas. D. S. XIII, 44.
22. Gaut. D. S. VI, 6-9 ; *cf.* Manu II, 130-32.
23. Ap. D. S. I, 4, 14, 11-12 ; *cf.* Vas. D. S. XIII, 41.
24. Ap. D. S. I, 4, 14, 18-24 ; Vas. D. S. XIII, 45 ; *cf.* Manu II, 123.
25. उत्तमर्णे मृते तदपत्याय प्रयच्छति । सगोत्राय । श्मशाने निवपति । चतुष्पथे च ॥ कौ० सू० 46, 36-39.
26. Sankh. G. S. II, 14, 19-21 ; Par. G. S. II, 9-14 ; Gaut. D. S. V, 26 ; Ap. D. S. II, 2, 4, 11-12 ; *cf.* Manu III, 116 ; Yaj. I, 105.
27. काले स्वामिनावन्नार्थिनं न प्रत्याचक्षीयाताम ॥ आप० ध० II, 2, 4, 13.
28. Ap. D. S. II, 4, 9, 10-11 ; *cf.* Baudh. D. S. II, 3, 5, 16.
29. Sankh. G. S. II, 14, 22 ; Ap. D. S. II, 4, 9, 5 ; *cf.* Vas. D. S. XI, 9-11 ; *cf.* Manu III, 92 ; Yaj. I, 103.
30. Sankh. G. S. II, 14, 23-26 ; Baudh. D. S. II, 3, 5, 17-18 ; II, 7, 13, 2 ; *cf.* Bhagavadgītā III, 13 ; Manu III, 118.
31. Gaut. D. S. V, 22 ; Ap. D. S. II, 5, 10, 1 ; Baudh. D. S. II, 3, 5, 19 ; Vas. D. S. XIV, 13 ; *cf.* Manu IV, 251 ; XI, 1-3 ; Yaj. I, 216.

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32. Ap. D. S. II, 5, 10, 2-3.

33. प्रतिश्रुत्याप्यधर्मसंयुक्तं न दद्यात् ॥ गौ० ध० V, 24.

34. Ap. D. S. II, 3, 7, 1-10.

35. Gaut. D. S. V, 41 ; Vas. D. S. VIII, 4-5 ; *cf.* Manu III, 102-105 Yaj. I, 111.

36. Sankh. G. S. II, 16, 3 ; Kaush. G. S. III, 10, 35 ; *cf.* Manu III, 103.

37. स्वधर्मयुक्तं कुटुम्बिनमभ्यागच्छति धर्मपुरस्कारो नान्यप्रयोजनः सोतिथिर्भवति तस्य पूजायां शान्तिः स्वर्गश्च ॥ आप० ध० II, 3, 6, 5-6.

38. Ap. D. S. II, 3, 6, 7-8.

39. Ap. D. S. I, 4, 14, 26-29 ; Gaut. D. S. V, 42 ; *cf.* Manu II, 127.

40. Gaut. D. S. V, 37-39 ; Ap. D. S. II, 4, 8, 2-4 ; Manu III, 106-107.

41. Par. G. S. I, 3, 1-3 ; Asv. G. S. I, 24, 1-3 ; Gobh. G. S. IV, 10, 23-26 ; Man. G. S. I, 9, 1-3 ; Kath. G. S. 24, 1 ; Kaus. S. 92, 32 ; Baudh. G. S. I, 2, 65-67 ; Baudh. D. S. II, 3, 6, 36-37 ; Gaut. D. S. V, 28-31 ; Sankh. S. S. IV, 21, 1; Ap. D. S. II, 4, 8, 5-7 ; Vas. D. S. XI, 1-2 ; Yaj I, 110 ; Manu III, 119.

42. Asv. G. S. I, 24 ; Par. G. S. I, 3 ; Sankh. S. S. IV, 21, 2-25 ; Sankh. G. S. II, 15 ; *ibid.* II, 16, 1 ; Gobh. G. S. IV, 10 ; Jaim. G. S. I, 19 : 18, 12 ; Baudh. G.S. I, 2 ; Bhar. G. S.II, 23-26 ; Hir. G. S. I, 12, 7-19 ; *ibid.* I, 13, 1-18 ; Ap. G. S. V, 13, 2-20 ; Man. G. S. I, 9, 1-23 ; Kath. G. S. 24, 1-21 ; Kaus. S. 90-92 ; Vas. D. S. IV, 5-8 ; Manu III, 3 ; V, 41.

43. Gaut. D. S. IX, 2-70 ; *cf.* Manu IV, 33 seq. ; Yaj. I, 129-66.

44. Baudh. D. S. I, 3, 5, 1-13 ; II, 3, 5, 10—II, 3, 6, 42 ; Ap. D. S. I, 11, 30, 1—I, 11, 32, 29 ; Vas. D. S. XII, 1-47.

45. दृढव्रतो वधत्रः स्यात्सर्वत आत्मानं गोपायेत्सर्वेषां मित्रमिव ॥ पा० गृ० II, 7, 18.

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CHAPTER XXII

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

The foregoing Chapters dealing with the various ceremonies and sacrifics embodied in the Sūtras afford us clear glimpses into the religious practices and philosophical ideas of the Sūtra period. Now we need only to analyse them with a view to forming a coherent conception of the faith and philosophy of the people of ancient India. It is important to note in this connection that the customs and practices contained in the Gṛihyasūtras represent the religious beliefs of the common Indian of the Sūtra age. The sacrifices of the Śrautasūtras are highly philosophical in character. The *Agnichayana*, for example, symbolizes the *cosmogonic* and *theosophic* theories of the age. It is a gigantic task indeed to expound fully the metaphysical aspect of the Śrauta sacrifices. The speculations of the Upanishads and the symbolism of the Śrauta sacrifices which represent the high philosophical thinking of ancient India are, of course, beyond the scope of the present work and deserve to be treated thoroughly in separate volumes. Religious and philosophical ideas reflected in the Gṛihya and Dharmasūtras are mainly dealt with in this Chapter.

1. THE CONCEPTION OF THE SUPREME

Discussing the nature of the Supreme, Āpastamba quotes certain *Ślokas* which he might have borrowed from some Upanishad ; however, they are not found in the Upanishads published so far. These Ślokas describe the Supreme as follows :

"All living beings are His abode ; He dwells in their hearts ; He is immortal and free from sin ; and those who realize the immovable dwelling in the movable body become immortal." "Of all the beings He is eternal, wise, immortal, and unchangeable ; He is free from limbs, sound, (subtle) body, and touch. He is supreme and pure ; He is the whole universe and final goal ; He dwells in the middle of the body as the *Vishuvat* day is the middle of the sacrificial year ; and He is indeed accessible to all like a town with many streets."

"He is omniscient and subtler than the lotus-fibre ; He pervades the whole universe ; He is greater than the earth, and unchangeable ; He sustains the entire universe ; He is different

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from the knowledge of the world acquired through the senses, but the world is not different from Him ; He is the highest entity consisting of absolute knowledge ; from Him who divides Himself spring all creatures ; and He is the ultimate cause, eternal and imperishable."[1]

2. POPULAR DEITIES AND DEMONS

DEITIES

There is no doubt that the Upanishads propound the theory of one Supreme Being and regard all deities like Indra and Agni as subservient to Him. The *Nairuktas* (etymologists), as pointed out by Yāska (VII, 5), held the view that there are only three deities ; and others believed that all the deities stand for the different aspects of One Deity. Monotheistic tendency is clearly discernible in the plurality of Vedic gods. The plurality of the deities was, however, recognized at all sacrifices. The Sūtras prescribe the offering of specific oblations for different deities and convey the impression that all the deities possess the same beneficial characteristics and act in perfect unison for the good of the sacrificer.

In addition to the deities already known to the Vedic Aryans, a number of new deities had also been admitted to the Aryan Pantheon by the time of the Sūtras. *Indra, Agni, Prajāpati, Savitṛi, Pūshan, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, Rudra, Brahman, Dyāvāpṛithivī, Viśvedevas, Soma, Sūrya,* the two *Aśvins, Bṛihaspati, Kshetrapati, Vāstoshpati,* and *Sarasvatī* are the important Vedic deities which the Sūtras have inherited from the religion of the earlier times. *Agni* still holds an important position and is invoked at the performance of all the sacrifices. *Indra* receives oblations at the daily sacrifice and on the occasion of certain other sacrifices. He is, however, not equal to Agni in importance. *Rudra* has acquired very great importance indeed. He is invoked in the Gṛihyas under a number of names, *viz. Paśupati, Śiva, Hara, Bhava, Mahādeva, Mṛiḍa, Ugra, Bhīma, Rudra, Īśāna, Śaṁkara, Śarva* and *Trayambaka* ; and a special sacrifice called *Śūlagava* was performed in those early times mainly to propritiate this god (*supra*, p. 432). Oblations were offered to Rudra at the time of Baliharaṇa (*supra*, p. 390) and a special oblation known as *Yajñavāstu* was offered to Rudra at the end of every Gṛihya sacrifice.[2] The other deities, such as Indra, Agni, Vishṇu and Savitṛi, are invoked by the sacrificer to grant him boons and blessings and to help him tide over difficulties ; but Rudra is seldom approached by the sacrificer for such purposes. In almost all the sacrifices dedicated to Rudra, this god is besought to save the sacrificer

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from his destructive wrath. While the other gods are believed to be kind and helpful, Rudra is regarded as wrathful and ferocious. The Asv. G.S., therefore, says : "They should not take to the village anything belonging to Śūlagava, for this god (*i.e.*, Rudra) will do harm to (human) creatures."[3]

At the Śūlagava sacrifice the consort of Rudra also receives oblations under several names, such as *Rudrāṇī*, *Śarvāṇī* and *Bhavānī*.[4] The Gṛihyasūtras of Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, and Hiraṇyakeśin prescribe the offering of oblations to Rudra's son *Jayanta* also (*supra*, p. 435). *Ambikā*, who is regarded as the sister of Rudra in the Yajurveda,[5] is the recipient of oblations at the Baliharaṇa ceremony of the Gṛihyasūtras.[6]

Vishṇu who had attained great importance by the time of the Sūtras received oblations at the performance of many Śrauta and Gṛihya sacrifices. Vishṇu was, for example, one of the important deities to be propitiated with offerings at the new-moon sacrifice of the Śrauta and Gṛihyasūtras. The Baudh. G.S. prescribes the performance of a rite called *Vishṇu-bali* (*supra*, p. 264). *Nārāyaṇa* which is one of the names of Vishṇu in the later literature finds mention in the Sūtras.[7] Some of the Sūtras describe a rite named *Nārāyaṇa-bali*.[8] Vishṇu was continuously growing in importance in the Sūtra period and later emerged as a supreme deity of the Hindus.

Other important deities to whom Bali is offered at the Baliharaṇa ceremony include *Dhanvantari*, *Vaiśravaṇa* (Kubera or Dhanapati), *Anumati*, *Śrī*, and *Bhadrakālī* (*supra*, p. 391). According to the Bhar. G.S., a boy is entrusted at the time of the Upanayana to *Kubera*, *Mahārāja*, *Takshaka* and *Vaiśāleya* besides other gods, such as, Sūrya and Prajāpati.[9] Two uncommon deities named *Śaka* and *Jañjabha* are also mentioned by some of the Gṛihyasūtras in the description of the Samāvartana ceremony.[10] Describing the Upanayana, the Kaus. S. (56, 13) mentions a number of uncommon deities, namely, *Śūlvāṇa*, *Śatruñjaya*, *Kshātrāṇa*, *Mārtyuñjaya*, *Mārtyava*, *Takshaka*, *Vaiśāleya*, and the Gandharvas *Hāhāhūhū*. Takshaka and Vaiśāleya are regarded as the names of serpents in the epics and the Purāṇas.

Sītā which literally means 'furrow' is regarded as an agricultural deity, and oblations are offered to her at the performance of various ceremonies relating to agricultural operations (*supra*, pp. 425 ff). In some cases qualities, such as *Śraddhā* (faith), *Medhā* (intellect), *Bhūti* (prosperity), are also represented as goddesses in the Gṛihyasūtras.[11] The other category of goddesses is represented by the

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consorts of gods, *e.g.* Indrāṇī, Varuṇānī, Rudrāṇī.[12] In the description of the *Halābhiyoga* ceremony the Gobh .G.S. mentions *Sītā, Āśā, Araḍā* and *Anaghā* as goddesses.[13] The goddesses *Hrī, Śrī, Lakshmī, Pushṭi, Kālī, Shashṭhī, Bhadrakālī,* and *Mahīshikā* find mention in the Kath. G.S.[14] The same goddesses are mentioned in the Man. G. S. (II, 13) also which prescribes the performance of *Shashṭhī-kalpa, i.e.* a ritual sacred to the goddess Shashṭhī ; and according to this Gṛihyasūtra, the *Shashṭhī-kalpa* should be celebrated in the night of the Shashṭhī (the sixth lunar day) of the bright fortnight ; the goddess Shashṭhī is here invoked to grant worldly prosperity to the worshipper. The Baudh. G. S. also speaks of Shashṭhī as one of the names of Śrī.[15]

VINĀYAKAS

The Man. G. S. (II, 14) speaks of four *Vināyakas*, namely, *Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa, Kūshmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita* and *Devayajana.* It adds that the persons, who happen to be affected by the Vināyakas, suffer from various types of mental distractions and meet with adverse fate. This Sūtra prescribes the performance of the following rite to ged rid of the Vināyakas :

The affected person should be washed with the water, which is brought in four undamaged pitchers from four cascades, and which is mixed with all kinds of perfumes, juices, jewels, earth taken from the resting-places of deer and donkeys, *Rochanā* (a kind of yellow pigment), and *Guggula* (bdellium). He is at that time seated on a bull-skin. Four oblations of mustard oil are offered to the four Vināyakas on the head of the affected person at midnight ; afterwards at a crossing of the village or town oblations of various things including unhusked grains, flesh, meat, fish, many types of liquor such as *Madhu, Maireya,* and *Surā,* and garments of seven colours, should be offered in a new winnowing-basket placed on Darbha grass. The deities are then invoked under the following names : Vimukha, Śyena, Baka, Yaksha, Kalaha, Bhīru, Vināyaka, Kūshmāṇḍarājaputra, Yajñāvikshepin, Kulaṅgāpamāra, Yūpakeśin, Sūparakroḍin, Haimavata, Jambhaka, Virūpāksha, Lohitāksha, Vaiśravaṇa, Mahāsena, Mahādeva, and Mahārāja. At midnight the priest worships the *Grahas* and a goddess is invoked ; the sun is worshipped in the following morning.

The Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti gives a very similar description of this ceremony in the form of Ślokas and mentions *Ambikā* as the mother of Vināyaka ; but unlike the Man. G. S., the Yaj. Sm. speaks of only one Vināyaka.[16]

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It is clear from the above description that the Vināyakas are propitiated with oil, fish and liquor ; and that they are of destructive nature, destroying even Yajña. The Vināyakas, therefore, appear to be the gods of non-Aryan people, for such deities are not found in the earlier scriptures of the Āryas. Further, most of the Aryan deities are of kind nature and none of them receives the offering of fish and oil.

The Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa mentions one 'Vināyaka' together with Skanda.[17] The Baudhāyana Gṛihyapariśesha, a later work, prescribes that oblations should be offered to the lord *Vināyaka* at the beginning of every auspicious act or on the fourth or fifth day of the bright fortnight of each month. Describing the ceremony of offering this oblation, this Sūtra attributes to Vināyaka such epithets as *Hastimukha* (one having the face of an elephant), and *Vighna* (one causing obstruction), *Gaṇeśvara*, etc.[18] In a passage of the Baudh. D. S., which is probably an interpolation, Vināyaka is given many titles, such as Hastimukha, *Vakratuṇḍa* (one whose trunk is crooked), *Ekadanta* (one who has one tusk), *Lambodara* (one with a long belly), and Gaṇapati.[19] In the later works and the Purāṇas Vināyaka is always spoken of in the singular number and represented to have the face of an elephant on a human body with a long and bulging belly.[20]

DEMONS AND GOBLINS

The common people believed in the existence of a number of demons and goblins who were believed to be prone to cause harm to human beings. At the birth of a child every precaution was taken to protect the newly-born child and its mother from the clutches of demons and goblins ; the following demons and goblins are mentioned in this connection : Śaṇḍa, Marka, Upavīra, Śauṇḍikeya, Ulūkhala, Malimlucha, Droṇāsa, Chyavana, Ālikhat, Animisha, Kiṁvadanta, Upaśruti, Haryaksha, Kumbhin, Śatru, Pātrapāṇi, Nṛimaṇi, Hantrīmukha, Sarshapāruṇa, Keśinī, Śvalominī, Bajābojā, Upakāsinī (*supra*, p. 270).

The following verses from the Gṛihyasūtras of Bhāradvāja and Hiraṇyakeśin give a vivid description of these demons and goblins :

"Wearing variegated garments, the servants of Kubera, sent by the king of demons, all of one common origin, walk through the village, wishing (to harm) those who are unprotected. Svāhā !"

" 'Kill them ! Bind them !' thus says this messenger of Brahman. Agni has encompassed them. Indra knows them ; Bṛihaspati knows them ; I, a Brāhmaṇa, know them who seize

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(men), who have prominent teeth, rugged hair, and hanging breasts Svāhā !"

"The night-walkers, wearing ornaments on their breasts, with lances in their hands, drinking out of skulls. Svāhā !"

"Their father Uchchaiḥśravyakarṇaka walks in front of them ; their mother walks in the rear, seeking *Vidhura* (distress) in the village. Svāhā !"

"Their sister, the night-walker, looks at the family through the rift (*Sandhi*) of the door—she who wakes the sleeping (child), whose mind is turned on the wife that has become the mother. Svāhā !"[21]

The foregoing description of demons shows that these evil beings were believed to have a horrible appearance and malicious nature. The Aryans invoked Vedic deities, such as Agni, Indra and Bṛihaspati, to drive away demons and goblins.

SERPENT-WORSHIP

In the age of the Sūtras the people used to make offerings to serpents on different occasions. It was, however, not due to any veneration for serpents but due to the belief that if serpents were propitiated by means of offerings they would not bite the worshippers. This view is fully borne out by the Man. G.S. which says that the householder, being afraid of serpents, makes offerings on the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa (*supra*, p. 404). The Śravaṇā sacrifice, which we have already described above, is intended particularly to propitiate serpents (*supra*, pp. 404ff). In the description of this ceremony the Asv. G.S. (II, 1, 9) gives a Mantra which reads as follows : "The serpents which belong to the Earth, which belong to the Air, which belong to Heaven, which dwell in the directions of the horizon—to them I have brought this Bali ; to them I offer this Bali." This Mantra of the Asv. G.S. clearly shows that the entire universe was believed to be infested with serpents. At the same time the people held the belief that serpents in every region of the world were under the control of some superior deities whom they used to call the 'Lords of Serpents'. This is clear from the following Mantras of the Par. G.S. (II, 14, 9) : "To the Lord of the yellowish, terrestrial serpents belonging to Agni, Svāhā !" "To the Lord of the white, aerial serpents belonging to Vāyu, Svāhā !" "To the Lord of the overpowering, celestial serpents belonging to Sūrya, Sāvāh !" *Śveta* (which literally means a 'white one') is regarded by the Gṛihyasūtras as most powerful in restraining serpents. The Grihyasūtras contain the following Mantra addressed to *Śveta* : "Best

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away, O Śveta, with thy foot, with with the forefoot and with the hindfoot, these seven daughters of Varuṇa and all who belong to the King's tribe. Within the dominion of *Śveta*, the serpent has bitten nobody. To Śveta, adoration to Śveta, the son of Vidarva, Svāhā !"[22]

The Mantra quoted above declares *Śveta* to be the son of *Vidarva* ; and the mention of the forefoot and hindfoot goes to point out that Śveta is perhaps a quadruped ; for the forefoot and hindfoot are generally spoken of in the case of a quadruped and not in the case of a biped. I, therefore, hazard the conjecture that '*Śveta*' probably stands for a mythological horse of white colour ; for a verse of the R.V. addressed to the Aśvins reads, "You gave to *Pedu*, O Aśvins, the white and serpent-slaying (*Ahihanam*) steed which you received from Indra."[23] In another verse addressed to Soma it is said, "Like the horse of *Pedu* thou art the slayer of those who are called serpents."[24] Mythological serpents, such as Vāsuki, Chitrasena, Chitraratha, Taksha, Upataksha, Takshaka, and Kadru, the mother of serpents, were offered Balis at the Bhūta-yajña, according to some Sūtras.

TREE-WORSHIP

Though the cult of tree-worship was not very popular, a few instances of tree-worship are found in the Sūtras. It is laid down that when the bride and the bridegroom happen to pass by a big tree, the latter should address a Mantra to the tree.[25] The worship of a *Palāśa* tree is prescribed at the Medhājanana ceremony (*supra*, p. 301). According to the Bhar. G. S., one should recite a Mantra at the sight of a strange tree and should always sprinkle with water, before mid-day, a Nyagrodha tree and other trees which have milky juice.[26] The Par. G. S. prescribes that the householder, after having eaten his portion of the sacrificial food prepared at the *Indra-yajña*, should make an offering to the Maruts on the leaves of an Aśvattha tree, because it is said : "The Maruts stood in the Aśvattha tree."[27] A passage of the Tait. Samh. also says that the Aśvattha is the might of the Maruts.[28] Thus we see that the Aśvattha tree was regarded as sacred to the Maruts in very early times. It is still regarded as a sacred tree in India.

THE SANCTITY OF RIVERS AND TĪRTHAS

From very early times—as early as the age of the Ṛigveda—the Indo-Aryans regarded water as a deity and believed in its efficacy of removing sins. So a verse of the Rigveda says "O Waters,

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take away whatever sin is in me, whether I have knowingly done an evil deed, or have pronounced imprecations (against holy persons), or have told a lie."[29] A good many verses of this kind are found in the Ṛigveda. It was regarded as meritorious to take bath in a river on certain auspicious occasions. With regard to the *Avabhṛitha* bath which was performed on the completion of a Śrauta sacrifice the Tait. Samh. contains the following Mantra : "O bath, O flood, thou glidest, O flood ; thou hast removed through sacrifice the sin committed by gods as well as by mortals ; guard us, O god, from wide hostility."[30] Extolling the ambrosial effect of the water of the river *Varaṇāvalī*, the A. V. says, "So may this water guard (us) on the bank of the Varaṇāvatī. Therein hath Amṛita (Ambrosia) been infused ; with that I ward thy poison off."[31] The Brāhmaṇas highly praise the *'Avabhṛitha'* bath and opine that the Avabhṛitha bath removes all sins.[32] Similarly the Śrautasūtras also prescribe the Avabhṛitha bath at the conclusion of a sacrifice.[33] Referring to the purificatory powers of the Avabhṛitha bath, the Dharmasūtras state that the sin of murdering a Brāhmaṇa can be removed by bathing with the priests at the Avabhṛitha to be performed at the end of an Aśvamedha sacrifice.[34]

The word *Tīrtha* originally signified a fordable place or a *Ghat* on a river,[35] and the performance of a bath at a Tīrtha came to be regarded as meritorious in quite early times. The Tait. Samh. makes the following remarks in this connection : "The Aṅgirasas going to the world of heaven placed in the waters consecration and penance. He bathes in the waters ; verily he visibly secures consecration and penance. He bathes at a *Tīrtha*, for at a Tīrtha did they place consecration and penance ; he bathes at a Tīrtha ; verily he becomes a Tīrtha (ford) for his fellows."[36] Recognizing the sanctity of Tīrthas, the Gṛihyasūtras prescribe that certain Mantras should be recited when the bride and the bridegroom reach a Tīrtha.[37] The Bhar. G. S. and the Ap. G. S. enjoin upon a student who is going to take his Samāvartana bath to bathe himself silently at a Tīrtha.[38] In this connection the Dharmasūtras declare that all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, *Tīrthas*, the dwellings of Ṛishis, cow-pens, and the temples of gods are the places which destroy sins.[39]

REVERENCE FOR THE COW

The cow has been regarded as a sacred being by the Aryans from very early times. The Vedic Saṁhitās contain a number of passages which proclaim the sanctity of the cow.[40] The Vedic

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poets were so fond of the cow that they felt no hesitation in comparing their songs to the lowing of cows.[41] In view of such a reverence for the cow, the Ṛigveda disapproves of her slaughter and consequently uses the word *Aghnyā* (not to be slain) for the cow in as many as sixteen passages.[42] In another passage the Ṛigveda explicitly forbids the killing of the cow and says: "The mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Ādityas, the navel of immortality; to the people who understand, I say, 'Do not kill the guiltless cow who is Aditi.'"[43] However, it cannot be said that cow-slaughter was absolutely unknown in the age of the Ṛigveda. A verse of the Ṛigveda is quoted by some scholars to prove the custom of immolating cows for the *Madhuparka* at the time of wedding, though the interpretation of this verse is still disputed.[44]

The A. V. raises a strong voice of protest against the slaughter of the cow. Hymns 4 and 5 of the 12th Kāṇḍa of the A. V. are devoted entirely to the eulogy of the cow and to the condemnation of cow-slaughter. We are quoting below a few verses from these hymns:

1. "Whoever looking on the cow as fruitless, cooks her flesh at home, Bṛihaspati compels his sons and grandsons to beg." (A. V. XII, 4, 38).
2. "If a person cooks at his home the cow, whether she is sacrificed or unsacrificed, that wronger of the gods and Brāhmaṇas departs wicked from the world." (A.V.XII,4,53)
3. "(The cow proves) wrathful Śarva while she is being carved, and Śimidā when she is cut up." (A. V. XII, 5,36).
4. "(The cow proves) poverty while she is being eaten, and destruction when she has been eaten." (A. V. XII, 5,37).
5. "Her slaughter is the sin of witchcraft; her cutting is a thunderbolt; and her undigested grass is a secret spell." (A. V. XII, 5,39).

According to the A. V. it is also a sin to kick or prick a cow. So it says in a Mantra, "Whoever twitches up her ears is separated from the gods. He thinks he makes a mark, but he diminishes his wealth thereby."[45] Again in another place it says: "If thou shouldst kick a cow, or by indecent act offend the sun, thy root I sever: nevermore mayst thou cast shadow on the ground."[46]

The Atharvaveda's strong condemnation of cow-slaughter implies the existence of this practice which evoked such shard remarks from the Ṛishis of those times. The Brāhmaṇas also mention cases of cow-slaughter.[47] Alongside of the practice of

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cow-slaughter its condemnation is also found in the Brāhmaṇas. The Sat. Br., for example, observes in one place : "Let him not eat the meat of either a cow or an ox ; for the cow and the ox doubtless support everything here on the earth. Hence, were one to eat the meat of an ox or a cow, there would be, as it were, an eating of everything ; or, as it were, a going on to the end, *i.e.* to destruction. Such a person indeed would be likely to be born (again) as a strange being, (as one of whom there is) evil report, such as 'he has expelled an embryo from a woman', 'he has committed a sin'; let him therefore not eat the meat of the cow and the ox. Nevertheless, Yājñavalkya said, 'I, for one eat it, provided it is tender (*Aṁsala*)'."[48] The Śrautasūtras follow the Brāhmaṇas.

The Gṛihyasūtras mention immolation of the cow in a number ceremonies, such as the Ashṭakās, the Śūlagava, the cremation of the dead, and the Argha. A gradual trend for the elimination of cow-immolation is, however, discernible in these works ; and various options are allowed to spare the cow. According to such options, the Ashṭakās may be celebrated by merely burning brushwood in the forest, or by merely giving food to a cow (*supra*, p. 417). At the Śūlagava ceremony also the immolation of the cow is omitted by some of the Gṛihyasūtras, such as the Bhar. G. S , the Ap. G. S., and the Hir. G. S. (*supra*, p. 435). Similarly at the funeral ceremony described in the later Sūtras, such as the Vaikh. G. S. and the Agni. G. S., the sacrifice of the cow is either omitted or there is a provision for sparing the life of the cow (*supra*, p. 361). Moreover, the Gṛihyasūtras allow that the cow to be immolated at the Argha ceremony may be let loose and that any other animal may be substituted for her, the only condition being that the Argha must not be performed without meat (*supra*, p. 458). There is, however, a further option in some of Gṛihyasūtras that rice and ghee may be prepared instead of meat at the Argha or Madhuparka.[49] Thus a tendency to avoid cow-immolation was successively growing in the days of the Gṛihyasūtras and reverence for the cow was on the increase, though her slaughter was still prevalent. Some of the injunctions of the Gṛihyasūtras indicate high reverence for the cow. The Sankh. G. S., for example, lays down that the study of the Veda should be suspended in the presence of the cows which have had no food.[50] The Sūtras enjoin that a Snātaka (graduate) should not point it to another when a cow suckles her calf.[51] It is also laid down that a person going in a chariot should get down from it on reaching cows.[52] A bull was regarded as holy and it was, therefore, considered to be auspicious to look at a bull during the observance of the Veda-

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Vratas.[53] Cow-dung which was regarded as purifying was used to smear the sacrificial place.[54] And a lump of cow-dung was used, among other things (*supra*, p. 213), to choose a bride.[55] The Gaut. D. S. says that a Snātaka should not eject urine or faeces or other impurities towards cows or in the sight of cows.[56] According to the Dharmasūtras, it is a sin to kill a cow and the killer of the cow is required to undergo certain penances to expiate the sin.[57]

3. THE MODES OF WORSHIP

The modes of worship varied with the conceptiou of the deity. Those who conceived the Supreme as an omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent entity endeavoured to realize the Supreme through meditation and self-discipline. Other people sought to win the favour of deities through prayers and sacrifices.

MEDITATION

Those people who pondered over the subtle nature of the Supreme devoted themselves to meditation and self-discipline. About contemplation and self-discipline Āpastamba quotes the following Ślokas :

"He, who being devoted meditates upon the Supreme everywhere and always conducts himself in accordance with His commandments, sees Him who is subtle and difficult to see ; and he will rejoice in a state of painlessness (*Vishṭape*)." "The wise man who sees all creatures in the self and meditates upon the reality is never bewildered ; and the knower of *Brahman* who sees the self everywhere shines in heaven."[58]

Thus contemplation upon the true nature of the Supreme is regarded as a means of achieving the highest beatitude. Such ideas about contemplation are rare in the Sūtras and are mainly found in the Upanishads.

SACRIFICE AND PRAYER

In order to propitiate a deity a *Yajña* (sacrifice) was offered to it. A Yajña generally consisted in offering oblations of cooked food into the fire with the recitation of proper Mantras. The study of sacred texts, the offering of water-libations, the offering of oblations of food outside the fire, and the feeding of a guest were also regarded as Yajñas, as shown above in the description of the *Pañcha Mahāyajñas* (*supra*, p. 387). The sacrifices, which we have fully described in the previous Chapters, were of various

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types, *viz.* daily sacrifices, monthly sacrifices, annual sacrifices, and special sacrifices. The Gṛihya sacrifices could be performed by the householder himself or by any other person acting in his behalf. In these sacrifices the oblations were mostly made of the mess of cooked food of rice or barley. Animal-sacrifice was prescribed in a very few and special cases, such as the Śūlagava and Aṣṭakā. Even in such cases the Gṛihyasūtras allow the option of offering a mess of boiled grains and the like in lieu of an animal (*supra*, p. 417). So far as daily sacrifice was concerned, the offering of meat was particularly prohibited.[59] The Śrauta sacrifices were comparatively more complicated in procedure, and the services of a number of priests were required for the performance of these sacrifices. Besides, it took many days to complete the celebration of certain Śrauta sacrifices. Some of the Śrauta sacrifices continued for a year and, some even longer. The Mantras that accompanied the performance of sacrifices were in the form of prayers ; and on certain occasions only Mantras were recited as prayers and no material oblation was offered to the deities.

TEMPLES AND IDOLS

It is evident from the description of Gṛihya rites contained in the foregoing Chapters that no temples are necessary for the performance of these rites. However, temples are referred to in the Sūtras. The Sankh. G.S. says that a student who observes the *Mahānāmnī Vrata* should fast in the forest in a temple (*Devakula*) or at a place where the Agnihotra is performed.[60] Śāṅkhāyana and Gautama lay down the rule that a Snātaka should pass the temples of gods (*Devāyatanas*) with his right side being turned towards them.[61] According to the Man. G.S., the girl to be chosen as a bride should be examined in a temple (*Devāgāra*) by means of clods of earth.[62] The Kath. G.S. prescribes that the branch of a sacred tree, which is ceremonially given to the girl at a rite to be performed prior to the day of her wedding, should be thrown in a reservoir of standing water or in a pure temple.[63] The existence of temples in those days is thus clearly indicated by the foregoing statements of the Sūtras.

The *Chaityas* that are frequently mentioned by the Buddhist works as 'religious shrines' are met with in the Sūtras also. The Asv. G.S., as we have seen above (*supra*, p. 424), prescribes a Chaitya-sacrifice and lays down that the offering should be sent through a messenger if the Chaitya is distant. From the above statement of Āśvalāyana, it follows that such religious shrines were in some cases situated outside villages or towns. Further, the statement

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of Śāṅkhāyana directing a Brahmachārin to fast in a temple in the forest, also shows that temples lay outside villages or towns. The Gṛihyasūtras, however, give us no information as to how the worship of gods was then performed in temples. The Par. G.S. (III, 14, 8) lays down the rule that when a person is going in a chariot he should get down from it before reaching the gods (*Devatāḥ*). The commentator Harihara explains that the gods, such as Hari, Hara, and Brahman, are to be understood here, and the commentator Viśvanātha explains that when he sees a temple he should get down from the chariot before reaching the temple. Prof. Oldenberg translates the word '*Devatāḥ*' as 'images of gods.'[64]

The Man. G.S. says that if the image of a god burns, is destroyed, falls down, breaks into pieces, laughs, or trembles, a sacrifice should be performed to ward off the evil effects of such an ominous occurrence.[65] A similar rule is contained in the Kaus. S. (105, 1). In spite of these references, the Sūtras nowhere prescribe the worship of idols in temples. It suggests that in the beginning the worship of idols in temples did not form part of the Aryan religion. However, the Aryans had a reverential attitude towards temples and idols.

4. SUPERSTITIONS AND MAGICAL RITES

Apart from what has already been described in the form of various rites in the foregoing pages, the Gṛihyasūtras contain a number of other rites which reveal to us the superstitious beliefs and magical performances prevalent among the people in those days. The Gṛihyasūtras prescribe that if any of the following prodigies befalls the householder he should perform an expiatory rite which consists, in some cases, of the recitation of certain formulas :

If a post of his house puts forth shoots ; if bees make a beehive in his house ; if a solitary pigeon flies into his house ; if the footprints of a pigeon are seen on the hearth ; if the skirt of his garment is blown upon him by the wind ; if a bird befouls him with its excrements ; if a drop of water falls on him when there is no cloud ; if he is overtaken by a tornado ; if a cow sucks another cow ; if he has seen a bad dream ; if a spar of the roof or the middle post of the house breaks down ; if the water-barrel bursts ; if he has touched a piled-up fire-altar or a sacrificial post ; if he hears humming in his ears ; if his eye palpitates ; if the sun rises or sets while he is sleeping without sickness ; if he sees a solitary jackal or a solitary she-wolf ; or if an ant-hill appears in his house, then he should perform an expiatory rite.[66]

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The Gṛihyasūtras prescribe the performance of certain magical rites for those persons who wish the fulfilment of particular desires. If a man, for example, wishes that his companion or pupil or servant should faithfully stay with him and should not run away, he should, according to some Gṛihyas, pour his own urine into the horn of a living animal and sprinkle it thrice round him with the recitation of certain formulas at a time when that person is asleep.[67] It is also laid down that if a person finds that someone is angry with him, certain formulas should be recited in order to appease his anger.[68] The Ap. G.S., the Bhar. G.S., and the Hir. G.S. prescribe the performance of similar magic rites for a person who wishes to guard his wife from a paramour, who wishes to gain prosperity in trade, and who wishes to be victorious in a debate.[69]

The Gobh. G.S. prescribes such magical rites for fulfilling a large number of special wishes which include the following: to gain the favour of some person; to enjoy riches; to increase herds of horses, elephants, and cattle; to avert involuntary death; to get rid of misfortune, to; gain a hundred cart-loads (of gold); to procure happiness; to attain long life; to maintain the means of livelihood; to gain villages; to win glory; and to become a ruler.[70]

The Gṛihyasūtras lay down that one should recite certain Mantras when one is going to mount an elephant, a horse, a chariot, a camel, or an ass; or when one boards a ship, or sees the new moon, or yawns, or sneezes.[71] Similarly it is laid down that certain Mantras should be recited when one comes to a crossing of roads, a dung-heap, a big tree, a place frequented by serpents, a cemetery, a cow-stable, or a dangerous place[72]. It is thus obvious that some people believed in superstitions. The Kauśika Sūtra describes a number of superstitious rites prevalent among the people in those days. Some of the ceremonies described in this Sūtra bear the imprint of magic. It prescribes the rites of this kind for all grades of people and for the solution of various types of problems which a person may face in his life. This Sūtra, for example, contains rites to be performed by a king who wishes to win a victory in a battle or who wishes to retrieve his kingdom after he has been dethroned.[73] The rites of this kind are also prescribed for the protection of cattle and crops.[74] For the merchants also it prescribes certain rites, whereby they may secure safety and good weather during their expedition and may be safe in boats and ships.[75] In this Sūtra there are ceremonies for a person who wishes to increase intellect and to obtain

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success in his vows of chastity.[76] A set of similar rites is given for protection of buildings etc. against fire.[77] It contains charms for directing the course of rivers and for causing rain.[78] A number of rites are described in this Sūtra for the cure of diseases.[79] Further, the Kauśika Sūtra describes rites for the problems of women also ; *e. g.* it contains rites for obtaining children, for averting abortion, for removing sterility, and for obtaining a husband ; and then it prescribes rites for capturing truant women, for bringing women under control, for overcoming rival women, and for suppressing paramours.[80] In this Sūtra we find a rite for imparting sexual vigour to a man.[81] The whole of its fourth *Adhyāya* is devoted to the description of witchcraft practices. At the same time, however, this Sūtra contains rites for warding off effects of witchcraft.[82] The thirteenth *Adhyāya* of this work deals with omens and portents and prescribes rites to be performed for obviating the evil effects arising out of these omens and portents.[83] This is just a succinct enumeration of prominent rites and performances contained in the Kauśika Sūtra.

5. THE DOCTRINE OF KARMAN AND ETHICS

The doctrine of *Karman* occupies an important place in all the Kalpasūtras, and in fact the ritual of the Sūtras is essentially based on it. The authors of the Sūtras firmly believed that the performance of ceremonies and sacrifices could produce the desired result and that the slightest error in the execution of the ritual could lead to the opposite result. The Śrautasūtras give details of undesirable consequences flowing from errors in the ritual. It was also held that errors or omissions in rites could be made good by the performance of prescribed penances.

Discussing the efficacy of penances, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Vasishṭha make the following observations :

A man is stained with sin by doing sinful acts, such as, sacrificing for an unworthy person, eating forbidden food, speaking false and unmannerly words, neglecting prescribed duties, and indulging in forbidden acts. In regard to this the theologians discuss the problem whether such a person should perform a penance or not. Some opine that no penance should be performed, because the act that has been done does not perish (without producing its result). But the conclusive opinion is that such a person should perform a penance, for it is declared in the Veda that those who have performed the *Punastoma* may again come to partake of the libation of Soma, and likewise those who have performed the

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Vrātyastoma ; the Veda further says that he who performs the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice removes all sin and destroys even the sin of murdering a Brāhmaṇa ; and it is also enjoined in the Veda that he should cause an *Abhiśasta* (a person accused of a heinous crime) to perform the *Agnishṭut* sacrifice. The recitation of the sacred texts, austerity, sacrifice, fasting, and the giving of gifts are the means of expiating such a sin.[84]

The Dharmasūtras thus accept the efficacy of penances and prescribe penances for a variety of sins. Expiation for a sin forms an essential part of the ethical teachings of the Sūtras. It has been pointed out above that the Sūtras prescribe a strict code of ethics and lay special emphasis on virtuous conduct (*supra*, p. 450).

According to the ethics of the Sūtras, right conduct occupies a higher position than ritual. All ceremonies, sacrifices and learning are, in the opinion of the Sūtrakāras, empty and futile without good conduct (*supra*, p. 450). Every form of life was regarded sacred, and the Sūtra-writers prescribed penance for destroying even the smallest living being. For example, the Gaut. D.S. (XXII, 21-23) enjoins a penance for killing such small creatures as frogs and mice. However, the immolation of animals at sacrifices was not regarded as sinful, for the Sūtrakāras thought that such an act was in keeping with the injunctions of the scriptures. Śāṅkhāyana and Vasishṭha quote a saying : "Animals may be killed at the Madhuparka, at a Soma sacrifice, and at the rites dedicated to the *Pitṛis* and the gods only ; and nowhere else : thus has Manu said."[85] Nevertheless, a tendency to discourage the immolation of animals at sacrifices was steadily growing in the later Sūtras. For details of the ethical teachings of the Sūtras, *see* above pp. 450ff.

6. ESCHATOLOGY

LOKAS

It goes without saying that in the age of the Sūtras the Indo-Aryans had unflinching faith in the immortality of the soul. According to the evidence of the earlier Gṛihyasūtras, the people held the belief that the soul of the deceased goes to any of the *Lokas* (regions of the universe) which he deserves. Describing the way how the soul attains a particular *Loka*, the Asv. G. S. says, "If the *Āhavanīya* fire reaches the corpse first, he should know : 'It has taken him (*i.e.* the soul of the deceased) to *Svargaloka* (Heaven) ; he will live there in prosperity, and so will live this one, *i.e.* the son of the deceased, in this world.' If the *Gārhapatya*

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fire reaches the corpse first, he should know : 'It has taken him to *Antariksha-loka* (Atmospheric region) ; he will live there in prosperity, and so will live this one, *i.e.* the son of the deceased in this world.' If the *Dakshiṇa* fire reaches the corpse first, he should know : 'It has taken him to *Manushya-loka* (the world of men) ; he will live there in prosperity, and so will live this one, *i.e.* his son, in this world.' "[86] The belief that the soul goes to any of the different *Lokas* after death has come down to the Gṛihyasūtras from the earlier literature of the Indo-Aryans; for the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upanishads repeatedly mention the *Lokas*, whenever they find an opportunity to refer to life after death.[87] The Pitṛis (Manes) whom the Aryan householder invoked at the Śrāddha rite were similarly believed to dwell in different *Lokas* whence they came at his invocation. It is laid down that if the sacrificer does not know the names of the ancestors, he should offer the *Piṇḍa* to the father with the words : "Svadhā to the Pitṛis who dwell on the earth"; to the grandfather with the words : "Svadhā to the Pitṛis who dwell in the air"; to the great-grandfather with the words : "Svadhā to the Pitṛis who dwell in Heaven."[88] It is important to note that most of the earlier Gṛihyasūtras make few references to the doctrine of metempsychosis. Similarly we find no mention of the doctrine of emancipation (*Moksha*) in most of the Gṛihyasūtras. The most popular belief which the people cherished with regard to future life was that the soul goes to any of the different Lokas after death. In a verse of the Kaus. S. it is prayed that the sacrificer and the sacrifice may be granted a place in the *Loka* of the *Saptarshis*.[89] The Vaikh. G. S., which is undoubtedly one of the latest Gṛihyasūtras, says that at the time of death the moribund person should ponder that there are two paths with different results : the soul, departing from this world during the bright fortnight, day-time, the period of six months constituting the northern course of the sun, by fire and light, attains to the abode of *Brahman* and does not return ; but the soul that departs from this world during the dark fortnight, night-time, the period of six months constituting the southern course of the sun, and by smoke, reaches the light of the moon and from there returns to this world.[90] Further, the same Gṛihya prescribes that the moribund person should fix his mind on *Brahman* and quotes the saying of the Brahmavādins (the exponents of Brahman) that a person becomes identical with that on which he fixes his mind at the time of death.[91]

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METEMPSYCHOSIS

Though the earlier Gṛihya sūtras do not shed much light on the doctrine of metempsychosis, it goes without saying that this doctrine had fully developed by the close of the Sūtra period. The Dharma-sūtras state explicitly that good acts lead to a high birth in the future life and evil acts to a low one. In this connection Āpastamba puts forward definite views and says, "Persons of all castes attain to the highest bliss if they discharge their duties ; and when such a person returns to this world after enjoying the highest bliss in the other world, by virtue of the remainder of his merit he obtains birth in a distinguished family, beauty of form, beauty of complexion, strength, retentive memory, sharp intellect, wealth, and inclination for following *Dharma* ; and therefore in both the worlds he lives in happiness, rolling like a wheel from the one to the other. As a seed of herbs or trees sown in good and well-cultivated soil gives manifold returns of fruit, so it is with the results of good and evil deeds. As regards the punishment of sinful acts in the next birth, a Brāhmaṇa who has stolen gold or murdered a Brāhmaṇa will be born as a Chaṇḍāla after undergoing a long punishment in the other world ; similarly a Kshatriya who has committed such sins will be born as Pauṭkasa ; and a Vaiśya as a Vaiṇa. In the same manner other sinners who have become outcasts as a result of their sinful acts are born as low animals and lose their caste."[92] The doctrine of metempsychosis is a necessary corollary to the doctrine of Karman, for all who commit sins are not seen suffering from miseries in this life, while others who have committed no sin in this life are sometimes found in a sad plight. In order to explain away such incongruities in the theory of Karman it was essential to postulate the theory of rebirth.

HELL

The earlier Gṛihyasūtras know nothing of a hell. But the Dharmasūtras show their acquaintance with the belief in hell, and Āpastamba says that a person who transgresses *Dharma* goes to the hell.[93] However, the designations and details of various types of hells described in the Purāṇas and later works are conspicuously absent in the Sūtras.

7. VIEW OF LIFE

There is no inkling of pessimistic attitude towards life in the Sūtras, nor do we discern in them any tendency of escaping from

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the hardships and treacheries of life. None of the Sūtras portrays the world as a place of miseries and sufferings. According to the tenor of the Sūtras, life in this world is worth living. So we find constant prayers for long life and sound health in the Gṛihyasūtras. For instance, a verse contained in the Par. G.S. reads : "I know, O Earth, thy heart that dwells in heaven and the moon. That I know; may it know me. May we see a hundred autumns ; may we live a hundred autumns ; may we hear a hundred autumns."[94] Some ceremonies for long life are also found described in the Gṛihyasūtras.[95] The purpose of the Gṛihya rites and the import of the Mantras to be recited at these rites make it perfectly clear that the people's outlook on life was thoroughly optimistic. We take, for instance, the Mantras which are recited at the birth-rites of a child (*supra*, pp. 264 ff). In these Mantras the deities are prayed to bestow long life, happiness, wisdom, courage and prosperity on the newly-born child.[96] According to the view of life represented in the Sūtras, man is to enter the arena of life with a brave heart ready to grapple with all sorts of problems that life has in store for him ; and it should be his constant endeavour to spur on to success without any dismay or despair.

A balanced outlook on life is recommended in the Sūtras which lay equal stress on the three ends of life, *i.e.*, righteous conduct (*Dharma*), acquisition of worldly objects (*Artha*), and their enjoyment (*Kāma*). So we see that in the Mantras which the Gṛihyasūtras prescribe for various rites, the deities are prayed to bestow sons, cattle, wealth, food, fame, long life, and strength upon the sacrificer. The purpose of many a sacrifice is to achieve success in different walks of life. With regard to the reward of the Śūlagava sacrifice it is declared that it bestows cattle, sons, wealth, renown, and long life on the sacrificer (*supra*, p. 432). The idea of worldly success is constantly present to the mind of the authors of the Gṛihyas. The Par. G.S. states that when the bridegroom makes the bride put on a garment he should recite the following Mantra : "Live up to old age ; put on the garment. Be a protector of human beings against imprecation. Being full of vigour, live a hundred years ; clothe thyself in wealth and children. Being blessed with life, put on this garment."[97] The authors of the Gṛihyas thus attached great importance to worldly prosperity. Nevertheless, they did not uphold the dictum that ends justify means. It was their firm belief that ends should be achieved through righteous and fair means. This is why the Sūtras lay great stress on truth honesty, and good conduct (*supra*, pp. 450 ff).

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Discussing the relationship between worldly prosperity and *Dharma* (righteous conduct), Āpastamba says that one should not follow *Dharma* with a view to acquiring worldly prosperity ; for the sacred duties performed from such a narrow point of view become fruitless at the time of bearing fruits, and the due fulfilment of Dharma produces worldly prosperity as accessories in the same way as a mango tree planted for fruit gives shade and fragrance as accessory advantages. Āpastamba adds that even if worldly prosperity is by chance not produced in this way, the sacred duties have been duly performed ; and that one should not become irritated at nor be deceived by the speeches of hypocrites, rogues, infidels and fools ; for *Dharma* and *Adharma* do not move about declaring "Here we are," nor do the gods, Gandharvas and the Pitṛis say to men, "This is *Dharma* and that is *Adharma*"; that act which is praised by all the Āryas is *Dharma*, and that which they blame is *Adharma*.[98]

The authors of the Sūtras held the view that in order to make the best use of life an Ārya should live according to the scheme of the *Āśramas* and should not waste his life aimlessly. According to the scheme of life envisaged in the Dharmasūtras, the entire life of an Ārya is divided into four stages (*Āśramas*), namely, *Brahmacharya, Gārhasthya, Vānaprastha*, and *Saṁnyāsa*. The way of life in the first two stages, *viz.*, Brahmacharya and Gārhasthya, has been fully described in the preceding Chapters.

As regards *Vānaprastha*, the Dharmasūtras lay down that after fulfilling his duties in *Gārhasthya* an Aryan householder may choose to abandon his household and to reside in the forest all alone or in the company of his wife, subsisting on fruits etc., practising austerities, and performing his duties towards the gods, *Pitṛis*, men, creatures, and *Ṛishis*.[99] Baudhāyana and Vaikhānasa enumerate many types of *Vānaprasthas*;[100] and Baudhāyana says that a *Vānaprastha* should shape his conduct in conformity with the *Vaikhānasa-Śāstra*.[101] During this Āśrama the performance of the daily and periodical sacrifices is obligatory, and a *Vānaprastha* has to devote himself to austerities and acquisition of spiritual knowledge. The *Vānaprasthāśrama* signifies, in brief, that after performing his duties as a householder an Ārya should disengage himself from the worries of the world, retire to the quiet life of the forest, live on wild vegetables and fruits, practise austerities, and devote himself to meditation and spiritual enlightenment. It is difficult to develop all of a sudden an attitude of complete resignation and renunciation immediately after

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the comforts and enjoyments of the *Gṛihasthāśrama*. So *Vānaprastha* represents a period of preparation for the final stage of life, *i.e.* *Saṁnyāsa*, which requires complete renunciation, resignation, and detachment from the world.

Saṁnyāsa, which signifies the renunciation of worldly possessions and relations, is the fourth and final stage of life. The Dharmasūtras prescribe a code of standard conduct for a *Saṁnyāsin*.[102] A *Saṁnyāsin* should lead a life of complete resignation, contentment, self-abnegation and meditation. He should be entirely indifferent to the pleasures and pains of life. He should be a well-wisher of all living beings, should neither be afraid of nor frighten any creature.

As regards the attitude of indifference towards life, Manu (VI, 45) enjoins that a *Saṁnyāsin* should neither desire to live nor desire to die and wait for his appointed time as a servant waits for the payment of wages. He should never seek to obtain alms by practising palmistry or astrology, or by giving advice, or by the exposition of the scriptures. He should always devote himself to the realization of the self through meditation and austerities.

According to the Dharmasūtras, a *Saṁnyāsin* should also observe the rules of good conduct and should not act in a wanton manner. In this connection Āpastamba observes : "It is ordained that he shall wear clothes thrown away by others. Some hold that he is free from all (forms of morals and manners, so he may go about naked) ; that he should seek to realize the self, renouncing truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain, the Vedas, this world, and the next one ; that he attains salvation after knowing the self (*Buddhe*). But this view is contrary to the teachings of the scriptures (*Śāstras*), for, if salvation could be attained by mere knowledge of the self, the knower of the self should not feel any pain in this world."[103] Therefore, a *Saṁnyāsin* should also follow the rules of conduct laid down in the scriptures.

Though the Dharmasūtras allow Vānaprastha and Saṁnyāsa and lay down the rules of conduct for those who stay in these Āśramas, yet they do not think very highly of these two Āśramas and commend the Gṛihasthāśrama.[104]

According to the Sūtras, the performance of prescribed duties and virtuous conduct are the perennial sources of happiness, and lead to the realization of the self which is the highest goal of human endeavour.[105]

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Notes and References

1. Ap. D.S.I, 8, 22, 4-7 ; I, 8, 23, 2.
2. Gobh. G.S I, 8, 25-28 ; Kh. G.S.II, 1, 26-28.
3. Asv. G.S.IV, 9, 33 ; vide *Śūlagava* in Chap. XIX.
4. Par. G.S.III, 8, 10 ; vide *Śūlagava* in Chap. XIX.
5. Vaj. Samh. III, 57 ; Tait Samh. I, 8, 6, 1-2 ; Mait. Samh. I, 10, 4: 144, 4 ; Kath. Samh. IX, 9 : 110, 1.
6. Baudh. G.S. II, 8, 9 ; *Cf.* Baudh. G.S. III, 7, 16 ; Agni. G.S. II, 5, 3 ; Ap. S.S. VIII, 18, 1.
7. Lat. S.S. X, 13, 4 ; Kat. S. S. XXIV, 7, 33 ; Sankh. S.S. XVI, 13, 1 ; Ap. S.S. XVI, 28, 3.
8. Agni. G.S. III, 11, 4 ; Vaikh. G.S. VII, 4 ; Vaikh. D.S. III, 8.
9. Bhar. G.S. I, 8 : 8, 1.
10. Hir. G.S.I, 10, 4 ; Bhar. G.S. II, 20 : 52, 12.
11. Sankh. G.S. IV, 9, 3 ; Asv. G.S. III, 5, 4.
12. Par. G.S. III, 8, 10 ; Kath. G.S. 20, 2.
13. Gobh. G.S. IV, 4, 28.
14. Kath. G.S. 17, 1 ; *ibid.* 19, 7.
15. Baudh. G.S. III, 7, 17.
16. Yaj. I, 271-292.
17. Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa I, 4, 6-19.
18. Baudh. Gṛihyaśesha Sūtra III, 10.
19. Baudh. D.S. II, 5, 9, 7.
20. See '*Gaṇeśa*' by Sampūrṇānanda, pp. 5 seq.
21. Bhar. G.S. I, 23 : 24, 1 ; Hir. G.S. II, 3, 7.
22. Asv. G.S. II, 3, 3 ; Par. G.S. II, 14, 4-5 ; Bhar. G.S. II, 1 : 31, 12 ; Hir. G.S. II, 16, 8 ; Sankh. G.S. IV, 18, 1.
23. R.V.I, 118, 9a.
24. R.V. IX, 88, 4b.

The Kaus. S. 32, 21-23, prescribes the use of '*Paidva*' as a medicine for a snake-bite ; it says that when '*Paidva*' has been fully crushed it should be poured into the right nostril of the person bitten by a snake. According to the Paddhati of Keśava (Kaus. S., p. 334), *Paidva* is a kind of insect.

25. Sankh. G.S. I, 15, 16 ; Kaush. G.S. I, 9, 12.
26. Bhar. G.S. II, 31 : 65, 1.
27. Par. G.S. II, 15, 3-4 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. IV, 5, 2, 16.
28. Tait. Samh. II, 3, 1 ; *cf.* Sat. Br. V, 3, 5, 14.
29. R.V. I, 23, 22.
30. Tait. Samh. I, 4, 45 ; *cf.* Mait. Samh. I, 3, 39 ; Kath. Samh. IV, 13.
31. A.V. IV, 7, 1.
32. Sat. Br. IV, 4, 5, 10 ; *ibid.* IV, 4, 5, 23 ; *ibid.* XIII, 3, 6, 5 ; Tait. Br. III, 9, 15.
33. Sankh. S.S. XVI, 18 ; Kat. S.S. XX, 8, 17-18.
34. Gaut. D.S. XXII, 8 ; Ap. D.S. I, 9, 24, 22 ; Vas. D.S. XXII, 6.
35. See R.V. VIII, 47, 11 ; also *cf.* A.V. XVIII, 4, 7.
36. Tait. Samh. VI, 1, 1 ; *cf.* Gop. Br. V, 2.
37. Man. G.S. I, 13, 14 ; Kath. G.S. 26, 12 ; Baudh. G.S. IV, 3, 6.
38. Bhar. G.S. II, 22 : 56, 1 ; Ap. G.S. V, 13, 1.
39. Gaut. D.S. XIX, 15 ; Baudh. D.S. III, 10, 10, 13 ; Vas. D.S. XXII, 12.
40. R.V. VIII, 101, 15-16 ; Vaj. Samh. IV, 19-20 ; A.V. X,10 ; *ibid.* XII, 4, 51.

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41. A.V. VII, 32, 22; *ibid.* VIII, 95, 1; *ibid.* VIII, 106, 1; *ibid.* IX, 12, 2.

42. Vedic Index II, p. 146, footnote 13.

43. माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनां स्वसादित्यानाममृतस्य नाभिः ।
प्र नु वोचं चिकितुषे जनाय मा गामनागामदितिं वधिष्ट ॥ ऋग्वेद VIII, 101, 15.

44. सूर्याया वहतुः प्रागात्सविता यमवासृजत् ।
अघासु हन्यन्ते गावोऽर्जुन्योः पर्युह्यते ॥ ऋग्वेद X, 85, 13.

Zimmer in his Alt. Leb. p. 228, refers to this verse in connection with the custom of killing a cow at the time of wedding. Griffith (p. 502) translates this verse as follows: "The bridal pomp of Sūryā, which Savitar started, moved along. In Maghā days are oxen slain, in Arjunīs they wed the bride." The same Mantra is found in the A.V. XIV, 1, 13, which Whitney translates as follows: "The bridal (*Vahatu*) of Sūryā, which Savitar sent off (*Ava-Sṛij*), has gone forth, in the Maghās are slain the kine, in the Phalgunīs is the wedding." Wilson, following Sāyaṇa in the interpretation of this verse, translates the word '*Hanyante*' as "are whipped along". For further discussion on this verse, *see* Weber, in Abh. der Berliner Ak. for 1861 (Nakshatras) p. 364, and Proceedings of Berlin Academy, 1894, p. 804 ff; Jacobi, Festgruss an Roth, p. 69; Winternitz, Alt. Hoch., p. 33.

45. A V. XII, 4, 6.

46. A.V. XIII, 1, 56; The same idea is found in the Rāmāyaṇa II, 75, 22.

47. Ait. Br. I, 15; Tait. Br. II, 7, 11, 1; Panch. Br. XXI, 14, 5; Sat. Br. III, 4. 1, 2.

48. Sat. Br. III, 1, 2, 21.

49. अपि वा घृतौदन एव स्यात् ॥ कौ० गृ० 24, 21.

50. Sankh. G.S. IV, 7, 50; Kaush. G. S. III, 9, 45.

51. Par. G.S. II, 7, 14; Gaut. D.S. IX, 24.

52. Par. G.S. III, 14, 8.

53. Gobh. G.S. III, 2, 34; *cf.* Jaim. G.S. I, 17 : 16, 3.

54. Bhar. G.S. III, 12 : 79, 11; *ibid.* III, 16 : 85, 8; Man. G.S. I, 10, 1; *ibid.* II, 2, 1.

55. Bhar. G.S. I, 11 : 11, 7; Man. G.S. I, 7, 9.

56. Gaut. D.S. IX, 13.

57. Gaut. D.S. XXII, 20; Baudh. D.S. I, 10, 19, 3-6

58. Ap. D.S. I, 8, 22, 8; I, 8, 23, 1.

59. Asv. G.S. I, 9, 6. *Supra*, p. 175, n. 90.

60. Sankh. G.S. II, 12, 6; Kaush. G.S. II, 7, 21.

61. Sankh. G.S. IV, 12, 15; Kaush. G.S. III, 11, 15; Gaut. D.S. IX, 66.

62. Man. G.S. I, 7, 10.

63. Kath. G.S. 18, 3.

64. Oldenberg, SBE, XXIX, p. 364.

65. Man. G.S. II, 15, 6.

66. Gobh. G.S. III, 3, 29-34; Asv. G.S. III, 6, 6-11; *ibid.* III, 7, 1. 2. 7; Hir. G.S. I, 16, 3-21; *ibid.* I, 17, 1-6; Bhar. G.S. II, 32; Ap. G.S. VIII, 23, 8-10; Man. G.S. II, 15, 1-7; *ibid.* II, 17, 1-7; Kath. G.S. 56, 1-3.

67. Hir. G.S. I, 14, 2-3; Bhar. G.S. II, 27 : 60, 1; Ap. G.S. VIII, 23, 6.

68. Ap. G.S. VIII, 23, 2; Hir. G.S. I, 15, 2-3; Par. G.S. III, 13, 5.

69. Bhar. G.S. II, 28 : 61, 4; *ibid.* II, 26 : 59, 5; Ap. G.S. VIII, 22, 19; *ibid.* VIII, 23, 3-5; Hir. G.S. I, 14, 6-9; *ibid.* I, 15, 1 and 4-8.

70. Gobh. G.S. IV, 5-6; *ibid.* IV, 8, 9-25; *ibid.* IV, 9.

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71. Par. G.S. III, 14-15 ; Ap. G.S. VIII, 22, 14-19 ; Hir. G.S. I, 16, 1-2; Bhar. G.S. II, 29 : 62, 7.

72. Hir. G.S. I, 18, 8-13 ; Par. G.S. III, 15, 13-20.

73. Kaus. S., Kaṇḍikās 13-16.

74. Kaus. S. 51, 1-22.

75. Kaus. S. 42, 1-5 ; *ibid.* 50, 12-16 ; *ibid.* 52, 10-11.

76. Kaus. S. 10, 1-24 ; *ibid.* 11, 1-6.

77. Kaus. S. 40, 11-13 ; *ibid.* 59, 5-9.

78. Kaus. S. 40, 1-10 ; *ibid.* 41, 1-7.

79. Kaus. S., Kaṇḍikās 25-31 and Kaṇḍikā 32, 1-27.

80. Kaus. S. 32, 28 ; and Kaṇḍikās 33-36.

81. Kaus. S. 40, 14-18.

82. Kaus. S. 39, 1-31.

83. Kaus. S., Kaṇḍikās 93-136.

84. Gaut. D. S. XIX, 2-12 ; Baudh. D. S. III, 10, 10, 2-10 ; Vas. D. S. XXII, 1-8.

85. Sankh. G. S. II, 16. 2 ; Vas. D. S, IV, 6. *Supra*, pp. 48 seq.

86. Asv. G. S. IV, 4, 2-4.

87. R. V. IX, 113, 7-11, *ibid.* X, 16, 1 and 4 ; *ibid.* X, 14, 8; etc. A. V. XVIII, 1,55 ; *ibid.* XVIII, 2,8 ; *ibid.* XVIII, 3, 1 and 73 ; *ibid*, XVIII, 4, 1 ; etc. Vaj. Samh. XL. 3 ; *ibid.* XIX, 45 ; etc. Tait. Br. III, 12; Chh. Up. V, 10, 1 ; Kaush. Up. 1, 2.

88. Hir. G. S. II, 12, 4 ; Gobh. G. S. IV, 3,10.

89. Kaus. S, 125, 2.

90. Vaikh. G. S. V, 1 : 68, 9. *Cf.* Brih. Up. VI, 2, 15-16 ; Gītā VIII, 24-27.

91. Vaikh. G. S. V, 1:69, 2. *Cf.* Gītā VIII, 6.

92. Ap. D. S. II, 1, 2, 2-7.

93. Ap. D. S. I, 4, 13, 4 ; II, 10, 27, 6 ; II, 11, 29, 9.

94. Par. G. S. I, 16, 17.

95. Kaus. S. 52, 18-19 ; Man. G. S. I, 17, 2 ; etc.

96. Asv. G. S. I, 15, 1-3.

97. Par. G. S. I, 4, 12.

98. Ap. D. S. I, 7, 20, 1-7.

99. Gaut D. S. III, 26-35 ; Baudh. D. S. II, 6, 11, 16-17 ; III, 3, 3, 1-23 ; Ap. D. S. II, 9, 21, 18 seq. ; Vas. D. S. IX, 1-12 ; Vaikh. D. S. I, 6-8 ; II, 1-5. *Cf.* Manu VI, 1-32 ; Yaj. III, 45-55.

100. Baudh. D.S. III, 3, 3, 1-18 ; Vaikh. D. S. I, 7-8.

101. Baudh. D. S. II, 6, 11, 16 ; Gaut. D. S. III, 27 ; *cf.* Manu VI, 21.

102. Gaut. D. S. III, 11-25 ; Baudh. D. S. II, 6, 11, 18-28 ; II, 10, 17, 1-40 ; II, 11, 18, 1-34 ; Ap. D. S. II, 9, 21, 7-17 ; Vas. D. S. X, 1-31 ; Vaikh. D. S. I, 9-11 ; II, 6-8. *Cf.* Manu VI, 33-85 ; Yaj. III, 56-65.

103. तरय मुक्तमाच्छादनं विहितम् । सर्वतः परिमोक्षमेके । सत्यानृते सुखदुःखे वेदानिमं लोकममुं च परित्यज्यात्मानमन्विच्छेत् । बुद्धे क्षेमप्रापणम् । तच्छास्त्रैर्विप्रतिषिद्धम् । बुद्धे चेत्क्षेमप्रापणमिहैव न दुःखमुपलभेत ॥ आप० ध० II, 9, 21, 11-16.

104. Baudh. D. S. II, 6, 11, 29-36 (*supra*, p. 217, n. 5) ; Gaut. D. S. III, 36 ; Ap. D. S. II, 9, 23, 10-12 ; II, 9, 24, 1-14 ; Vas. D. S. VIII, 14-16. *Cf.* Manu VI, 89-90.

105. सर्ववर्णानां स्वधर्मानुष्ठाने परमपरिमितं सुखम् ॥ आप० ध० II, 1, 2, 2.

आध्यात्मिकान्योगाननुतिष्ठेन्न्यायसंहितानैश्चारिकान् । आत्मलाभान्न परं विद्यते ॥ *ibid.* I, 8, 22, 1-2.

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